

The
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REVIEW



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THE UNFINISHED REVOLUTION

50 YEARS OF THE NATIONAL STRUGGLE OF UKRAINE FOR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE AGAINST SOVIET-RUSSIAN TYRANNY

This year marks 50th anniversary of the Ukrainian National Revolution. The said revolution culminated in proclamation of the Ukrainian Independence on January 22, 1918.

The Revolution of 1917 in East Europe came almost unexpectedly and without any obvious cause but it was the most natural development of historical events in the Russian empire after long years of the absolutism of the Moscow Tsardom.

After years of the denial of the right of an individual, political and cultural liberty, after years of the social oppression of the labouring masses, after years of oppression and unceasing denationalization of old cultural nations forced by violence or by deceit and lies into the imperial prison of the Muscovite Tsardom, there had grown up so much dissatisfaction among both the Russians and the non-Russian enslaved peoples that the outbreak of a revolution in the Russian empire against the tsar was a most natural phenomenon.

There was only needed an occasion. That was offered by World War I into which Russia went for her further imperialistic plans: to acquire Constantinople and the Dardanelles so as to plant the cross of Orthodox Moscow, the "Third Rome", on the dome of St. Sophia, the shrine of the Second Rome which had been enslaved by the Turks. The reactionary, culturally and socially backward Russia went into war to secure a firm foothold in the Balkans under the pretext of bringing national liberation to the Orthodox Serbs. Moscow went into World War I to add to the Russian prison of nations the last

piece of the relatively free Ukrainian land then under the rule of Austria and thus finally crush the hated Ukrainian supporters of independence, the followers of Mazepa.

These plans had been made by the scarcely civilized, industrially primitive and internally corrupt Muscovite Empire.

After entering a war beyond her strength, Russia was separated from her Western industrially and economically powerful allies by the wall of Central Powers and could wage this ill-considered war only with the bodies of the mobilized soldiers of imperial Russia, millions of whom left their corpses on the battlefields of the Carpathians, in Western Ukraine and Poland, only in 1916 to be driven far to the east of the prewar frontiers of imperial Russia.

It is no wonder that every soldier waited for the revolution as a release from the unnecessary bloodshed. This revolution had been slowly prepared by the Russian intellectuals, indoctrinated with utopian revolutionary socialism and now largely wearing the caps of the officers of the tsarist army. This revolution definitely but secretly had been predicted by the Ukrainian soldiers in the tsarist uniforms who with the "Kobzar", the gospel of the Ukrainian independence, hidden in their boots, marched into West Ukraine not as conquerors in the name of imperial Russia but as brothers to brothers to proclaim to them the political spring of Ukraine. That Revolution, awaited by all, took place on March 12, automatically and almost without bloodshed.

Ukrainian Volyn Regiment decides victory of the Revolution

For three days in Petrograd, the capital of the Russian Empire, workers' unrest had grown into demonstrations of such proportions that on March 12, the Tsarist police felt themselves too weak to handle the situation and keep the capital under the control of the tsarist government. So they called to their aid the army garrison in Petrograd which was there to protect the tsar and the capital. The Guard Volyn Regiment was the first to be sent to help the police suppress the workers' movement. But when the masses of demonstrating workmen were brought face to face with the soldiers of the Guard Volyn Regiment and the soldiers received the command "Aim" and then "Fire", as if by command they lowered their rifles and assumed the position of "At ease." Shouts of joy rang from the demonstrating workers. The Revolution had become a fact. The Izmail Regiment, quickly sent to replace the rebellious soldiers, also refused to obey. Both regiments, the Guard Volyn and the Izmail, were composed mainly of Ukrainians and it was the Ukrainian soldiers in the tsarist army who decided the victory of the revolution. So it must be emphasized that it was the national enslavement of Ukraine that was the factor that shattered the tsarist throne.

The revolt of these first regiments spread like a steppe fire through the entire tsarist army behind the front. And on the third day at the front Tsar Nicholas II saw the hopelessness of trying to control the situation and abdicated his throne on March 15, 1917. The power in Russia passed into the hands of Duma, the parliament of imperial Russia, which formed the First Provisional Government of Russia, with Prince Lvov as Prime Minister. The Russian Empire was facing the great unknown.

The Russian and the Ukrainian Revolutions

Yet from the first days the Revolution in Russia developed two separate currents, as we can now say confidently: 1) Russian Revolution on the territory of Russia against Russian Tsardom for the change of Government, and 2) Ukrainian Revolution against Russian tyranny for national liberation and for the renewal of the independent statehood of Ukraine liquidated by Russia in 1783, as well as revolutions for national liberation of Finland, Poland, the Baltic peoples, Byelorussians, the Caucasian peoples and the Moslem peoples of Asiatic Russia. We can say boldly and without exaggeration that the leadership of these revolutions for independence among the non-Russian peoples almost automatically passed into the hands of the Ukrainians, as was shown by the two great Ukrainian manifestations, one in Petrograd and one in Kiev simultaneously on March 17, 1917.

In March there took place annual commemorations of both the birth and death of the greatest poet of Ukraine, Taras Shevchenko, who in his works called upon the Ukrainians:

Make my grave there — and arise,
Sundering your chains,
Bless your freedom with the blood
Of foemen's evil veins!

(From *Testament*, transl. by Vera Rich)

By tradition the Ukrainians celebrated the memory of Shevchenko, secretly for the most part in Russia and publicly outside its borders. Only two days after the abdication of Nicholas II, on March 17, the Ukrainians of the tsarist capital publicly celebrated the Shevchenko Festival with a gigantic parade on the Nevsky Prospect with more than 20,000 participants. At the head of the procession they bore a huge portrait of the poet and masses of blue and yellow banners, the colours of Ukraine. As the parade started, thousands knelt and chanted the "Testament" of Shevchenko which ended with the words quoted above.

In this great Ukrainian demonstration on the Nevsky Prospect on March 17, 1917, thousands of soldiers of the Volyn and Izmail Regiments which had decided the revolution took part.

Of course in the capital of the Russian Empire, Petrograd, there were many Ukrainian officials, who for their doubtful loyalty were

kept by the government in the north far from Ukraine. There were many Ukrainian workmen but we may doubt whether there were in all 20,000 conscious Ukrainians in Petrograd. Thousands of non-Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Caucasians, Turkestanians, Tatars and other members of the non-Russian peoples took part and showed by their participation in this Ukrainian manifestation the actual beginning of the great revolution for national independence by the peoples enslaved by Moscow.

This Ukrainian manifestation came as a shock to the Russians of the capital and found its echo in the press which was now freed of the censorship and opened a new chapter in the Revolution.

A similar demonstration was held on the same day in Kiev, in which over a hundred thousand people participated. After the demonstration came the first State building act of revolutionary Ukraine. On that very same day (March 17, 1917) the Society of Ukrainian Progressives (TUP) which united all the prominent Ukrainian intellectuals, at a meeting formed the skeleton of a Ukrainian Parliament, the Ukrainian Central Rada. Yet they felt that this first revolutionary parliament needed a stronger basis of representation and they resolved to call on April 17-21 an All-Ukrainian National Congress in Kiev. This was to represent the Ukrainian cultural, economic and political organizations, with representatives of the self-governing institutions of the guberniyas, counties and communities, representatives of the Ukrainian parties and soldiers of the Ukrainized regiments and divisions.

Petrograd Soviet or Provisional Government?

Meanwhile the Russian Revolution was rolling on the rails of a social revolution rapidly to the left amid actual chaos. While the national revolutions had their own ideal of liberating their peoples and proceeded in an orderly manner, the social revolution in Russia developed amid complete anarchy for such a revolution had no traditions in Russia and no one knew what form it should take. The socialist revolutionary doctrines were put forward. The Socialist Revolutionaries who had practised physical terrorism had a really negative character. The socialists were divided into Mensheviks and Bolsheviks and lived in the world of doctrinaire Marxism which they now tried to realize on the skins of the dark masses of Russia. It is not strange that the most extreme doctrine of the Bolsheviks with their slogan "Rob the robbers", easily served to convince the anarchistic masses.

From the first days of the existence of the government of Prince Lvov there was organized in Petrograd a second, unofficial but much more powerful government, The Soviet of Workers', Soldiers, and Peasants' Deputies. This was at once dominated by the Socialists.

The Petrograd Soviet with its branches throughout the whole of Russia became a sort of Supervisor of the activity of the legal Government and forced it more and more to the left. The Soviet of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies in Petrograd was not dominated at this time by the Bolsheviks, but by the Menshevik Socialists; yet its unofficial character and its constant public meetings before the eyes of the uncritical masses gave a definite advantage to the Bolsheviks with well-known technique of clear maximalist propaganda for emphasizing their own importance until after the return of Lenin and Trotsky from abroad and of other Bolsheviks (as Stalin) from exile in Siberia, the leadership of the Petrograd Soviet came into the hands of the Bolsheviks.

Not much was gained by the transfer of the official power of the Provisional Government from the hands of the liberal, chiefly Cadet intelligentsia to the hands of the Socialists with Kerensky as Prime Minister. By his demagogic appeals he tried to oppose his propaganda to the vastly more successful propaganda of the Bolsheviks. So the Russian revolution went on its stormy way in full disorder and we might even say, anarchy, while the national revolutions drifted along more quietly, more orderly but too often naïvely and unrealistically.

The government of Kerensky tried at all costs to co-operate with the Western states and continue the war on the Eastern Front; this soon was seen to be hopeless, for the Bolshevik slogans: "War against War", "Peace without Annexation and Indemnities" had more appeal for the masses who were wearied of the war and the soldiers, than the patriotic appeals of Kerensky to die for the Entente. What is more, the Bolsheviks carried on an unceasing agitation against all discipline in the army, since the army was at that time a danger for the still weak Communist Party, so as to break it up from inside. Wild attacks were launched against the officers, the wearers of gold epaulets along with murders and cursing of the lower officers.

On the other hand the national revolutions in the army and especially the Ukrainian National Revolution, showed an idealistic fraternization of the soldiers with officers of their own Ukrainian nationality and the mass Ukrainization of whole military units, regiments and divisions. Because of the savage and shameless struggle in the army against the higher officers, even officers who were only slightly nationally conscious and even high generals who had been for the most part Russified under the tsars, discovered their Ukrainian origin and took refuge under the protection of the Ukrainized military units where they found safety and respect. The nationalized military units strongly supported the national revolutions. The Ukrainized military units became the strongest supporters of the newly formed representative body in Ukraine, the Ukrainian Central Rada. These Ukrainized units also urged the national

revolution in Ukraine toward a more irreconcilable attitude toward the Russian Provisional Government when that took the tsarist path and began to refuse the national and political rights of Ukraine.

Independent Ukraine proclaimed

At the beginning of the revolution the confidence of the non-Russian peoples in Russian democracy was so great that no nation, except Poland and Finland, thought of separating from the Russian monolith, but were satisfied with autonomy in a federal relation with Russia, hoping the time of the Russian oppression had passed away and freedom and justice for all the peoples and nations arrived.

These hopes for an ideal coexistence with Russia soon began to fade when there appeared behind the revolutionary phrases of the Russian socialists the old Russian imperialist and chauvinist. This appeared at the first moment of the calling of an All-Ukrainian National Congress in Kiev. The Russian socialists and especially the Russian socialists in Ukraine wanted to know why the "Little Russians" wanted to call any national congress and separate themselves from the Russians. The Russian chauvinism in Kiev hardly a month after the outbreak of the revolution reached such provocative lengths that the head of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies in Kiev, the Russian Social Democrat, K. Nezlobin, openly threatened to disperse with bayonets the All-Ukrainian National Congress. He could have done it for the commander of the Kiev Military District was then a Russian socialist, Col. Oberuchev.

It is true that this outrage did not take place but the threat convinced the Ukrainian parties that they needed to separate themselves from the Russian parties. Besides, these moods of the Russian democrats inspired the calling in Kiev of the Ukrainian Army Congress on May 18-21.

First of all, the chauvinistic attitude of the Russian democracy compelled the Ukrainian Central Rada, increased by representatives chosen at the All-Ukrainian Congress, and at meetings of the political parties and the First Army Congress to commence the building of an autonomous Ukraine but still federated with Russia. This was not long in coming. When the Russian Provisional Government of Kerensky at the end of May, 1917, rejected the demands of the Ukrainian Central Rada, the Second Army Congress in Kiev and the Peasant Congress called in the middle of June, 1917, passed resolutions that the Ukrainian Central Rada should ignore Petrograd and proceed with the organization of an Ukrainian Government for Ukraine.

Actually the Ukrainian people did take the helm into their own hands and guided their course evenly but independently of the

Russian revolution. The First Universal to the Ukrainian People of June 23, 1917, proclaimed that Ukraine was to be a free Nation in the Russian Federation. When the Bolsheviks came into power in Russia, the Ukrainian Central Rada in the Third Universal, November 20, 1917, proclaimed the Ukrainian National Republic.

Thus Ukraine was the first to come into conflict with Communist Russia. So as to be a fully independent and separate nation in international affairs and able to conclude peace treaties in the name of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Central Rada in its Fourth Universal, January 22, 1918, proclaimed the full independence of Ukraine and its separation from Russia. The Ukrainian people thus expressed their own self-determination and completed it the next year when on January 22, 1919, Western Ukraine (formerly under Austria) united with the Ukrainian National Republic.

The Bolshevik October Counter-Revolution

Thus, the Bolshevik coup in October, 1917, was really a counter-revolution of Russian Communists against Ukrainian and other non-Russian peoples, — liberated by their national revolutions, — to hold 100 millions of non-Russians again enslaved in the renewed Russian Empire in fact, — the Russian Prison of Nations, now the so-called USSR.

For fifty years since that time there has been steady war between Ukraine and Russia, either red or white, for there is no difference between them, since the Soviet Russia took over the whole program of tsarist Russia toward the non-Russian peoples. On the other hand the whole of the white Russians outside the borders of the USSR has adopted the full program of red Russia toward Ukraine and the non-Russian peoples.

The Ukrainian people under Soviet Bolshevik Russia had already undergone 20 years of savage enslavement with millions of victims shot, dead of starvation and banished to the Siberian camps of death, when the World War II broke out. They hoped that this war would bring them release from Bolshevik tyranny and they wished to believe in the aid of Europe, but they did not know that this time, Hitler, as the pupil of Stalin's methods, had bound the German people to the service of a torturer and tyrant for other peoples including the Ukrainian.

Hitlerite Germany entered the war to destroy the situation created by the Versailles Treaty, and for the other aims set out by Hitler in "Mein Kampf." The realization of the program of Hitler meant for Ukraine the replacing of one savage occupant by another.

At the time of the entry of the German army into the Ukrainian territory in 1941, the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists

(O.U.N.) under the leadership of Stepan Bandera proclaimed the renewal of the independence of Ukraine in Lviv, on June 30, 1941. The Nazi party with all its forces was not prepared for this course of events in Ukraine and only after proclamation of the independence of Ukraine did the Nazi apparatus of destruction commence to function. The Germans arrested the Head of the Ukrainian Provisional Government, Yaroslav Stetzko, and thousands of other Ukrainians with whom they began to fill their jails and concentration camps. Mass shootings and hangings of Ukrainian patriots were now a daily sight in the towns of Ukraine which the German army occupied in 1941-42. On the other hand several hundred thousands soldiers of the Red Army of Ukrainian nationality, having known nothing about those events and about Hitler's plans for total destruction of Ukraine, — deserted from the Red Army and voluntarily passed over to the side of the Germans in the hope that they would find it possible there to fight against Communist Russia. Hitler did not want to see the causes of this mass desertion and howled about "the valour of German arms" and the prisoners by thousands died of starvation and misery in the prison camps. Thus Hitler first began to prepare for Stalin the triumph of victory and only Nazi blindness saved the Soviet Union from its terrible defeat.

In this tragic situation and as a result of Hitler's policy, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) which was organized in 1942-43, began to fight not only the remains of the Bolshevik bands but also all forms of Hitlerite administration and terror.

The fight for Freedom is still going on

After the downfall of the Nazi-Germany in 1945, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) and the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) both led by Gen. Roman Shukhevych (Taras Chuprynka) were fighting the Russian Communism. The national struggle of the Ukrainian people as of the other peoples enslaved by Moscow as well is still going on in various forms and by various means.

The peace and freedom are impossible as long as the goal of the national revolutions of the non-Russian peoples is not achieved. Democracy in the Russian colonial empire is impossible, for the non-Russian peoples can be kept within the Russian Empire or the Soviet Union only by brute force which prevents a true democracy in USSR. Every truly democratic system must automatically lead to the division of the Soviet Empire into national states.

If any one is planning to overthrow the Communist regime in the USSR and at the same time preserve the unity of the Russian Empire, he must also be prepared to install in the Kremlin fortress another Russian dictator in the place of the Communist dictatorship. In all

probability it would be a Russian national-fascist dictatorship as menacing to the whole world as the present Communist dictatorship of the Kremlin.

Yet recognizing the dynamism of the movements for national liberation in the Soviet Union and knowing the power of "bourgeois nationalism", which for fifty years has been bloodily persecuted and yet gives the Bolsheviks no rest, we firmly believe that the establishment of a new All-Russian dictatorship without foreign help is now impossible. The shattering of the Communist government in the USSR must finally lead to the natural dissolution of the Russian Empire into its natural component parts.

This could have happened in 1919, had the Western democratic world not prevented this natural historical trend with its interference. In refusing to extend the Wilsonian doctrine of the self-determination of nations to the nations of the former Russian Empire which had declared their independence, they saved the Communist October counter-revolution.

The Western World by supporting the adventures of Denikin, Wrangel, Kolchak, Yudenich, Haller, and other reactionary forces so weakened the democratic movements for national liberation of the nations of the former tsarist Russia, especially the dynamic movement of Ukraine, that the Western World decisively aided the Russian Communists to maintain the Communist counter-revolution in Russia which by arming the hungry Russians in the north did conquer again the colonies of the former Russian Empire and did shed oceans of blood and inflict great sufferings on the newly conquered lands and on the whole world.

We believe that the Western democratic world will not make the same mistake again.

Fifty years of incessant national struggle proves the determination of Ukrainian people to continue its fight against Russian communism and imperialism until freedom and independence of Ukraine is restored and the implacable enemy of the entire World is defeated.

The Ukrainian National Revolution has to be finished.

Yaroslav STETZKO

CULTURAL ELITE FIGHTS BACK

Ideological and political processes with far-reaching implications are taking place in Ukraine. Neither the cultural elite, nor the nation as a whole is yielding to Moscow's unrelenting pressure. It seems the fear of terror has been finally overcome. Entangled in its own contradictions, characteristic of a multinational big power, the Russian communist empire is swaying in its foundations. This process is speeded up by the inordinate efforts of the dominant Russian nation to impose its own concept and way of life in its manifold forms on the captive nations, with the aim of completely subjugating them and transforming their spiritual outlook in accordance with the Russian pattern and contents. The final goal of this unnatural desire is to create a greater Russian nation, under the misleading formula of a "multi-national Soviet people." Moreover, this ambition is pursued not only by the Russian Communists, but by the Russian non-Communists as well. In the programme of the Russian emigre organisation, N.T.S., of 1959, the plan and conception of the present Russian ruling faction was merely reshaped. The idea of the Russian nation, for instance, was defined there as follows: "In its construction the Russian nation is unique; it is a family of peoples and nations which in the course of the centuries of common historical destinies have been historically united and have formed a self-awareness as a community of national, cultural and economic interests... The political and cultural development, the national consciousness and national traditions of some peoples, which are part of Russia, can be listed in the category of Peoples-Nations, but this does not deprive them of their organic attachment to a higher entity, i.e. the Russian nation" (p. 14).

The N.T.S. Programme has the following to say with respect to the Russian language: "Since the Russian language is the language of the Russian culture and State and since it is understood by the entire population of Russia, it is recognised as a unifying, general State language..." (p. 51).

This should be a sufficient proof of the complete identity of aims of the Red and White Russian imperialists, who, both in form and in essence, hold the same position with regard to the question of dominance over other nations and the exclusiveness of the Russian nation as a secular, characteristic, unique and mystical phenomenon which unifies the peoples and nations in a single whole. The Russian philosopher Berdyayev goes a step further, inasmuch as he wants to transform this anti-Christian nation, which persecutes the Christian faith, into a God-seeking nation of chosen people, which, purified, as it were, by genocide, is to demonstrate how a nation which has enthusiastically entrusted its destinies to criminals, man-hunters and mass-murderers can become a world-renewing nation, in the sense of the Christian religion.

It is in the face of the new wave of terror against the intellectual elite in Ukraine that we bring up this subject, so that everyone should realise that the policies of the present Russian regime in Ukraine are being justified and supported by the entire Russian leading class, including that part of it which is in opposition to those now in power, and which wants to dethrone the present leaders. This is precisely the attitude of the Russian nation as a whole with regard to Ukraine; hence we cannot cherish any illusions. Two nations, it must be realised, are engaged in a fight-unto-death struggle, two nations representing diametrically opposed cultures, diametrically opposed mentality, diametrically opposed views of life; two rival centres of authority — that of Kyiv, which functions illegally and underground, and that of Moscow. The volcano which is raging in the depths of the Ukrainian soil is beginning to shake the empire. The prospects of a joyous 50th anniversary in 1937 do not at all look promising for Moscow. For the moment, the waves of the Ukrainian spontaneous elementary force do not appear too fierce. Protest is relatively mild. But the storm is gathering. Who can foresee the extent of its explosion? Symonenko is only a symptom, and by no means the most articulate expression of this Ukrainian spontaneous elementary force. Svitlychny and Dziuba are merely more or less conscious indicators of what is raging beneath the surface. Neither the poets Vinhranovsky, nor Lina Kostenko are typical harbingers, or true spokesmen, of this elementary force, the explosion of which Moscow is not capable of preventing. What purpose does it serve that Moscow has silenced them? They do not call Ukraine's tune of the future.

How could there not be tensions in Ukraine in the light of the following paradox? The poets, say, of the Ivory Coast are not forbidden to write songs similar in spirit to Sosyura's famous poem "Love Ukraine" (about their own country, of course), but it is precisely for writing this poem that Sosyura had to do penance. A great poet of Ukraine was forbidden to say what freedom-loving

negroes under "reactionary capitalist yoke" were permitted to do. How are the Russians to ward off the stormy winds of freedom that are blowing from the African jungle, not to speak of those from Europe, at the border of their prison of nations, or, for that matter, to shut the door to the influence of the ideas inspiring the Vietcong struggle, be it even in their own distorted interpretation? And even if they should succeed in silencing the poet, in taking away the brush from the painter, or in breaking the chisel of the sculptor — would it be of any value, in the long run? Never! Ideas are duty-free, and the deepest longings of the human soul, to freely reveal itself in a creative form, cannot be suffocated! The new wave of terror directed against the intellectual elite of Ukraine does not at all mean the strangling of Ukraine's revolutionary elite, which is using other forms and methods to bring about the total annihilation of the empire and the regime.

Moscow has arrested those men who openly, indeed, within the permitted limits of the fictitious constitution, fought for the most elementary rights of Ukraine, namely, for the preservation of Ukrainian culture, the Ukrainian language, for the elementary freedom of creative expression, which has become an inviolable human right, even of African Negro peoples.

Such human rights, which are vouchsafed to an un-educated native of one of the African countries, are not ceded to the creators of high values of one of the oldest and culturally most highly developed nations, namely, Ukraine. This is proved by the arrest and condemnation of such men as Prof. Svitlychny, the critic Dziuba, and the recently sentenced Ukrainian scientists, poets, artists, writers and students, who were not only forbidden to express themselves in the Ukrainian spirit, but even to write cultural works in Ukrainian. And in the face of this, there are people in the West, who regard this colony of Russia called the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, as a "Ukrainian state!" In this "Ukrainian state" — as we learn — the accused requested to have their indictment read in Ukrainian instead of Russian. Must not such autonomy be regarded as an insult?

It wasn't too long ago, that we received the news that a group of Ukrainian lawyers, relying on the provisions of the articles of the state constitution of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR, planned to submit a motion to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR calling for the separation of the Ukrainian SSR from the USSR. This plan was betrayed to the KGB, however, and on the day before the sitting of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, the KGB arrested all those who had taken part in this plan, as a matter of fact, all those who had knowledge of this plan — both lawyers and non-lawyers. The arrested have not been heard of since that day. The information concerning this matter is sparse; however, it is reported that a number of the arrested have already been shot, while others

have been confined to mental institutions. The rest are said to be confined in a highly secret concentration camp in the vicinity of Potma in the Mordva Autonomous Republic. The world has never received any news from this concentration camp in which the men most dangerous to the empire and the regime, who for one reason or another have not yet been liquidated, are imprisoned. This should be a lesson to the people who are of the opinion, that through so-called liberalization of the tyranny, controlled by the tyrants themselves — a contradiction in itself by the way — lies a possible path to liberation.

However, it would be false to dispute the virtue of personal courage of the Kyiv lawyers, for they were certainly well aware of the risk they were incurring. Notwithstanding their excellent knowledge of the complete mendacity of the Russian "law", they dared, at least in this form, to proclaim the will to a separate life and the right of the nation to such a life.

Here abroad, in any case, it is our duty to defend the right of our people to a sovereign life, and especially to defend *the right of our cultural workers and our creators of cultural values to express themselves freely. Man has been fighting for this right for centuries and is still fighting for it, and it has always been a measure of his development. As a being created in God's image, this has been given to Man as his most holy right. Without this right, Man simply cannot exist, and it is precisely this eminence that Moscow wants to destroy.*

"Your croft alone still spoils our view;
Why does it stand upon your land
Without our leave? Why can we not
Throw you your bannocks as to dogs?
Why don't you, when all's said and done,
Pay excise duty on the sun?
That's all we ask!..."

(T. Shevchenko, *The Caucasus*.)

Translated by Vera Rich.)

Such were the Tsars and their accomplices; such was and such is Russia today, essentially unchangeable, tyrannical. The Bolsheviks, those alleged enemies of Tsardom, follow in the footsteps of their predecessors — "Painting and writing is prohibited!"* — The restrictions they impose on our creative writers today are the same as those imposed by the Tsars — indeed, much worse... Mental institutions for people who seek truth in a scientific or artistic form — that is an Orenburg or Orsk fortress,** but of a diabolical order. The inspired poet and painter Taras Shevchenko was punished to 10 years service as a soldier in a convict company. Today, in the

*) As for the greatest Ukrainian 19th C. poet, T. Shevchenko.

***) Where Shevchenko was imprisoned.

language of the Muscovite instigators, it would mean the hell of a Mordovian concentration camp or the ward number 7 of an insane asylum. In a letter, Tarsis called upon the world to direct its special attention to the cultural and artistic creators, who are presently being confined in large numbers in the insane asylums of the USSR. Imprisonment in the asylums was an invention by that darling of western progressives — Nikita Khrushchov!

On the one hand, the criminal policies of the Muscovite tyrants with respect to the present cultural workers in Ukraine and all the other subjugated peoples should be analysed and held up to public scorn; on the other hand, however, wide-spread and far-reaching mass protest actions on the part of the Ukrainian community and the other subjugated peoples in emigration, but, above all, of the intellectual and political circles of the free world, must be initiated. The broad possibilities of such actions were recently set forth in an ABN protest Resolution, with particular reference to the strengthening of the cultural-political front. This plan must now be realized step by step. It is especially imperative that scientific, cultural and artistic institutions in the West work out a protest declaration, which should be signed by them and by hundreds of intellectuals of the Free World. The solidarity with the aspirations of the Ukrainian creators of cultural values, as well as of the creative people of other subjugated nations, for complete freedom of creative expression, must be stressed in this declaration.

It is absolutely necessary that the avant-gard writers among the free peoples declare their solidarity with the aspirations of their colleagues in Ukraine, denounce terror in Ukraine and in other countries, and condemn the Russification of culture, language and other native peculiarities. An appeal of our cultural workers in the Free World to the defenders of Ukrainian culture and its native originality is also of supreme importance. The appeal should not be addressed to men like Korotych and Tychyna, however, but to those cultural creators who do not submit, to give moral support to their strivings for uncontaminated cultural values.

In this protest appeal it is also absolutely necessary to have the signatures of the most outstanding Western scientists, artists, writers, poets, and cultural workers in general. And this protest memorandum should be submitted to the proper international organizations, but especially to the United Nations and the International Jurist Commission in Geneva, with the intent of prompting these organizations to investigate and denounce these illegal practices. Student organizations must enlighten the students of the Free World concerning the men and women in Ukraine who are fighting for the most sacred rights of individuals and nations. In this matter youth organizations must speak up against Soviet practices, either separately or jointly. It is also imperative that Ukrainian political parties in

the free world take part in this action. Silence is no answer. It is also of the utmost importance that our entire Ukrainian community and our youth organize street demonstrations with protest placards, especially before Bolshevik diplomatic missions. They must also appeal to wide circles of Western society with appropriate calls for support. This was done with great success by the Ukrainian community in Canada, on the initiative of the League for the Liberation of Ukraine in Ottawa, and by the Ukrainian community in Great Britain on the occasion of Kosygin's visit in February 1967.

The successful action of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Canada and the United States, as well as of the Association of Ukrainian Cultural Workers of North America, must be praised. This action was initiated by Prof. Dr. Vertyporoch, Dr. M. Kushnir, Dr. B. Stebelsky and Prof. Dr. S. Halamay.

The Union of Ukrainians in France has initiated a laudable action in collecting signatures of prominent people in Western Europe under an appeal in defence of Ukraine's rights.

It is to be hoped that widest circles of the Western intellectual world will come to the defence of the persecuted, imprisoned and perhaps also liquidated fighters for Ukrainian national independence and originality of Ukrainian culture, for in this way they would defend their own national heritage.

L. A. DORN (Rome)

THE GREAT MARTYR

On February 17, 1967, Cardinal Joseph Slipyi
celebrated his 75th birthday

"So much is said about complete sacrifice for Christ. He who is poetically inclined can write beautiful verses on this subject, and such poetic utterances are listened to with appreciation. But when it gets serious, when prose follows upon poetry, then there are only a few who take up Christ's Cross and follow him. When one is abused and slandered, when one is treated like a thief and malefactor, when one is spat upon, beaten, ridiculed, when one must endure hunger and cold, is draped solely in rags and torn shoes on his feet, when one cannot wash himself for weeks on end and when one is completely deserted — then is the time to say: "*Hic Rhodos, hic salta!*" (which is to say: Now you must prove what you are made of! — *The Editors*). But if such a person is firmly convinced of the existence of God and of Christ, and if he has faith in divine providence, then he will bear all this with tranquillity; for God's help in such cases is wonderful."

There are only a few who can back up such words with the persuasive power of their own shining example. The tall, emaciated man with the stubbly hair and the white-greyish beard can. The alumni of the Ukrainian Catholic seminary in Rome who were given an insight into the fundamental meaning of an unshakeable faith with these words on March 24, 1963, were not a little impressed. Before them was standing the Lviv Metropolitan, who had just been released from banishment in Siberian labour camps.

It is a danger — he warned the alumni — to want to be ordained as a priest, unless one has this fundamental conviction. For a priest “could easily find himself today in wholly atheistic surroundings, in which the prevailing majority denounces, at least externally, the existence of God, denies every religion and labels the priests deceived ones and deceivers, good-for-nothings and enemies of the people.”

Fifty years ago, Joseph Kobernytskyi-Dychkovskyi Slipyi, from Zazdrist in the district of Terebovka, West Ukraine, was confronted with an entirely different problem in his own path to priesthood. He dreamed of a scholarly career at the university, and held the priesthood to be incompatible with this. At the Jesuit “Canisianum” in Innsbruck at the age of 20, however, he was set right. On September 30, 1917, he was ordained as a priest by his archbishop and paternal friend, Andrey Sheptytskyi, who had great ambitions for him in the compass of his far-reaching plans and activities at the head of a blossoming church.

At first, the Metropolitan Count Sheptytskyi of Lviv, let the young priest follow his own inclination — scholarship. In 1918, Slipyi was awarded the degree of Ph.D. of theology in Innsbruck, on the basis of his dissertation on “The conception of eternal life according to the Gospel of John.” Two years later he acquired the right to hold academic lectures, also in Innsbruck, on the basis of his work on “The doctrine of the Trinity according to the Byzantine Patriarch Photios.” Two years of study followed in Rome, at the “Angelicum”, at the Oriental Institute and at the Gregoriana Papal University. In 1922, Slipyi returned to Lviv as a professor of theology at the Lviv seminary, of which he was made rector three years later. Another three years elapsed and Metropolitan Sheptytskyi filled a noble desire of the young scholar and founded the Theological Academy, which, under its first rector, Slipyi, soon made a name for itself in the entire Christian world of the Orient. This was also the case with the “Scientific-Theological Society”, which, under Slipyi’s leadership, published a theological quarterly *Bohoslovia*. Approximately 130 books and articles bear additional witness to his personal creative power at that time; the thematic material of these books and articles embrace an unusually wide range of subjects: in addition

to publications on theology, philosophy, liturgy and canonical law, there are literary and artistic works, as well as travel reports on England, the Holy Land and Sicily.

Advancing age and the uncertain danger at the beginning of World War II, made it appear appropriate to Metropolitan Sheptytskyi to initiate Slipyi into the "second half" of his priesthood: the successful scholar was to carry on the extensive work of the pastorate. On the Metropolitan's request, Pius XII named Slipyi as the Metropolitan's coadjutor having the right of successor, in a bull dated November 25, 1939. Sheptytskyi himself consecrated his successor as a bishop on December 22 of the same year — in secret, for Soviet functionaries ruled the country.

"I could not refuse the episcopate", Msgr. Slipyi wrote to a friend in Switzerland in 1942, to whom he also described the conditions under which he received his new office: "...for in times of persecution the episcopate is not an honour, but primarily a burden. At that time, during the occupation, I used to ask myself while preparing for bed, whether I would wake up and still be free on the next morning. And the words of the prophet Isaiah would come to mind: "Days will come in which we will await the evening with heavy hearts, and at dusk, we will await the morning in trembling."

On November 1, 1944, Andrey Count Sheptytskyi died. Joseph Slipyi replaced him as Ukrainian Catholic archbishop and Metropolitan of Lviv at a dark moment of history. His church embraced more than five million believers and was thus the largest of all Uniate Churches; but the country had become sovietized and Moscow was determined to liquidate the Uniate Church. From the very beginning the new Metropolitan was forbidden to come into contact with his clergy and his flock. Little by little the greater part of the clergy were arrested; on the night of April 11, 1945, all bishops met with the same fate. A "synod" staged by Moscow in Lviv in 1946, announced the reunification of the Ukrainian Catholic to the Russian Orthodox Church (which did not exist in West Ukraine). Together with the other bishops, Metropolitan Slipyi was deported; in Kyiv he was sentenced to eight years forced labour.

This was the beginning of his martyrdom, which — with three additional sentences — brought him through many Siberian concentration camps.

Under the pressure of world public opinion, he was released during the Second Vatican Council. On February 9, 1963, Metropolitan Slipyi arrived in Rome, accompanied by Jan Willebrands, the Secretary of the Vatican Secretariat for Christian Unity.

...Many martyrs have come out of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Of his "native" hierarchy, Slipyi is the only one who escaped with his life. But his suffering, his sacrifice, is not yet over.

When Metropolitan Joseph Slipyi was released and later arrived in Rome, his name was on everybody's lips. On December 23, 1963, as the Pope invested him with the title of Great Archbishop (a title which to date had not been conferred upon anyone), the Kremlin expressed its disapproval by pointing out that the Ukrainian Uniate Church no longer existed. On February 22, 1965, when the Pope conferred the cardinal's purple on the Metropolitan and Great Archbishop Slipyi, the Christian world regarded it as a well-deserved honour, and even Moscow said nothing. Indicatively, Slipyi chose the heraldic motto: "*Per aspera ad astra*" (Through night to light).

For the "politicians" of the Holy See who represent and practise a "soft policy" towards the Communist-governed countries, Slipyi's presence, of course — in terms of everything that he has suffered — must present a "personal" hindrance. For that reason, he was "put on ice" in the living quarters of the arch-priest of St. Peter in the Vatican. ...After spending almost 18 years in Siberia, he proved equal to this new challenge of sacrifice in the Vatican. He lived and continues to live a quiet life in his Vatican domicile, and seeks, with the same quietness, to fulfill the task of head pastor of the Ukrainian Catholic Church: "to get hold" of his church and to reorganize it. One of his most urgent requests is for a Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate. He made repeated efforts to achieve this in the Council.

But even now that he is free, one sees more and more that he is a martyr and victim of his Church. ...The enemies of the Ukrainian Catholic Church seek to sabotage and to frustrate his functioning. On Easter Sunday 1936, Cardinal Slipyi formulated this in his address in St. Peter's: They "make the efforts to create a Ukrainian Catholic patriarchate appear absurd. They do everything in their power to undermine the idea of the establishment of a Ukrainian Catholic University in Rome. They go so far as to forge the signatures of the highest Ukrainian princes of the church to make these princes of the church appear ridiculous. These people come here like Judas and give the fraternal kiss to conceal their betrayal. They circulate false reports to disinform and to lead the Ukrainian emigration astray."

In his homilies Slipyi often refers to Judas and he stresses that no bishop can do anything about the fact that among his clergy a Judas is occasionally to be found. For it was Christ's behest that every person and also every priest should have a free will. Only prayer, example and sacrifice remain to the bishop.

In Ukraine, Cardinal Slipyi was subjected to great suffering for Christ. Under the most dire circumstances in Siberia, he was also an outstanding example, not only for his dearly beloved Ukrainian people and his Church, but for Christianity as a whole and for God-fearing humanity as a whole.

Igor Peter SHANKOVSKY

Department of Slavonic Languages and Literatures,
The University of Alberta.

Vasyl Symonenko and His Background

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Preface

The primary incentive in compiling data for this dissertation has been a desire to grant well-deserved credit to a young Soviet Ukrainian poet who died of cancer at the age of 28. In selecting a method of development of this topic I have decided to include information on his background and environment, without which it would be difficult to determine the proper place of this poet within the framework of Soviet Ukrainian literature.

Indeed, the excessive amount of contradictory material available on this topic and the necessity of editing and evaluating it has been one of the greatest difficulties faced by the author of this dissertation. Most of the sources dealing with contemporary Soviet Ukrainian literature are also of a highly subjective nature. Under these conditions it has been difficult to select a method for the classification of the writers discussed within the limitations of this work.

However, the facts brought out in this dissertation may indeed be of interest to the literary historian, to the researcher of Soviet literary developments, and to the sociologist.

This is also the first major work on the young poet. His name is Vasyl' Symonenko.

Vasyl' Symonenko within the Framework of Soviet Ukrainian Literature

Vasyl' Symonenko belongs to Soviet Ukrainian literature written and published in the USSR. This type of Ukrainian literature must be distinguished from Ukrainian emigré literature written and

published in exile. If some works were written in exile and published in the USSR, they, nevertheless, do not belong to Soviet Ukrainian literature. The works of Volodymyr Vynnychenko¹ (1880-1951) who, while living abroad, was partly a supporter of the Soviet regime, and whose novels and dramas were published in the Soviet Ukraine during 1920s, do not belong to Soviet Ukrainian literature.

In addition to Soviet Ukrainian literature and Ukrainian emigré literature, during the period between two world wars there also existed a West Ukrainian literature, written and published on the Ukrainian territories incorporated into Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia. All these territories belong at present to the Ukrainian SSR, with the exception of some peripheral regions which still belong to Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia.

Works of West Ukrainian writers published between the two world wars were regarded from the Soviet point of view either as "nationalist-bourgeois" or "progressive-proletarian." If, however, the nationalist-bourgeois writers were able to accommodate themselves to Soviet demands or were able to undergo a compulsory or voluntary "socialist reconstruction" — they are now officially counted among the Soviet Ukrainian writers.

In the most recent and the most complete source available for the investigation of the Soviet Ukrainian literary process², West Ukrainian writer Yurii Shkrumelyak³ (1895-1964) is listed among Soviet Ukrainian writers despite his "nationalist-bourgeois" past⁴.

The West Ukrainian writers who in the 1920s and early 1930s gathered around the publications *Novi Shlyakhy*, *Vikna* and *Kul'tura* were open admirers of the Soviet Ukraine and later went to the Ukrainian SSR, only to perish there⁵ as "capitalist spies." Most of the writers of this group were "rehabilitated" posthumously after Stalin's death and are mentioned in *Dictionary IV-V*. Among them were Ivan

1) "Vynnychenko", *Ukrains'ka Radyans'ka Entsyklopediya*, II, 371-372.

2) *Ukrains'ki pys'mennyky. Bio-bibliohrafichnyi slovnyk*, I, O. I. Bilets'kyi (ed.), XI-XVIII cc., Kiev — 1960; II, Ye. P. Kyrylyuk (ed.), XIX — early XX cc., A-M, Kiev — 1963; III, P. K. Volyns'kyi (ed.), XIX — early XX cc., M-Ya, Kiev — 1963; IV, L. M. Novychenko (ed.), Soviet Ukrainian writers, A-K, Kiev — 1965; V, S. A. Kryzhanivs'kyi (ed.), Soviet Ukrainian writers, M-Ya, Kiev — 1965. The first three volumes published by "Derzhavne vydavnytstvo Khudozhnoi Literatury"; the last two by vyd-vo Khudozhnoi Literatury "Dnipro." From here on this source will be quoted as *Dictionary* with indication of the volume and page number.

3) *Dictionary V*, 779-780.

4) "Shkrumelyak", *Ukrains'ka Radyans'ka Entsyklopediya*, XVI, 343.

5) Volodymyr Radzykevych, *Istoriya Ukrains'koï Literatury* (5th ed.), III (Nova doba), vyd-vo "Bat'kivshchyna", Detroit — 1956, 122.

Krushel'nyts'kyi⁶ (1905-1934), Vasyl' Bobyns'kyi⁷ (1898-1938) and Canadian-Ukrainian writers of similar orientation such as Myroslav Irchan⁸ (1897-1937) and Lutsiana Piontek⁹ (1899-1937). However, there is no separate entry in the corresponding volume of *Dictionary* for the "leader" of this group Antin Krushel'nyts'kyi¹⁰ (1878-?¹¹), who was a noted novelist¹² and perished after coming to the Ukrainian SSR.

If we are to accept the definition that Soviet Ukrainian literature is the literature written in the Ukrainian language and published in the Ukrainian SSR, some works also being written in pre-Soviet times, then we must agree that Soviet Ukrainian literature is the literature of modern times (1920-1966). During this period Soviet Ukrainian literature ran a truly erratic course. To study this course is to walk an endless labyrinth of contradicting sources which are scattered wide apart, their guidance quite insufficient and, more often than not — unreliable. It is expected, therefore, that if any conclusions are to be made on this course, much of it should be done in this dissertation.

Born and educated in the Ukrainian SSR, Vasyl' Symonenko preserves consciously or sub-consciously the accumulated experiences of other Soviet Ukrainian writers. Here we have to distinguish the collective experience of Soviet Ukrainian writers, the experience of Soviet Ukrainian literature, and the *individual* experience of Soviet Ukrainian writers. Such a distinction should be made not only with regard to their creative activities and the various psychological attitudes which these activities must imply, but also with regard to the broad facts of the political and social history of Ukraine.

In the broad sense, Soviet Ukrainian literature has been an innovatory continuation of the Ukrainian literature of the XIX and early XX centuries. Throughout the XIX and early XX centuries Ukrainian literature was the only means of expression for national ideas. Not a single Ukrainian school existed in the Tsarist Russia. Together with the theatre, Ukrainian literature was the only vehicle for national ideas and also a potent instrument of education in the national spirit. In this sense the broad facts of Ukrainian literary history are not inter-connected in various styles and genres but are united in the development of the national mind itself.

⁶) *Dictionary* IV, 814-815.

⁷) *Ibid.*, 110-113.

⁸) *Ibid.*, 583-593.

⁹) *Dictionary* V, 299-300.

¹⁰) Father of Ivan Krushel'nyts'kyi, see *Dictionary* IV, 814-815.

¹¹) In *Ukrains'ka Radyans'ka Entsyklopediya*, VII, 445, Antin Krushel'nyts'kyi is mentioned: in this source his date of death is quoted as November 13, 1941. However, in Volodymyr Radzykevych's *Istoriya Ukrains'koï Literatury* (5th ed.), III (Nova doba), vyd-vo "Bat'kivshchyna", Detroit — 1956, 122, his date of death is quoted as 1934: "liquidated along with sons."

¹²) *Ibid.*

There is conclusive evidence of how the Ukrainian national mind reached full growth during a century. Some 120 years ago, the national prophet Taras Shevchenko¹³ (1814-1861) preached in the desert called "Little Russia." In 1863, two years after Shevchenko's death, the Russian Minister of the Interior, Count P. O. Valuyev declared that "there never has been, there is not, and there never will be any separate 'Little Russian' language."¹⁴ Russian Slavophiles, through their spokesman Mikhail Nikiforovich Katkov¹⁵ (1818-1887), dubbed the Ukrainian movement a "Polish intrigue." Yet in the Soviet census of 1959, 30,072,000 people in the Soviet Ukraine contested Count Valuyev's contention by declaring both their language and nationality as Ukrainian. These Ukrainians by language and nationality constituted 72% of the total population of the Ukrainian SSR¹⁶. In addition there were 2,075,000 Ukrainians who listed their nationality as Ukrainian and "other language" as their native tongue. Altogether there were 32,158,000 Ukrainians living in the Ukrainian SSR in 1959, and they contributed 76.8% of Ukraine's population.¹⁷

The urbanization of Ukraine is a very recent process, and one of its most important results is that the Ukrainians now constitute a majority in the cities of the Ukrainian SSR. Thus, in his prediction of 1863, Count Valuyev proved to be entirely *wrong*. He failed to foresee that restrictions imposed by him and later by the *Ems Ukase* of 1876 on Ukrainian literature¹⁸, would not only fail to stifle the Ukrainian literary revival, but would transform it into a Ukrainian movement for liberation.

In fact, the national revival in literature, culture, and political thought during the XIX and early XX centuries was the starting point in the formative process of Ukrainian nationalism. Conceived first as a feeling of distinct Ukrainian national individuality and then as an awareness of the differences between Ukraine and Russia in all major factors such as literary, historical and cultural tradition, social and economic order and religious outlook, it developed in later stages into a consciousness of belonging to Western Europe and its

¹³ Our source, *Dictionary* III, 609-740.

¹⁴ "Valuyevs'kyi tsyrkular 1863", *Ukraïns'ka Radyans'ka Entsyklopediya*, II, 207.

¹⁵ "Katkov", *Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya* (2nd ed.), XX, 372.

¹⁶ V. Kubijovyč, "The National Groups on the Ukrainian Ethnic Territory", *Ukraine. A Concise Encyclopaedia*, (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1963), I, 224.

¹⁷ V. Kubijovyč, "The National Groups on the Ukrainian Ethnic Territory", *Ukraine. A Concise Encyclopaedia*, (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1963), I, 223 and 225.

¹⁸ "Ems'kyi akt 1876", *Ukraïns'ka Radyans'ka Entsyklopediya*, IV, 487.

civilization. It must be stressed that many Ukrainian writers without distinction as to their political convictions, discussed the problem of whether Ukraine belonged to Europe or to Russian Eurasia, and it is interesting to point out that both the Ukrainian Communist Mykola Khvyľ'ovyi¹⁹ (1893-1933) and the Ukrainian anti-communist Yurii Lypa²⁰ (1900-1944) reached the same conclusions unanimously. Both regarded "freedom-loving" and Europeanized Rus'-Ukraine and "despotic" Muscovy-Russia as two distinct worlds.²¹

It cannot be denied that the Revolution (1917), the Ukrainian War of Liberation (1918-1921) and the shortlived independence of the Ukrainian National Republic were powerful stimuli for the further development of the Ukrainian national mind. The very best documentation of the spirit of national and social liberation up to the present day is the famous poem "Zoloty homin"²² by the present maître of Soviet Ukrainian poetry Pavlo Tychyna²³ (1891-). This poem, like many other poems by Tychyna published in his two early books *Sonyashni klyarnety* (The Sun's Clarinets, 1918) and *Zamist' sonetiv i oktav* (Instead of the Sonnets and Octaves, 1920)²⁴, will long remain the most innovatory in style and most poetic and sensitive depiction of Ukraine's national revolution in literature.

The Ukrainian War of Liberation was lost, but not entirely. It forced a Soviet Russian policy in the Soviet Ukraine and that policy was to acquiesce in the existence of what they have claimed to be a "sovereign and independent Ukrainian SSR." Frustrated in their ultimate goal, the Ukrainian people seemed at first to have secured a large measure of independence within the framework of Soviet Eurasia. Among other things, this measure of independence was employed in carrying on the struggle for the unfettered development of Ukrainian literature.

19) *Dictionary* does not present a separate entry for Mykola Khvyľ'ovyi, as though he never existed. Probably best work covering Ukrainian literature in the 1920s and Mykola Khvyľ'ovyi in the English language is by George S. N. Luckyj, *Literary Politics in the Soviet Ukraine, 1917-1934*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956). On Khvyľ'ovyi see: *Ibid.*, 65-74, 82-84, 93-100, 211-213, 232-235 and *passim*.

20) Bohdan Kravtsiv (ed., comp.), *Obirvani struny. Antolohiya poezii*, publ. by "Naukove Tovarystvo im. Shevchenka v Amerytsi", New York — 1955, 284.

21) Khvyľ'ovyi's views have been exhibited in the above quoted work by George S. N. Luckyj; Lypa's views in his Ukrainian works: *Pryznachennya Ukraïny* (1938, 1953), *Chornomors'ka doktryna* (1940, 1942, 1947), and *Rozpodil Rosii* (1941).

22) Yurii Lavrinenko (ed., comp.), *Rozstrilyane vidrodzhennya. Antolohiya 1917-1933*, publ. by "Instytut Literacki", München — 1959, 22-27.

23) *Dictionary V*, 586-619.

24) Yurii Lavrinenko (ed., comp.), *Rozstrilyane vidrodzhennya. Antolohiya 1917-1933*, publ. by "Instytut Literacki", München — 1959, 15-18.

Though many Ukrainian writers emigrated during the Ukrainian War of Liberation (Oleksander Oles', 1878-1944²⁵; Mykola Voronyi, 1871-1942²⁶; Volodymyr Samiilenko, 1864-1925²⁷; etc.), nationally-minded writers continued to dominate the Ukrainian literary scene at the time of Soviet seizure of power in Ukraine. Some of the writers exhibited *Borot'bist*²⁸ and Communist orientation, but their national feeling was unmistakably Ukrainian.

However the years of War Communism, connected with the constant struggle against Ukrainian insurgents in the countryside, could not provide for the development of Ukrainian literature. The struggle against Ukrainian insurgency claimed a victim from among the elder well-known Ukrainian poets, Hryhor Chuprynka²⁹ (1879-1921). He was shot in 1921 as a member of *Vsepovstankom*.³⁰

The subsequent years of the New Economic Policy (NEP)³¹ brought about a relaxation of the regime, and this became a powerful impetus to the development of Ukrainian literature. Not only were old groups revived (Futurists, Symbolists, Neoclassicists, etc.), but new groups were appearing in rapid succession on the literary scene.³² Literary output was larger in this period than ever before, and the

²⁵ Maksym Ryl's'kyi, "Poeziya O. Olesya", Oleksander Oles', *Poezii*, in the series "Biblioteka poeta." "Radyans'kyi pys'mennyk", Kiev — 1964, 11.

²⁶ Bohdan Kravtsiv (ed., comp.), *Obirvani struny. Antolohiya poezii*, publ. by "Naukove Tovarystvo im. Shevchenka v Amerytsi", New York — 1955, 26.

²⁷ "Samiilenko", *Ukrains'ka Radians'ka Entsyklopediya*, XII, 502; V. Samiilenko, *Tvory*, Kiev, 1958.

²⁸ *Borot'bists*, called so from their party organ, *Borot'ba*, were left-wing Ukrainian Socialist-Revolutionaries who in the War of Liberation sided with the Bolsheviks against the Ukrainian national government. In 1920 the *Borot'bists*, after collision with and warfare against the Communist Party, were dissolved as a unit and forced in great majority to join the Communist Party of Ukraine (the Bolsheviks), giving the Communist Party several able leaders, like Oleksander Shums'kyi, Hryhorii Hryn'ko, Mykola Poloz, etc. The literary figure among the *Borot'bist* writers was Vasyl' Ellan-Blakytynyi (1893-1925) who played a great role in Soviet literary policies in the Soviet Ukraine. See more on that in George S. N. Luckyj, *Literary Politics in the Soviet Ukraine, 1917-1934*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), 38-39, 59, 127, 192, 251-252, and in the Soviet source: "Borot'bysty", *Ukrains'ka Radians'ka Entsyklopediya*, II, 54-55.

²⁹ Bohdan Kravtsiv (ed., comp.), *Obirvani struny. Antolohiya poezii*, publ. by "Naukove Tovarystvo im. Shevchenka v Amerytsi", New York — 1955, 54.

³⁰ *Ibid.* *Vsepovstankom* — Central Insurgent Committee, 39 members of which along with Hryhor Chuprynka were executed on August 28, 1921 by the Bolsheviks.

³¹ V. A. Dyadychenko, F. Ye. Los', V. Ye. Spyt's'kyi; Prof. K. K. Dubyna, Prof. I. S. Dzyubko and Prof. F. Ye. Los' (eds.), *Istoriya Ukrains'koï RSR, Vyd-vo Kyïvs'koho universytetu*, Kiev — 1965, 294-299.

³² B. S. Buryak and others (eds.), *Istoriya Ukrains'koï Radyans'koï Literatury, Vyd-vo "Naukova dumka"*, Kiev — 1964, 62-66, 69-83. Hereafter this source will be quoted as *Istoriya* with indication of page number.

literary quality of many works showed at least a tendency towards bringing Ukrainian literature to a higher level. It was truly a national renaissance of arts and letters, a remarkable period in the intellectual history of Ukraine.

This renaissance was, however, doomed to destruction, for the seeds of destruction were planted within the very Ukrainian literary growth it bore. Not only was the volume of literary output larger and its quality higher and steadily growing in this period, but also the interrelation of Ukrainian literature with the increasingly complex political and social life in the USSR was becoming more and more complicated. The result was that many and painful sacrifices had to be made by Ukrainian literature. The period ended abruptly with a *pogrom*, and the renaissance, aptly referred to as the "fusilladed renaissance" was never to be forgotten in Ukrainian literary history.³³

The Ukrainian national revival in the Soviet Ukraine was "fusilladed" by Moscow because it was considered to be a serious threat to the rising totalitarian dictatorship of Stalin and his dependence on Russian great power chauvinism and nationalism. Indeed it coincided with the general tendencies of "building socialism in one country" which led to increased party control over literature. In 1932 all literary associations were abolished and by the order of the Central Committee of the CPSU (the Bolsheviks) issued on April 23, 1932, united into one "Spilka Radyans'kykh Pys'mennykiv Ukraïny" ("Union of Soviet Writers of Ukraine").³⁴ Soon after this the official conformity of "socialist realism" followed and Stalin, like Lenin today, became the main topic in many a creation. A very dark period began. A. A. Zhdanov³⁵ (1896-1948) was appointed by the Communist Party to maintain overall supervision in literature and Spilka Radyans'kykh Pys'mennykiv Ukraïny became only a branch of the central Union.³⁶ The main literary features of *Zhdanovshchyna* in literature consisted of idealization of the Communist Party, exultations over the "socialist construction", and idealization of Stalin. Extreme chauvinism as well as xenophobia were preached, while "bourgeois-nationalist" deviations and cosmopolitanism were sharply denounced. It was during this period that Russians were proclaimed and upheld as the "elder brothers" of all Soviet peoples.

It was also during this dark period that Vasyl' Symonenko was born to a farmer's family in the village of Biyivka in Poltava

33) Yurii Lavrinenko (ed., comp.), *Rozstrilyane vidrozhennya. Antolohiya 1917-1933*, publ. by "Instytut Literacki", München — 1959. This work contains profiles of 40 writers and their selected works.

34) *Istoriya*, 169.

35) "Zhdanov", *Ukraïns'ka Radyans'ka Entsyklopediya*, V, 47-48.

36) *Istoriya*, 172-176.

Province in 1935.³⁷ Almost nothing is known about his childhood, with the exception of the fact that he had lost his father in his very early childhood.³⁸

In the meantime the drab literary reality in the Soviet Ukraine was temporarily interrupted by the Second World War and the atmosphere again became somewhat relaxed. It was during this period that Maksym Ryl's'kyi wrote his poem *Zhaha* (Thirst), Pavlo Tychyna his "Pokhoron druha" (A Friend's Funeral) and Volodymyr Sosyura his "Lyubit' Ukrainu" (Love Ukraine).³⁹ But in 1946 party controls were re-established by Zhdanov in an even more rigorous form. Zhdanov was joined by L. Kaganovich⁴⁰ in an onslaught directed not only against Ukrainian nationalism but also against "cosmopolitanism".⁴¹ As late as 1951 the popular Soviet Ukrainian poet Volodymyr Sosyura was denounced in the press for his love of the "eternal" Ukraine.⁴²

Immediately after Stalin's death some works in Ukrainian literature like Oleksander Kornichuk's *Kryla* (Wings)⁴³ and in Russian literature Ilya Ehrenburg's *Ottepel'* (The Thaw)⁴⁴ aroused expectations in the West of changes in all fields of Soviet life, including, of course, literature.⁴⁵ It is possible that among the many factors which brought about the relaxation in the USSR and the consequent "destalinization" and denunciation of the "personality cult" were the strikes and uprisings in Soviet concentration camps which occurred during 1953-1956. In at least one instance such an opinion has been supported by an impartial foreign source.⁴⁶

37) *Dictionary* V, 432.

38) Mykola Som, "Slovo pro Vasylya Symonenka", Vasyly' Symonenko, *Zemne tyazhinnya*, vyd-vo "Molod", Kiev — 1964, 3-6.

39) *Dictionary* does not list Sosyura's poem "Lyubit' Ukrainu", written in 1944. Sosyura was persecuted for this poem and wrote a retraction of it in *Pravda*. Later this was considered an abuse of the "cult of personality" and the poem itself was reinstated as "patriotic." See Stepan Kryzhaniv's'kyi, *Khudozhni vidkrytya*, vyd-vo "Radyans'kyi pys'mennyk", Kiev — 1965, 133.

40) *Istoriya*, 357.

41) *Istoriya*, 357.

42) Yurii Lavrinenko (ed., comp.), *Rozstrilyane vidrodzhennya. Antolohiya 1917-1933*, publ. by "Instytut Literacki", München — 1959, 168.

43) *Dictionary* IV, 710.

44) "Ehrenburg", *Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya* (2nd ed.), IL, 149.

45) Vera Alexandrova, "On the Literary Front", *Problems of Communism*, III (July-August, 1954), 11-14; and Walter Z. Laqueur, "The 'Thaw' and After", *Ibid.*, V (January-February, 1956), 20-25.

46) See Alfred Burmeister, "The Silent Reform", *Encounter*, VI (April, 1956), 49-52; and Herbert Passin and Fritz van Briessen, "The Strike at Norilsk", *Ibid.*, 53-64. Both articles are parts of a discussion entitled "The End of Forced Labour?" by the editors of *Encounter*, an organ of British liberal opinion.

In addition Moscow-directed "thaw" stirrings against the dead-weights of socialist realism started to be felt in Ukraine immediately after the XX Congress in 1956.⁴⁷ Early in 1957 several writers like Andrii Malyshko⁴⁸ (1912-), Mykyta Shumylo⁴⁹ (1903-) and Vasyl' Shvets'⁵⁰ (1918-) were condemned for "deviations" and for an alleged inimical attitude to the "friendship of nations." In 1958 another wave of criticism was directed against Leonid Pervomais'kyi⁵¹ (1908-), Sava Holovanivs'kyi⁵² (1910-), Lina Kostenko⁵³ (1930-) and Vasyl' Symonenko. Finally the literature of the sixties emerged, of which Vasyl' Symonenko was an integral part. This movement will be discussed further on in this dissertation. At this point it is worthwhile noting that, being a part of all-Union cultural ferment "to broaden the horizons of socialist realism" it had, and continues to have until now, some specific Ukrainian traits. Like their predecessors in the National Revival Movement of the XIX century, the young Ukrainian intellectuals, writers of the sixties, are the spearhead of national emancipation. Being a product of the Soviet way of life, and having grown up and been educated in the communist environment, the *shestydesyatnyky* (the young writers of the 'sixties — *Ed.*) show a curiously strong commitment to Ukraine and Ukrainian national culture.⁵⁴

Whatever its aim may be, a history of literature must above all deal properly with writers. In order to find Vasyl' Symonenko's place within the framework of Soviet Ukrainian literature, it is also necessary to present a study of the men who created this literature.

At this point the role of literature has to be stressed again. It must be pointed out that in the Soviet Ukraine, as in all other republics of the USSR, intellectuals, writers, men of the theatre, in a word — cultural workers — are among the most respected members of Ukrainian society. The avidity with which literature is consumed in the Soviet Ukraine has few or no parallels in other countries. Among other things, poetry is in great demand in Ukraine and poets are among the most popular people, like the cinema artists in the West. Big crowds listen to the recitations of poetry in halls, parks, even basements; poets' autographs on their books of poetry are eagerly

47) "Komunistychna Partiya Ukraïny", *Ukraïns'ka Radyans'ka Entsyklopediya*, VII, 125-127.

48) *Dictionary V*, 68.

49) *Ibid.*, 800-801.

50) *Ibid.*, 761-762.

51) *Ibid.*, 262.

52) *Dictionary IV*, 299.

53) *Ibid.*, 771-772.

54) Jaroslaw Pelenski, "Recent Ukrainian Writing", *Survey*, 59 (April, 1966), 102-112.

sought. It is truly a pity that Ukrainian poetry has almost been unknown in the West.⁵⁵

My chief source for the presentation of the national and social composition of Soviet Ukrainian writers, has been the 5-volume *Dictionary*, mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. The last two volumes of the *Dictionary*, published in 1965, are devoted to Soviet Ukrainian writers. It should be noted, however, that some Ukrainian writers who started writing in the pre-Soviet period and *continued* their literary activities under the Soviets, are listed in the preceding volumes of the *Dictionary* dealing with Ukrainian literature of the XIX and XX centuries. These are the following:

Khrystyia Alchevs'ka (1882-1931), Kesar Bilylovs'kyi (1859-1934), Stepan Vasyľchenko (1879-1932), Mykola Voronyi (1871-1942), Hryts'ko Hryhorenko (Oleksandra Kosach, 1867-1924), Dniprova Chaika (Lyudmyla Vasylevs'ka, 1861-1927), Yakiv Zharko (1861-1933), Ahatanhel Kryms'kyi (1871-1942), Olena Pchilka (Ol'ha Kosach-Drahomanova, 1849-1930), Trokhym Romanchenko (1880-1930), Volodymyr Samiilenko (1864-1925), Mykola Chernyavs'kyi (1868-1946), Antin Shablenko (1872-1930), Lyubov Yanovs'ka (1861-1933).⁵⁶

A possible reason for their exclusion from Soviet Ukrainian literature might be their "nationalistic" works, for which at least two of them, Mykola Voronyi and Ahatanhel Kryms'kyi⁵⁷ perished through measures taken by Soviet "terror forces."

Biographies of these and many other writers included in the *Dictionary* show the truly tragic experiences of individual writers, unparalleled by the experiences of writers in any other country of the world with the exception perhaps of the short-lived period in Nazi Germany. The summary of these experiences, the collective experience of Soviet Ukrainian literature, has indeed been tragic. It is a miracle that on the basis of this experience a literature of the sixties could be born and a generation of poets like Vasyl' Symonenko could have appeared on the Soviet Ukrainian literary scene. This apparent miracle shows that what on the surface seems to be a totally dark age is in fact bursting through with the light of new hope.

The two volumes of the *Dictionary* dealing with Soviet Ukrainian writers list 530 Ukrainian writers whom editors and compilers of the *Dictionary* considered contributors to the Soviet literary process.

55) Only recently an anthology appeared in Canada, giving an outline of Ukrainian poetry. See: C. H. Andrusyshen and Watson Kirkconnell (comp., trans.), *The Ukrainian Poets 1189-1962*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963).

56) All these are listed in *Dictionary* II or III.

57) Mykola Voronyi has been mentioned in an earlier source; on Ahatanhel Kryms'kyi see: C. H. Andrusyshen and Watson Kirkconnell (comp., trans.), *The Ukrainian Poets 1189-1962*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), 270.

It is interesting to compare this data with other data published during Soviet times.

A Dictionary compiled by Khinkulov⁵⁸ in 1948 lists 253 writers of whom only 51 were listed by Leites and Yashek⁵⁹ in 1927. Kylymnyk's "Dovidnyk", published in 1960, lists 330 writers. Unlike Leites and Yashek, Kylymnyk had included those writing in Russian language.⁶⁰

In April 1958, *Literaturna hazeta*⁶¹ in Kiev published an article by the editor of the last volume of *Dictionary*, Stepan Kryzhaniv's'kyi, entitled "Pyatsot." The author stressed that at the time of his writing, the Writers' Union of the Soviet Ukraine had 500 members. The author stated also that by the end of World War II the Union had only 250 members, and that it was the *smallest* Union in the USSR as far as the percentage of writers in the total population of Union Republics was concerned.⁶²

Our source listed 530 writers, but 170 listed writers died before the *Dictionary* was published in 1965. This leaves 360 writers living at the time of publication. If one considers the fact that the *Dictionary* lists *only writers writing in Ukrainian*, the figure for living writers (360) is considerably higher than Kylymnyk's figure of 330 writers, listed in 1960. It proves that during the last five years many more Ukrainian writers who had fallen victim to Soviet persecution have been "rehabilitated" and restored to Soviet Ukrainian literature.

It is interesting to observe the editorial policy in omitting the Ukrainian writers from listing in the *Dictionary*. The following conclusions could be reached from a close investigation:

1. Along with poet Hryhor Chuprynka, already mentioned, the following pre-revolutionary writers were omitted: Mykola Filyans'kyi (1873-1938), Mykola Plevako (1890-1941), Maksym Lebid' (1889-1939), Mykhailo Mohylyans'kyi (1873-?), Klym Polishchuk (1891-?) and Volodymyr Yurynets' (1891-?).

2. Representatives of the national-liberal school in Ukrainian literature who were eliminated from the Ukrainian literary process by the trial of Spilka Vyzvolennya Ukraïny (Union for Liberation of Ukraine) in 1930 were omitted. The omission includes the prominent

⁵⁸) *Dictionary* V, 694-695.

⁵⁹) See: A. Leites and M. Yashek; S. Pylypenko (ed.), *Desyat' rokiv ukraïns'koï literatury, 1917-1927*, I and II, vyd-vo "Instytut Tarasa Shevchenka", Kharkiv — 1929.

⁶⁰) O. V. Kylymnyk (ed.), *Pys'mennyky Radyans'koï Ukraïny. Dovidnyk*, vyd-vo "Radyans'kyi pys'mennyk", Kiev — 1960. *Ibid.*, in Russian language, Kiev — 1960.

⁶¹) *Literaturna hazeta* — now *Literaturna Ukraïna*.

⁶²) Stepan Kryzhaniv's'kyi "Pyatsot", *Literaturna hazeta*, (April 25, 1958), citing: *Directory*, 106. Ivan Koshelivets', *Suchasna literatura v URSSR*, publ. by "Prolog", München — 1964, 27-28.

literary scholar and academician Serhii Yefremov (1876-?), Andrii Nikovs'kyi (1885-1942), Lyudmyla Staryts'ka-Chernyakhivs'ka (1868-1941), and Mykhailo Ivchenko (1890-1939).

3. Neither Mykola Khvylovyyi nor his followers, Ukrainian national communists, are mentioned, among them the prominent Ukrainian writers and literary critics: Yuliy Shpol (Yalovyyi, 1895-1934), Kost' Burevii (Edvard Strikha, 1888-1934), Ananii Lebid' (1898-?), Roman Shevchenko (?-1934), Andrii Richyts'kyi, and many others. Khvylovyyi committed suicide in 1933, others were shot or perished in Soviet concentration camps.

4. From the *Novi shlyakhy* group there is no separate entry for Antin Krushel'nyts'kyi, chief of the group and father of Ivan, as mentioned previously, and Roman Skazyns'kyi. There is the curious omission of a well-known West Ukrainian poet, Petro Karmans'kyi (1878-1956), who tried his best to submit his poetry to the demands of "socialist realism."

5. A score of writers were excluded from listing in the *Dictionary* for unknown reasons. For instance, Ukrainian neo-classicists Zerov and Fylypovych are listed, but the literary scholar and prominent poet Mykhailo Drai-Khmara (1889-1939) is not listed. West Ukrainian poet Ostap Luts'kyi (1883-1941) is omitted. Among prominent literary critics we do not find Borys Yakubs'kyi, there is also no mention of critics like Andrii Khvylyya or Samiilo Shchupak, who were helping the Soviets to "cleanse" Ukrainian literature from nationalism. Less prominent writers like Vasyl' Atamanyuk (1897-1939), Vasyl' Boiko (1892-1938), Arkadii Kazka (1890-1933), Mykhailo Lebedynets' (?-1934) and others are also omitted.

6. There is no mention of Ukrainian writers who at different times succeeded in escaping to the West, among them neo-classicist Yurii Klen (Oswald Burghardt, 1891-1947), Arkadii Lyubchenko (1899-1945), Teodosii Os'machka (1895-1962), Ivan Bahryanyi (1907-1963), Mykhailo Orest (1901-1963), Dokiya Humenna, Oleksa Vere-tenchenko and many others.⁶³

As a result of these policies and omissions from listings in the *Dictionary* for political reasons, it is evident that by *subordinating*

⁶³) There are many emigré sources about writers mentioned in my six categories. Soviet sources are scarce, since the "rehabilitating" process is slow and handles writers on an individual basis. Among the more outstanding works dealing with this subject are: *Anthologies* by Bohdan Kravtsiv and Yurii Lavrinenko mentioned previously; Yurii Luts'kyi (ed.), *Lehkosynnya dal'. Vapli-tyans'kyi zbirnyk*, vyd-vo "Prolog", München — 1963; "Literature" (N. Hlobenko, 'The Period Between the Two World Wars'), *Ukraine. Concise Encyclopaedia*, (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1963), I, 1043-1059, and many others. Soviet sources usually limit themselves to a foreword to the works of a rehabilitated author, where cautious remarks about his being "unjustly persecuted" can be found.

the editorial policies to political limitations, the editors failed to show the Soviet Ukrainian literary process in its complex entirety.

Soviet censorship withheld the data from the Ukrainian reader, but they are mistaken in their belief that the young Ukrainian generation knows next to nothing about the tragedy of their predecessors. In his "Granitni obelisky..." Vasyl' Symonenko described Ukraine as "the grave-yard of fusilladed illusions, where there is no more room for graves."⁶⁴

To elucidate the national and social structure of Soviet Ukrainian writers, we divide them into four generations of writers who are presently active in literature. In this we follow the initial method of Ivan Koshelivets' as presented in his recent work on Soviet Ukrainian literature.⁶⁵

The first generation of writers embraces those born in the last century. They entered Ukrainian literature prior to the Ukrainian War of Liberation or at the time of it.

The second generation of writers embraces those who were born between 1900 and 1910, and who entered Ukrainian literature in the twenties at the time of its great revival.

The third generation of writers embraces writers who were born between 1911 and 1929 and entered Ukrainian literature in the thirties, at the time of Stalin's "fusillade" of the Ukrainian literary revival.

The fourth generation of writers includes all who were born in the thirties and entered Ukrainian literature in the sixties. This is the generation to which Vasyl' Symonenko belongs.

The 530 writers listed in the Dictionary are divided among the given generations as shown in Table I. The fourth-generation writer who died was Vasyl' Symonenko. He died of cancer on December 14, 1963, at the age of 28.⁶⁶

TABLE I
Four Generations of Soviet Ukrainian Writers

<i>Generation</i>	<i>Living</i>	<i>Died</i>	<i>Total</i>
Up to 1899	35	84	119
1900-1910	125	65	190
1911-1929	184	20	204
1930 and up	16	1	17
Totals:	360	170	530

⁶⁴) Vasyl' Symonenko, *Bereh chekan'*, publ. by "Prolog", München, 1965, 137.

⁶⁵) Ivan Koshelivets', *Suchasna literatura v URSS*, publ. by "Prolog", München — 1964, 33-42.

⁶⁶) *Dictionary V*, 432.

UKRAINIAN PROTESTS AGAINST RUSSIAN OPPRESSION
IN CONNECTION WITH KOSYGIN'S VISIT TO BRITAIN



Ukrainian manifestation in Trafalgar Square
on February 12th, 1967.



Ukrainian and Baltic refugees demonstrate against Kosygin on his a



iel in London on February 6th, 1967. (Photo: Keystone Press Agency Ltd.)



Ukrainian procession in Central London on February 12th, 1967, in protest against Russian enslavement of Ukraine.

It must be mentioned here that the figure of 17 writers of the fourth generation is far from complete. Even those writers who have already gained literary prominence are omitted. There is no mention in the *Dictionary* of literary critics Ivan Dzyuba and Ivan Svitlychnyi (Svitlychnyi, born in 1929 would belong to the third generation); their present predicament in the USSR has stirred world opinion. Such well-known and popular writers as Ivan Boichak, Volodymyr Drozd, Hryhorii Kyrychenko, Victor Ivanysenko, Nadiya Prykhod'ko, Vasyli' Holoborod'ko, Borys Riznychenko, Leonid Kovalenko, Mykola Synhaiv's'kyi, Valerii Shevchuk, Tamara Kolomiyets' and Tamara Iovenko are also not mentioned, nor is there mention of the brilliant Russian poet Robert Tret'yakov, who writes in Ukrainian.

The Party affiliation of Soviet Ukrainian writers of different generations and their social origin are shown in Tables II and III.

TABLE II
Party Affiliation of Soviet Ukrainian Writers

Generation	Total	Party members	Percentages
Up to 1899	119	25	21%
1900-1910	190	97	51%
1911-1929	204	134	66%
1930 and up	17	8	47%
Totals:	530	264	49%

TABLE III
Social Origin of Soviet Ukrainian Writers

G. ⁶⁷	Peasants		Workers		Intelligentsia		No Data	Total
	Absolute Figures	%/o	Absolute Figures	%/o	Absolute Figures	%/o		
1.	57	48%	20	17%	33	30%	9	119
2.	88	46%	54	28%	40	21%	8	190
3.	107	53%	38	19%	47	24%	12	204
4.	6	33%	4	24%	6	33%	1	17
Totals:	258	49%	116	22%	126	24%	30	530

One cannot fail to notice that the Party affiliation of Soviet Ukrainian writers increased with the stabilization of the Soviet regime and attained its height in the thirties and forties. It drops below average again for all years with the fourth generation of the writers.

It is interesting to note that, according to the *Dictionary*, Vasyli' Symonenko was not a member of the Communist Party; he is listed there only as a member of the Writers' Union of the Soviet Ukraine. On the other hand the obituary signed by a group of "friends" in

67) Abbreviation (G.) stands for "Generation." See Table I and Table II.

Robitnycha hazeta (December 15, 1963) on page four, does list him as a Party member.

In 1959, 46.4% of the entire population in the Ukrainian SSR was urban. Back in 1926 only 19.8% of the same population was urban. The table of social origins of Soviet Ukrainian writers reflects the recent process of the urbanization of the Soviet Ukraine and its Ukrainian national character. It is interesting to note that more than half of the Soviet Ukrainian writers listed in the *Dictionary* came from peasant stock — a social group known to preserve national traditions in their purest form. To such a family in the Province of Poltava Vasyl' Symonenko was born in 1935.

The education of Soviet Ukrainian writers is presented in Table IV. In addition to these figures it should be added that 41 writers or 7.7% of the total held academic degree of doctor or candidate of science. This indicates the rapid increase in education, especially at the higher and secondary levels. According to the population census of 1897, merely 13.6% of all the Ukrainian population was literate. Today illiteracy has been erased completely.⁶⁸ This development has to be credited to the Soviet regime, but one has also to stress that positive results were attained in Ukraine by the introduction of the Ukrainian language as the language of instruction back in 1917.

TABLE IV
Education of Soviet Ukrainian Writers

Generation	Higher		Secondary	Primary	No Data	Total
	Absolute Figures	%/o	Absolute Figures	Absolute Figures		
Up to 1899	63	53% ^o	36	16	4	119
1900-1910	110	57% ^o	51	21	8	190
1911-1929	151	75% ^o	44	3	6	204
1930 and up	17	100% ^o				17
Totals:	341	64% ^o	131	40	18	530

According to the *Dictionary*, Vasyl' Symonenko completed his secondary education in 1952, and entered the Taras Shevchenko State University in Kiev, where he majored in journalism. During his University days he belonged to a literary circle composed of his contemporaries and wrote his first poems.⁶⁹ He graduated in 1957 and subsequently worked out of the provincial capital Cherkasy as a journalist. He was on the staff of *Cherkas'ka pravda* and *Molod'*

⁶⁸) V. Kubijovyč, "The Size and Structure of the Population", *Ukraine. A Concise Encyclopaedia*, (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1963), I, 178.

⁶⁹) Mykola Som, "Slovo pro Vasylya Symonenka", Vasyl' Symonenko, *Zemne tyazhinnya*, vyd-vo "Molod'" Kiev — 1964, 3-6.

Cherkashchyny up until his premature death in 1963. The aforementioned obituary in *Robitnycha hazeta* lists him as their correspondent.

Table V shows the national composition of Soviet Ukrainian writers. The *Dictionary* also lists non-Ukrainians if they are writing their works in the Ukrainian language.

TABLE V
Nationality of Writers in the Soviet Ukraine

Nationality	Number	Percentage in the number of writers	Percentage in the total population
Ukrainians	492	92.9%	76.8%
Russians	11	2.8%	16.9%
Jews	21	3.9%	2.0%
Poles	1		0.9%
Other ⁷⁰	5	0.4%	3.4%
Totals:	530	100.0%	100.0%

Among Russians who are writing in Ukrainian there is the outstanding literary critic, Iosyp Kysel'ov. There are several Russian writers in the Ukrainian SSR who are writing in Russian; among them Victor Nekrasov has an all-Union reputation. Leonid Vyacheslavsky is noted for his translations from Ukrainian. As mentioned earlier, the gifted young Russian poet Robert Tretyakov, who writes in Ukrainian, is not listed in the *Dictionary*.

Among the Jews who are writing in Ukrainian there are outstanding poets, novelists, and literary critics. Poets Sava Holovaniv'skyi and Leonid Pervomais'kyi acquired fame as first-class original poets and as translators into Ukrainian from western literatures. Pervomais'kyi is also noted for his prose. One of the outstanding novelists is Natan Rybak⁷¹ (Fisher, 1913-). Among the outstanding literary critics of Jewish extraction are Yevhen Adel'heim, Yeremiya Aizenshtok, Mikhael Bernstein, and others. The popular poet Aron Kopshtein was killed on the front line during the Finno-Soviet War in 1940.

The next table, Table VI, shows the territorial origin of Soviet Ukrainian writers. This indicates that the largest crop of writers was produced in the Province of Poltava. This is where Vasyl' Symonenko was born, i.e. in the province which gave modern Ukrainian literature its "father", Ivan Kotlyarevs'kyi.⁷²

⁷⁰) Other: 2 Moldavians, 1 Gypsy, 1 Greek, 1 German.

⁷¹) *Dictionary V*, 345.

⁷²) *Dictionary II*, 489-510.

TABLE VI
Territorial Origin of Soviet Ukrainian Writers

<i>Province or Country</i>	<i>Population 1959</i>	<i>Percentage of Ukrainians</i>	<i>Number of Writers</i>
Vinnitsya	2,142	91.8%	30
Volyn'	890	94.6%	8
Dnipropetrovs'k	2,705	77.7%	29
Donets'k	4,262	55.6%	12
Zhytomyr	1,604	84.5%	17
Transcarpathia	920	74.6%	11
Zaporozhe	1,464	68.3%	11
City of Kiev	1,104	60.1%	25
Kiev	2,823	80.3%	43
Kirovohrad	1,218	88.7%	25
Krym (Crimea)	1,201	22.3%	1
Luhans'k	2,452	57.8%	5
L'viv	2,108	86.3%	14
Mykolaiv	1,014	81.2%	5
Odessa	2,027	55.5%	12
Poltava	1,632	93.4%	66
Rivne	926	93.4%	1
Ivano-Frankivs'k	1,095	94.8%	11
Sumy	1,514	87.9%	18
Ternopil'	1,086	94.9%	8
Kharkiv	2,520	68.8%	38
Kherson	824	81.1%	14
Khmel'nyts'kyi	1,611	90.2%	14
Cherkasy	1,503	94.0%	28
Chernihiv	1,554	94.5%	36
Chernivtsi	774	66.9%	5
Totals			
Ukrainian SSR:	41,869	76.8%	487
Lemkivshchyna			1
Polissya			2
Kholmshchyna			3
Poland			6
Belorussia			2
Russian SFSR			21
Moldavia			2
Rumania			1
Georgia			1
No Data			4
Total:			530

Table VII shows the experiences of Soviet Ukrainian writers in oppression and war. Of those writers who participated in World War II, 18 were members of the Red Partisan Movement and 2 were members of the Communist underground in Ukraine. Some of them held prominent posts in the Movements. Yurii Zbanats'kyi (1914-) was commander of the Shchors Partisan Detachment and received the title of Hero of the Soviet Union. The writer Yakiv Bash (1908-) was a Central Staff Member of the Red Partisan Movement; Platon

Voron'ko (1913-), Vasył' Zemlyak (1923-), Petro Inhuł's'kyi (1912-), Mykhailo Savchenko (1914-), Yakiv Stetsyuk (1922-), Stefan Trofymyuk (1923-), Mykola Sheremet (1906-) and Anatolii Shyyan (1906-) were commanders; and Mykhailo Khazan (1911-) was a commissar. If we accept Borys Lewytzkyj's conjecture, these were the members of the Ukrainian partisan "clan" which exercised powerful influence on Soviet politics in the post-war years.⁷³

TABLE VII
Soviet Ukrainian Writers in Oppression and War

Generation	Participated	Killed	Shot or Perished	Died of	Total
	in World War II	in War	in Concentration Camps	Natural Causes	Died
Up to 1899	3	2	46	36	84
1900-1910	54	13	28	24	65
1911-1929	117	11	2	7	20
1930 and up				1	1
Totals:	174	26	76	68	170

Of the 176 participants in World War II, 86 writers received high decorations for gallantry. This figure slightly exceeds the number of writers who were shot or who perished in the concentration camps. There were 76 Soviet writers in this category, listed in the *Dictionary*, who are now considered victims of the "personality cult" and have been "rehabilitated." Thus, the editors of the *Dictionary* placed side-by-side the "heroes" and the former "enemies of the people"!

However the figures of 76 writers who were shot or who perished in Soviet concentration camps does not include all the Soviet Ukrainian writers who suffered persecution at the hands of the Soviet security organs, who were shot or perished in the concentration camps, or who died after their release as a consequence of disease and exhaustion. Table VIII shows a more complete computation based on bio-bibliographical materials in the *Dictionary*.

TABLE VIII
Persecution of Soviet Ukrainian Writers

Generation	Persecuted Writers			Total
	Living	Killed	Died	
Up to 1899	13	46	7	66
1900-1910	20	28	4	72
1911-1929		2		2
Totals:	33	76	11	120

⁷³) Borys Lewytzkyj, *Die Sowjetukraine 1944-1963*, (Köln-Berlin: Kipenhauer & Witsch Verlag, 1964), 72 and on.

Thus the figure of 120 persecuted writers is still far from being complete, for the *Dictionary* for one reason or another does not list *all* the writers who were active in the Soviet Ukrainian literary process. The figure should be increased by all the writers who were persecuted, killed or silenced between 1920 and 1966 and omitted from the *Dictionary*. It is impossible to perform this task at the present time because too many facts and sources are not available.

At the present time several prominent Ukrainian literary figures have been living in the Soviet Ukraine since they were "rehabilitated" and released from the Soviet concentration camps. Among them are Borys Antonenko-Davydovych (1899-) and Volodymyr Gzhyts'kyi (1895-). Some have died, like the popular Ostap Vyshnya (1889-1956) and Ahapii Shamrai (1896-1952). Many of those who were killed or died in the concentration camps are now being posthumously restored to full "rights." Little do they care *now* about this "restoration." They are Oleksa Vlyz'ko (1908-1934), Ivan Dniprov's'kyi (1895-1934), Yevhen Pluzhnyk (1898-1938), Volodymyr Svidzins'kyi (1885-1941), Dmytro Fal'kivs'kyi (1898-1934) and others. For the Ukrainian people they will long be a personification of the individual and collective experiences of the Soviet Ukrainian literary process, which of all the unhappy chapters in Ukraine's history, including the destruction of the arts, sciences and churches, is the most unhappy.

As it will be shown in this dissertation, Vasył Symonenko had a deep understanding of all these experiences. Their reality has been concealed behind Soviet propaganda slogans about the flowering of Ukrainian literature under the Soviet regime. The writings of Vasył Symonenko give us an insight into the attitudes of the generation which in literature regards itself as the literary spokesman of the present-day Ukrainian people.

It is from this point of view that Symonenko's writings will receive the utmost attention and the fullest consideration which the narrow limits of this dissertation allows.

(To be continued.)

AN ACT OF CIVIC COURAGE

EDITORIAL COMMENTS ON

I. DZIUBA'S SPEECH ON THE POET, V. SYMONENKO

In the course of the last decade the Russification drive in Ukraine has been meeting increasingly harder opposition of the nationally-conscious vanguard of the Ukrainian people.

Young intellectuals are in the front ranks of this unequal struggle with the oppressive totalitarian regime of the Russian-dominated Moscow empire. Among them we see writers, literary critics, philologists, teachers and university students. New stirrings are noticeable in literature.

Poetry now, as always in situations of this type, is a leader of this movement. Its representatives fire the imaginations of the young generation of Ukrainians and encourage them to outward manifestations of their Ukrainian patriotism, to deeds of civic courage.

Vasyl Symonenko, poet and partly prose writer, distinguished himself in the early 1960s from among this cluster of young talents in Ukraine. His name has become a symbol of courageous defence of Ukrainian national ideas against the onslaught of official communist Russian falsity and hypocrisy intended to mask Russian chauvinism and imperialism with words about "proletarian internationalism."

Vasyl Symonenko was born in 1935 in the village of Biyivtsi, Lubni district, Poltava region of Ukraine, into a farmer's family. Between 1952 and 1957 he studied at the Faculty of Journalism, at the University of Kyiv, obtaining a degree. Afterwards he worked for the provincial newspapers at Cherkassy and was a correspondent of the Kyiv newspaper *Robitnycha hazeta* (Workers' Newspaper).

Symonenko's first collection of poems, *Tysha i hrim* (Silence and Thunder) appeared in Kyiv in 1962. His second collection of poems *Bereh chekan'* (The Shore of expectations), prepared for printing in 1962-63, was not passed by the Soviet censor owing to its outspoken attacks on many social evils flourishing under the Russian regime. Nevertheless it spread in manuscript copies throughout Ukraine, especially among the young people, and even reached other parts of the U.S.S.R. and the satellite states. It reached Ukrainian circles in the West and was published by the Prolog Ukrainian Publishing House in USA in 1965 and 1966.

In 1963 Symonenko's fable entitled *Tsar Cry-Baby and Tickler (Tsar Plaksiy i Loskoton)* was published. After his death at the end of the year, his second fable entitled *Journey to the Country of Contrary* appeared. Shortly after that in the year 1964 V. Symonenko's third collection of poems entitled *Zemne tiazhinnia* (Earth's Gravitation) was published. In 1966 a selection of poems entitled *Poezii* (Poetry) appeared in Kyiv.

From his prose (short stories) V. Symonenko left us for example *The Ballad of the Old Man* and other stories scattered through various newspapers. Lviv Publishing House "Kameniar" has recently published them in a separate volume entitled *Wine of Roses*.

The fate of V. Symonenko's unpublished heritage is obscure. "It is hard to establish", say literary scholars, "how many of his unpublished works were given out to people, and it is even harder to collect them." It is very likely that part of them fell into the hands of the "Union of Writers of Ukraine" and may remain unknown forever.

Vasyl Symonenko died in Cherkasy on December 13, 1963 at the age of 29 as the result of cancer.

The works of Vasyl Symonenko with their literary quality and their civic and political, Ukrainian national and anti-Soviet contents are outstanding in Ukrainian "clandestine" literature that is spreading today in great numbers throughout Ukraine and in neighbouring countries. They are successfully helping to reawaken and formulate Ukrainian national consciousness, especially among the contemporary youth, and encourage it to defy oppressors in a manner possible under the present regime.

From among the English translations of Symonenko's works we should like to mention first his diary which was published in *The Ukrainian Review*, vol. XIII, No. 1 (Spring, 1966), and was reprinted in *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, New York (Summer, 1966). *The Ukrainian Review*, vol. XII, No. 2 (Summer, 1965), carried also an article about him, written by Wolfgang Strauss. Another article by the same author was published in *The Ukrainian Review*, vol. XII, No. 4 (Winter, 1965). An extensive study by A. Bedriy, entitled "Vasyl Symonenko — Troubadour of Ukraine's Freedom", was published in *ABN Correspondence*, Munich, vol. XVII, No. 1-2 (Jan.-Apr., 1966). Another study of Symonenko's poetry was published in the same periodical under the title "He Had No Time to Waste", written by Ihor Shankovsky (vol. XVII, No. 6; Nov.-Dec., 1966). In this article a full translation of the poem "The Prophecy of 1917" is found. The poem, "The Obelisk of Granite" was translated by Nestor D. Procyk (*ABN Correspondence*, vol. XVI, No. 4; Aug.-Oct., 1965). W. Strauss wrote on Symonenko also in *ABN Correspondence* (vol. XVI, No. 3; June-July, 1965). Translations of Symonenko's poems "The Law Court" and "Loneliness" were published in *The Ukrainian Review*, vol. XIII, No. 2 (Summer, 1966).

An article about Symonenko appeared in *Le Nouveau Rhin Français*, Colmar, March 17, 1965.

As mentioned above, the posthumous publication of the collection of Symonenko's poems, *The Shore of Expectations*, abroad, after they failed to pass Soviet censorship, caused a furore among the Soviet literary commissars in Ukraine and the U.S.S.R. Its incisive criticism of the evils of the Russian Communist rule in Ukraine was particularly embarrassing to the Kremlin. The search started for those who helped to pass the manuscripts abroad, and

a campaign began to falsify Symonenko by presenting him as a loyal Communist who, admittedly, sometimes laid too much stress on some negative aspects of reality. His mother was dragged into the affair and forced to denounce in the press emigre Ukrainians who published Symonenko's poems, as well as her son's friends, such as Prof. I. Svitlychnyi and I. Dziuba. She handed over some of Symonenko's manuscripts to them after his death, and they, allegedly, passed them abroad to be "misused" as ammunition in the "bourgeois-nationalist" campaign against the USSR. Symonenko's friends from the "sixties" group and many other intellectuals were interrogated by the K.G.B., many of them placed under arrest and finally brought to trial in the spring of 1966 charged with offences under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R. This Article states: "Agitation or propaganda carried out with the aim of undermining or weakening the Soviet regime or committing certain particularly dangerous crimes against the State, the spreading of libellous inventions with the same aim, which denigrate the Soviet State and social order, as well as the spreading or production or keeping of literature of the said contents with the same aim — are punished with the deprivation of liberty for a period from six months to seven years, or deportation for a period from two to five years. The same acts committed by a person previously sentenced for particularly dangerous crimes against the State, as well as those committed in wartime — are punished with the deprivation of liberty for a period from three to ten years."

So far 23 names of those arrested are known, but it is reliably reported that as many as 70 intellectuals have been arrested and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. Among those whose names are known there are literary critics, writers, poets, journalists, scientists, cultural workers and students. (See *The Ukrainian Review*, vol. XIII, No. 4, Winter, 1966; *Sunday Telegraph*, January 8th, 1967; *New Statesman*, Dec. 16, 1966, etc.) The trials took place in various Ukrainian regional capitals, such as Lviv, Lutsk, Ivano-Frankivsk, Ternopil, Odessa, as well as in the State capital, Kyiv.

On January 10, 1965 the well-known critic Ivan Dziuba addressed a gathering of Ukrainian *littérateurs* devoted to the 30th birthday of Vasyl Symonenko. In his speech he characterised the life and works of the poet above all from the civic-political aspect. That "suicidally-brave" speech was an open challenge to those who tried to thwart and falsify Symonenko's appeal as a champion of Ukrainian national liberty. A translation of this speech is published below.

A few words about Ivan Dziuba's background may not come amiss at this point.

Ivan Dziuba was born in the village of Mykolaïvka, Bakhmut (Artemovsk) district, Donetsk region in the Ukraine. He studied at the Donetsk Pedagogical Institute and obtained a higher degree from Taras Shevchenko Institute of Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R. Afterwards he joined the editorial staff of the central Ukrainian literary journal *Vitchyzna* (Motherland) in Kyiv. When in the late 'fifties the writers of the young *avant-garde*, the so-called "sixties group" became vocal, Dziuba turned to literary criticism. In this field he defended the view that Ukrainian literature

must do away with the primitivism of the Stalinist age and must seek contact with the problems of world literature. In his writings he tried to strike an independent line in Ukrainian literary criticism. In 1965 he was accused by the Soviet authorities of having sent Symonenko's unpublished manuscript abroad and thus harmed the Soviet regime. He was arrested and forbidden to write and publish his works. Later he was released under police surveillance reportedly because he contracted an incurable disease. He was relegated to a minor editorial job on the staff of the Ukrainian scientific journal *Biokhymichnyi zhurnal* (Biochemical journal) published in Kyiv, where he cannot publish his critical essays.

The Kyiv Ukrainian-language satirical journal *Perets* (Pepper), without doubt under the 'inspiration' from the secret police, published in its September 1966 (No. 17) issue a lampoon ridiculing Dziuba as "a bourgeois-nationalist martyr" who enjoys his notoriety abroad. The journal connected Dziuba's views with those of the emigre Ukrainian leader, Jaroslav Stetzko, President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and former Premier in the Provisional Ukrainian Government of 1941, prisoner of Nazi concentration camps. The lampoonist challenged Dziuba to break his silence on the campaign organised by the Ukrainian nationalists abroad involving his name. Dziuba, however has steadfastly refused to withdraw his remarks made in the speech on Symonenko and to condemn Ukrainian patriots either at home or abroad. He gives an example of true civic courage.

A few notes will be useful to the English reader about the persons and works mentioned in Dziuba's speech.

Oleksander Dovzhenko (1894-1956) was the most outstanding Ukrainian film producer. During 1918-20 he fought actively in the ranks of the Ukrainian national army. At the beginning of the 1930's he was compelled to live outside Ukraine, in Moscow, from where he was permitted to return to Ukraine only in 1952.

Ivan Franko (1856-1916) was the greatest West Ukrainian poet, novelist and scholar.

Lesia Ukraïnka (1872-1913), mentioned by Dziuba, was the most outstanding Ukrainian woman poet and dramatist.

In his speech, Dziuba mentioned several of Symonenko's poems. *The Thief* depicts typical Ukrainian peasant individualism, mentality of private ownership and is a sharp indictment of the collective farm system, Communist injustice and economic totalitarianism. *Obituary* is a stinging satire about the utterly ruthless Soviet Russian exploitation of Ukraine's economic resources, Russian economic colonialism in Ukraine, resulting in great waste of economic wealth in Ukraine.

Lina Kostenko, mentioned by Dziuba, is a talented young poetess, born in 1930.

significance attached to this problem. Among other things, he states: "...I, as a Russian, am still in the dark as to the reason for the precipitant haste with which we abruptly began to speak about the fusion of literatures..." Georgiy Markov, another guest from the Russian Soviet Republic and Secretary of the Writers' Association of the USSR, remarked: "...I find the question as to whether a writer should stress the national element in a creative work, rather strange and absurd... Our literature needs the Soviet man with all his characteristic traits, including the national..."²

Let us dwell upon this last statement for a moment, for it also enables us to refer back to our first point. It appears to be necessary here to go into, at least to some extent, some of the foregoing events in the development of Ukraine's approach to literature, and especially to the national problem in literature.

We do not propose to go into the full role played by the "60ers" in this development. Nonetheless, to make the following clear, it is by all means necessary to point out the way the problem is posed, and above all, to show the daring with which the posing of this problem was brought about; for at a glance, we learn just how important the preparatory work of the "60ers" in this direction really was.

The inspiring of this development is undoubtedly the speech of the literary critic Ivan Dziuba³, which was made on the 30th birthday celebration of Vasyl Symonenko, who died so prematurely. Not only the openness but also the elucidation of the necessity of a positive approach to the nationality problem, as it is offered by the "60ers", makes it clear that today there are people who are capable of speaking in such a way on a theme, which was shunned as completely tabu in the not very distant past.

I. Dziuba, who in the meantime has been released (owing to his sickness and an injunction forbidding him to publish his writings, however, he is condemned to silence), can be proud of the statements concerning this problem that were made at the Vth Writers' Congress. If it had not been for him, perhaps the discussion would not have been so free and open.

The Problem of National Creativity

In his speech Shelest dwelt on this problem.⁴ "...The Communist Party does not spare any efforts to assure the political and economic

2) LU, November, 1966.

3) Lecture held in Writers' House of the Ukrainian SSR in Kyiv, on January 10, 1965. Not published. Printed in the January number of *Vyzvolny Shlyakh*, London, 1967. English version issued by Ukrainian Information Service, London. This speech is printed in an article by L. Bykovsky: "Resistance Movement of the Ukrainian Youth."

4) "Militant aims of Soviet Ukrainian Literature" — speech by P. Yu. Shelest at Vth Writers' Congress of Ukraine, LU, November, 1966, p. 2. P. Yu. Shelest is First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine and member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

equality of all Union Republics; indeed, it jealously watches over the continuous development of their economy and culture. In all Soviet citizens it aims at awakening a deep respect for the achievements of all nations, and it offers unlimited possibilities for the enrichment of *national culture* through the accomplishments of all brother nations.

"Our own Ukrainian Soviet literature also grows and blossoms under these conditions. You are its creators and architects... We must treat our beautiful Ukrainian language with the greatest care and respect... Your efforts in this direction were always supported and will also continue to be supported by the Communist Party in the future..."

In his speech Novychenko⁵ spoke along the same lines, and he commented as follows on the problem brought up by Shelest: "... I would like to point out that in recent years many false views were to be encountered concerning a problem, which pertains to the development of the national cultures and languages of the Soviet peoples. These views are diametrically opposed to Lenin's nationality policies. In connection with this problem, the name of A. Agayev was frequently mentioned... In his articles Agayev called for the liquidation of all national languages and the adoption of the Russian language by all writers..."

Retorting to Agayev's demand for the liquidation of all national languages, Novychenko went on to say: "... But are the false views of a man like Agayev dethroned once and for all by virtue of scientific argumentation? And, what appears to be more important, are we developing a positive, truly constructive concept from the evolution of cultures in socialist nations, a concept capable of keeping pace with truth, not only as far as our own era goes, but for the future?..."

The still very young Viktor Korzh also comments on this problem. He states: "... We are living in our own country and everything that exists here is valuable and holy for us. The monuments of our national culture are valuable, beginning with the fading pages of hand-written manuscripts to every detail of architectural creation..."

"It is only to be hoped that the Ukrainian language will always remain pure, fresh and colourful, beginning in the kindergarten and continuing through the higher institutes of learning. For this reason greater care must be given to the teaching of our mother tongue in the schools..."⁶

The Russian Sergey Baruzdin⁷ also expressed his opinion, and in his attempt to find a solution to this ticklish problem, he went so far, as already mentioned, to quote Stalin: "... I have come to the

5) Speech by Novychenko, *LU*, November 25, 1966, pp. 1-2. Novychenko was Secretary of the Board of the Union of Writers of Ukraine.

6) Speech by Victor Korzh, *LU*, November 22, 1966, p. 3.

7) Speech by Sergei Baruzdin, *LU*, November 22, 1966, p. 3.

conclusion that it is a good idea to bring up the problems that disturb our literature as often as possible and to submit them to critical analysis; I am thinking especially of the problem of national and international concepts.

"There is no necessity whatever to veil committed sins; it was not solely A. Agayev's error alone that so much confusion on this question filled the air before the October 1964 plenary session... We acted as if we all wanted to interpret Lenin in a different way... I am inclined to believe that in dealing with such complex problems, such as the discussion on national culture, the view once expressed by J. V. Stalin should not be forgotten, which purports that culture should derive its form from the national characteristics of a people, but should still be socialistic. This view should not be rejected in rejecting the personality cult, for it is a good conception and it will remain good..."

Kozachenko's⁸ talk was delivered in a different tone. "...The rumination of such problems is at once useless and time-consuming, and nothing more than hollow phrase making, which, not only does not help matters, but, on the contrary, often irritates and wounds a people's sense of dignity and nourishes virulent germs of nationalism and chauvinism that are still floating around... Impatiently, I want to cry out to some of our impatient theoreticians: 'Comrade, aren't you putting the cart before the horse?'"

Open Criticism of Abuses

The course of things thus far furnishes ample evidence that hard criticism was not lacking at this Congress; the short excerpts from various speeches bear witness to this.

A rehabilitation is almost brought about through the intervention of various speakers for publication: "Since we are talking about this matter — the feeling for patriotic pride, the reawakening of the feeling of national honour and respect (feelings, in short, that should be inseparable from internationalism) — it appears to be high time to break the long and inexcusable silence in this respect, and finally print P. Kulish's *Chorna Rada* (The Black Council)..."⁹

"As long as we are not at home and masters in our own culture, it will not be easy for us to be honoured guests in strange houses. It is not humiliating that while Bohdan Ihor Antonych is published in Czecho-Slovakia, we still do not have his books here? Indeed, Evhen Pluzhnyk is also soon to be published there — but when here? Oles Honchar has already spoken of Panteleymon Kulish. Where, indeed, is he printed and published? When are we finally going to

⁸) Speech by Vasyl Kozachenko, *LU*, November 20, 1966, p. 2.

⁹) Honchar, "Ukrainian Soviet Literature on the Eve of the great Fiftieth Anniversary", *LU*, November 17, 1966, p. 3-5.

cease playing into the hands of our enemies, giving them ammunition for political speculation?..." Korotych sums up.¹⁰

Even a number of Western poets and writers, who were tabu until now, were "rehabilitated" to a certain extent. "... Many good translations also appeared in the pages of *Zhovten* (October), which offered its readers the poetry of Lorca, Whitman, Laco Novomesky and the poetry of the Lusatian Serbs..."¹¹

Freud and Kafka have become harmless: "An artist should not be condemned merely because his creative individuality tends to find expression in a so-called artistic stream of consciousness, or in symbolism... We need Antonych just as much as Elouard, and we should turn aside neither from Bunin nor Vynnychenko; for we need all the artistic experience that has gone before us. That we have translated Kafka, is no catastrophe; it merely means that we have one less sensational puzzle. Some young people are showing a growing interest in psychoanalysis... and it will not cause any harm, if the writers would make themselves familiar with Sigmund Freud's theories..."¹²

Criticism is applied not only to non-publication of certain authors and periodicals and to the small number of editions printed, but also to the shortage of paper for such purposes. "... This shortage continues, in the face of our strained efforts to bring out the fifty volumes of Franko's work. If we have not yet succeeded in bringing out the unpublished writings of the scholar Yavornytsky or Mykhailo Drahomaniv¹³; if we have printed ridiculously small editions of the works of the world famous Arabic scholar Krymsky; if it is impossible to find neither a copy of *Faust* nor a copy of *The Odyssey* in our bookstores, not to mention the periodically sold out works of Tychyna, Rylsky or Dovzhenko, though their books should never be missing from the shelves of a bookstore; if the works of young Ukrainian poets appear in intolerably small editions — then we must bear in mind that these editions are so limited that they cannot even begin to compete with the editions, for instance, of the Baltic countries..."¹⁴

"If we cannot afford the luxury of having a Ukrainian theatre in many of our large cities, then it would perhaps be fitting to open at least a theatre for drama in Kyïv, on the occasion of the October Revolution..."¹⁵

10) Speech by Vitaliy Korotych, *LU*, November 20, 1966, p. 3.

11) See footnote 9.

12) *Idem, ibidem.*

13) A 2-volume edition is in preparation.

14) See above, footnote 9.

15) *Idem, ibidem.*

"It is an unpleasant duty to report on a miserable condition, for which the publishing houses should not be held responsible. I have in mind the production cut, which entails the publication of a smaller number of books in 1966 than was the case before the Congress of 1959..."¹⁶

And somewhat later the same speaker goes on to say: "...Compared to the situation as it existed formerly — let us say, for example, in the 30s — no improvement whatever is to be noted..."

"It is difficult to comprehend", I. Vilde remarks in her speech¹⁷, "why the Lviv branch of the Academy of Sciences was closed. It is painful to see our Lviv students acquiring their academic titles elsewhere and then remaining there..."

"I received a letter from a Japanese girl, in which she stated that she would very much like to correspond with a boy or girl from Ukraine. I thought it would be a good idea to send her a Ukrainian grammar book. In fact, I wanted to do so, but we don't have one; whereas Georgia, for instance, has such a textbook. Why is this so?"¹⁸

"Paper shortage!" exclaims Smolych.¹⁹ "Indeed, the cultural enrichment of our country is progressing rapidly, and there is a paper shortage, but... when one walks through the city streets and remains standing before the shop-windows of a bookstore or before a sidewalk exhibition and pages through the countless brochures, printed by the millions, which deal with out-dated political issues but still appear on the best-seller list of the publishers who print them, then one can really begin to doubt that a paper shortage exists..."

"There is one and only one publishing house for children's books in Ukraine, namely 'Veselka.' Though it is the only one, it is forced to operate under conditions that are hardly to be considered favourable... While the publishing house was allotted 980 tons of printing paper in 1960, it received only 430 tons this year..."²⁰

Growing Interest in Ukrainian Culture

The little that we have quoted thus far could create the impression that the Congress had a purely negative character (to be sure, even in what we have singled out, many positive elements are to be noted). But this was decidedly not the case!

"...Both in the All Union and in the international arena, Ukrainian literature is gradually coming into its own. The world-wide response to the Shevchenko celebrations, the international tribute paid to the

¹⁶) Usenko — "On the Activity of the Auditing Commission of the Ukrainian Writers' Association." *LU*, November 17, 1966, p. 6.

¹⁷) Iryna Vilde, *LU*, November 20, 1966, p. 2.

¹⁸) Korotych, *LU*, November 20, 1966, p. 3.

¹⁹) Smolych, Yuriy, *LU*, November 20, 1966, p. 4.

²⁰) Dmytro Tkach, *LU*, November 20, 1966, p. 5.

memory of Mykhailo Kotsyubynsky, or to the memory of Olha Kobylyanska, Lesya Ukraïnka and Ivan Franko — all this bears witness to the fact that since 1945, a thousand works of Ukrainian writers of the Soviet Ukraine have been translated into 43 languages and have been published in many countries...²¹

"A growing interest in Ukrainian culture is evident in many countries. Following the example of the Moscow University, which has already introduced a course of study on the Ukrainian language and literature, many other universities abroad, as well as in the socialist countries, have begun to introduce similar courses, with the intent of training experts for Ukrainian question. We receive orders for Ukrainian books from a dozen different countries, and the number of literary works that have been translated from the Ukrainian is growing in the socialist countries..."²²

"It is fitting that poetic experimentation has come. But perhaps the greatest poetic discovery were the poets themselves — the appearance of a new generation, which made itself felt around 1961. This filling in of the gap in the poetic line, still continues today...

"Just how much poorer our poetic treasure would be, without the poems of D. Pavlychko, Lina Kostenko, M. Vinhranovsky, Ivan Drach, V. Symonenko, W. Korotych, V. Luchuk, B. Oliynyk and many other younger poets as, for example, R. Lubkivsky, Iryna Zhylenko, W. Korzh, B. Necherda, M. Lykhodid and many, many others..."²³

We know, of course, precisely in connection with the trial of Dziuba, Svitlychny and many others, that by no means all of the above-mentioned poets could have their full say, as is the case with Korotych, Drach or Pavlychko.

Nonetheless, it is precisely this situation that awakens the greatest interest in the West, and it is precisely these conditions that have led — please forgive the word — to a "Symonenko hubbub."

A Warning to the Nationalists

"Our poetry more than any other has become especially sensitive to the freshness of life, and to the changes that are taking place in the make up of modern man. Unfettered thoughts and feelings, rejection of everything false and belief in a higher disposition of man are to be found as fully organic components in the best works of our poets. Our poetry has proved that it is capable of high mental flights, a harmonious unity between the man and the artist and a burning love towards one's homeland and one's own people. I want especially to single out here the works of Vasyl Symonenko as an example of a powerful expression of these qualities...

²¹) Honchar, *LU*, November 17, 1966, p. 3.

²²) *Idem, ibidem.*

²³) Stepan Kryzhanivsky, *LU*, November 20, 1966, p. 4.

"The Munich "chatterboxes"²⁴ reach out their hands in vain for Symonenko's works. In vain they seek to see the poet through their own distorted mirror. He doesn't belong to them..."²⁵

At this point let the poet briefly speak for himself, and the reader can draw his own conclusions.

"My nation exists, my nation will always exist!
 Nobody will scratch out my nation!
 All renegades and strays will disappear,
 And so will the hordes of conquerors-invaders!
 You, bastards of satanical hangmen,
 Don't forget, degenerates, anywhere:
 My nation exists! In its hot veins
 The Cossack blood is pulsing and humming."

"I want to take this opportunity to address a word of warning to the men of the nationalist camp abroad. In vain you prick up your ears and cherish all kinds of hope! We are not discussing this problem here in our Congress because we feel ourselves affected in any way; our concern with this problem is completely independent of anyone of your ideological attacks... We are not and never were afraid to own up to the past and present errors which were committed by one or another of our comrades; nor are we afraid to face the severest criticism of the mistakes we made in good faith. We criticize our own mistakes and those who are guilty. But you, my dear nationalists, chauvinists, and all the rest of you "ists", will never have the pleasure of warming your hands at our fire..."²⁶

"But let me not underestimate the importance of bourgeois propaganda, specially since it has had recourse to underhanded manoeuverings and would try to bombard our country with ideological broadsides. The enemies of Communism leave no stone unturned in their efforts to undermine the morale and political unity of the Soviet people..."

"The bourgeois ideologists seek to drive a wedge between the Communist Party and the ranks of creative intelligentsia. They assert that the Party imposes the principles of Party-orientated literature and the methods of socialist-realism upon our intelligentsia. This leads, they contend, to a curtailment of freedom and a sterilization of the artist's creative initiative. However, our life itself, together with the creative experience of our writers, will refute these slanderous fictions..."²⁷

²⁴) Referred to is the Munich periodical *Suchasnist*, which printed works of Symonenko, especially B. Kravtsiw's article.

²⁵) Honchar.

²⁶) Vasyl Kozachenko, *LU*, November 20, 1966, p. 2.

²⁷) P. Yu. Shelest, see footnote 4.

THE IVAN FRANKO MEMORIAL COMPETITION

THE IVAN FRANKO MEMORIAL COMPETITION was organized to honour the Fiftieth Anniversary of the death of the great Ukrainian Poet, Ivan Franko (1856-1916). Prizes were offered for a pair of poems in the English language, on the themes of "Freedom" and "Captivity."

The judges were:

Robert Armstrong (General Secretary of The Poetry Society Inc.) who considered the poems on "Captivity" only;

Jean Murray Simpson (Programmes organizer of The Poetry Society, Inc.) who considered the poems on "Freedom", only;

Vera Rich (Editor of MANIFOLD) who considered the poems as a matched pair;

Volodymyr Bohdaniuk (Executive Editor of THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW) who considered the poems in relation to Franko's life and works.

All poems were submitted anonymously, under cover of a pseudonym. Each judge assessed the poems independently, placing a top ten, and as many Highly Commendeds as they wished. Owing to the bulk of the competition, a preliminary sorting was carried out by Vera Rich and Volodymyr Bohdaniuk; those poets thus selected for final consideration receive Honourable Mention.

The results were announced and the sealed envelopes containing the true names of competitors were opened at a soirée littéraire, held on December 10th, 1966.

The overall result, obtained by totalling the points corresponding to the placings of the individual judges were:

- 1st Marjorie Baldwin (Sussex)
- 2nd Sheila Dalton Cybulnyk (Leicester)
- 3rd Vera Arlett (Sussex)
- 4th Edna Bartholomew (Yorkshire)
- 5th Hugh McKinley (Greece)
- 6th Phyllis Hartnoll (London)
- 7th Anne Marx (New York)
- 8th Vera Constance Taverner (Bucks)
- 9th M. H. Lewis (Louisiana)
- 10th Judith Johnson Sherwin (New York)
- 11th (tie) Phillippa Berlyn (Salisbury, Rhodesia), Margaret Curry (Cornwall), J. Alexander Thorburn (Louisiana)
- 14th Betty Parwin (Nottingham)
- 15th Marcelle Caine (Oregon)
- 17th (tie) Leona Baldwin (Kentucky), Armitage Hargreaves (Devon), Wallace Winchell (Connecticut)
- 19th (tie) Jenny Barrat (Derby), Nigel A. L. Brooks (London)
- 21st Mrs. A. E. Baber (Wisconsin)
- 22nd Alice Glenn (Texas)

Highly Commended: Geneva Booher (Arkansas), Roy Douglass Burrow (Arkansas), Manfred A. Carter (Maine), Alice Clay Hall (Texas), Bessie Maas Rowe (Texas), Rudolf Sauter (Glos); Joseph N. Swab (Pennsylvania), Eileen Warren (London).

Honourable mention is awarded to: Keith Armstrong, G. J. Blundell, Marion Buchman, Bella Cameron, Miss F. C. Davies, Thomas R. Davies, Elizabeth Douglas, Richard Gill, Miss T. G. Gretton, Ingle L. Kyler, E. E. LaClair, Herbert Lomas, Maurene McDonald, Sonja Pojcik, Rita Spurr, Lucille Thompson. Brian Vincent, and to the poet who entered under the pseudonym of "Kane Kimber" but whose sealed envelope was found to contain no indication of his/her true identity.

We give below the entries placed First and Second in the over-all judging. In our next issue, we shall give those poems placed first and second in the individual sections, also the top ten names in the individual sections and selected comments from the reports of the individual judges, as well as the poems placed Third in the over-all judging.

Brief biographical notes on the winning poets appear beneath their poems.

Marjorie BALDWIN (1st)

Freedom

I too was born within the sound
Of the village forge: it lay across a field
Where knee-deep cows shook golden buttercup pollen
From lazy limbs; and we two children
Went gathering mushrooms in the early morning,
(The best growing in cow-pats), and came home
Squelching the water joyfully in our boots.

The golden
Apples of the sun were ours; our freedom
To seek them through all life (seeing that
Those only who have found know how to seek).
The land was ours, the smithy's voice in arcs
Of Sirius-blue light, striking across fields
In rhythms which shaped the heart, making it tough
And true enough to weather all the way.

And once I saw
The fire blown up from ash, the shoe being shaped
While the great horse stood by.

These were your freedoms, these our freedoms too,
The English scene not far removed from yours,
Our liberty your vision — to shatter
The doctrines of the regimented hearts
Of those who did not know what freedom was —
Who never fared to find the golden apples
Fired by the forge, its music steel-blue light.

Captivity

Captivity

Of the great horse waiting to be shod; captivity
 Of the blown spark in darkness, driven
 By tyrant bellows; captivity
 Of sorrows misnamed decadence; first love,
 Jewel-spangled web in early morning field
 Barring the path, which none may break for wonder
 At its great beauty; the captivity
 Of truth that cannot be refused, though leading
 Through bogs and marshes which we did not know of,
 Filling our boots with water, bringing laughter
 From steel-tough hearts moulded by hammer blows
 Of Sirius-blue light; the last captivity
 Of creeping death; all these captivities
 Are there to be taken captive (save for one).

Our hearts too

Were white-hot steel, laughing in the face of danger —
 We were white-hot, though small, and scorched the evil
 When we were hemmed in once.

Hammer on anvil

Your story toughens life within our life,
 Purging resentment which alone can flaw
 The spirit faring: captivity
 One of the iron pillars of the sky
 By which we hide, until the moment comes
 To beg our gift from the daughter of the sun.

Marjorie Baldwin is a Child Psychologist. She was born in Sussex, where she now lives, but spent many years in Nottingham, and also in Louvain, where she studied philosophy. She has published three books of poetry. She is also well-known as an artist, her bas-relief "St. Francis preaching to the birds" was dedicated as an altar-piece for a Sussex church in 1966.

Sheila Dalton-Cybulnyk is, "apart from being a housewife and mother of two daughters" a full-time writer. She contributes regularly to the B.B.C. Midlands Poets Programme, and has had a number of short stories broadcast in the "Morning Story" programme of the B.B.C., and also in New Zealand. She is a lecturer with the Leicester Further Education Centres, giving courses on the writing of short stories and poetry. She normally publishes under her maiden-name of Sheila Dalton. She lives in Leicester.

Sheila DALTON CYBULNYK (2nd)

I — The Free

Cry with a loud voice! Let the name
burn like a flame within the sky,
the earth filled with its splendour.
What is it, say, this thing we cry of?
The burning sun gives us an answer.
Night turning into day knows it; you
who breathe the free air know it; you
who can laugh and sing and cry
in the name of freedom know it.
Who are you then, that you proclaim
this victory, this wonder? What
you are echoes in all you say,
is all you do, grows with your young.
But who and what are you?

Once the blue sky dazzled above the corn
and made a banner out of it. Once
there were born a million singing souls; grew
like grain within the husk and saw
the sun-ripe beauty of the earth, knew
the fresh wind across the plains, the sky
high as their hearts and paradise
a bright bird singing in a cherry tree.

Now in the songs are tears, hearts bleed,
forgotten things breed bitterness, they grow
old in an empty world of memory.
This is the price they had to pay.
Once the grain swayed in the wind, and we
cherished the soil beneath it, felt it firm
under our feet, and knew the joy
of season on season. Now we are free,
soil-less, forgotten, pushed aside.

Know you not what it is, this song
the bird sang in the cherry tree? You
who sing with your tears, your blood,
brood in your heart on lost echoings
of memory. Sing it aloud, aloud!

Let the name burn like a flame in the sky,
and the cry echo across the earth to shake
souls that have died, and those that still live,
awake from the grave, from despair. Cry!

II—Prisoner

Sometimes I think I hear a voice, a sigh
like wind across the steppes, a shrilling, thin
piercing cry, reaching over the snow.
I know it is meant for me to hear. I know.
And from my living grave my spirit cries
trying to answer. No, do not forget!
My heart is beating in my breast, and I
breathe yet within my frame. I am alive.

I am alive, though my dull eyes declare
that life has gone, leaving the bone-dry husk
to sheath a bleeding heart. I have no name.
This wreath upon my head has withered now,
though in my hair the scent of blossom hides,
and tides of sunlight filter through the stone
that rests above me to restrict my flesh
and crack the bones that keeps my spirit free.

Sometimes I hear a bird, and see its flight,
and think a moment it is I who go,
light as the freedom of its song to wing
into the bosom of that echoing sky.
Then it is gone, and I am left to bleed,
clinging to life torn from the heart of life,
catching at shadows that already fade,
their shade my winding sheet within this grave.

If you can hear as I hear, in your heart,
think of me, till your spirit's blood
pours on the soil you walk on, feeding it
with life to pass to me; for I forget
what life is, though I live. Let your loud voice
shout out more loudly, that the words I hear
will bear me upwards through this agony,
and keep my spirit free until I die.

Yaroslav STETZKO

(2)

Where Eternity Lives

(NOTES AND REFLECTIONS ON A JOURNEY)

Is it possible that these poverty-stricken Greeks are aware that along these same paths strolled men who discussed the most profound problems of being, men who created spiritual Europe and by God's will laid the foundation for Christianity?! Without Athens there is no Europe!

As we hurry on to the "Theseum" which dates back to the 5th century B.C. and was once a temple dedicated to Hephaestes, god of fire, we count minutes so that we can still visit the magnificent Christian houses of God. Literally, for only a moment, we rush into the museum of antiquities to stand enthralled before the statues by Phidias, Praxiteles and dozens of unknown artists who have not been surpassed to this day.

Art came to a standstill in Ancient Hellas; no one will ever excell over the ancient Greeks in their depth of expression of the experiences of the human spirit. I do not mean this regarding the stoic calm, the classic balance of their works. It is true that theirs is not a vociferous sorrow or lament, not a Dionysian joy. It is their Apollonian exultation that will remain unsurpassed forever.

When we look at dozens of grave monuments — several thousand years old, we see a son bidding farewell to his mother or a father taking leave of his children and his wife, each with great calm and self-possession. But in this calm is concentrated such eternal suffering and at the same time such composure, such human dignity and pride, that there is no paralleling of this artistic expression with anything produced since then — neither in Michelangelo's works nor even in the incomparable Leonardo's.

I thought of Plato's world of ideas of which this earth is only a reflection... of values here... Understandably, those who lived in his world left this world with pain but calmly to see another... We did not have enough time to visit the place where Socrates, the sage of sages, voluntarily died, taking poison, refusing flight from his Native Land.

Somewhere here is the spot from which Demosthenes spoke... How did the Athenians take his Phillipics when he warned them against Philip of Macedonia? Somewhere on the way I glimpse a magnificent theatre and think of Sophocles' "Oedipus Rex" — maybe because I had to know the text for matriculation and "Greek" had been my favourite subject for my dream had been to study ancient and classical philology and philosophy! Once upon a time...

Emotion overcame me suddenly. I decided that as soon as I find free time (will I ever have it?) I will come to visit Hellas not for a day but for at least a week.

Where is Thermopylae? Where is Leonidas? I found the place of rest for which I had been searching for years. No, it is absolutely untrue that we are Christians of the Roman type — here is where we have our spiritual roots, at the fountainhead of Europe. I feel all this when hurriedly, already en route to the airport, we visit a small church known as the Small Cathedral of St. Elephterios which nestles in the shadow of the large cathedral — Athens Metropolis.

The dome — a magnificent structure — is 38 feet high while the church itself is only 20 feet high. On the walls there are marvellous sculptures of high artistic value. Two walls consist of characteristic figures representing the old Athenian calendar.

The icons are like ours — familiar to us. How pleasant to see everyone making the sign of the cross three times. Unfortunately we lacked time to visit the ancient Byzantine Museum to which travelling Englishmen had attributed such magnificence: icons of incredible beauty and depth of expression... Our artist-sculptor, Kruk, confirmed these claims.

And again my thoughts take me back to St. Sophia in Constantinople. There are three St. Sophias — one in Sophia in Bulgaria... and one in our Kyïv... Sophia-Wisdom! Was not Pallas Athena goddess of wisdom as well as goddess of heroes?! In addition to its divine inspiration, Christianity is the culmination and the blooming forth, the zenith of Hellenic culture.

What unique impression would the Holy Land, Jerusalem, Golgotha make on us? I think that modern man should look for rest not at seacoasts, or in gay resorts, but in Jerusalem, in Athens, in St. Sophia. Again I feel the desire (is it possible to fulfill?) to visit the Holy Land where the man-God walked. I think that a stay there would revitalize a man for the rest of his life. The meeting of man with God — the only means to attain peace for modern man, exhausted by progress, civilization, human restlessness... I think that in the Pecherska Lavra (Monastery of the Caves) and in our St. Sophia, on the hills of Kyïv, on free hills, a man could find the same peace of soul as that possessed by those whom Phidias and Praxiteles had sculptured.

Looking at these grave monuments sculptured thousands of years ago, I felt shame for myself, for modern man, for Western man, because I remembered how, while staying in Los Angeles, I had gone to the cemetery to visit the grave of my uncle, a priest, and had stood there shocked. A lonely stone plate placed flat on the ground with the inscription — “Rev. Mykola Vynnytskyi”, date of birth and death. That was all. No cross, not to mention any sort of monument.

In Los Angeles, in Christian cemeteries there is a rule forbidding the placement of any sort of monuments, including crosses. This in a Christian country. Is it Christian?!

And I remembered Campo Santo in Genoa — the most beautiful cemetery in the world, with monuments of the highest artistic value, monuments to Christian culture — to honour the dead...

A homeland is where there are graves. But graves with crosses... Is it not characteristic that in Ukraine before the godless barbarians came, one always found splendid "figures", as they were called, at each crossroad.

How much more advanced was Hellas both culturally and spiritually in their respect for man and his memory; how much more advanced than today's United States, including California!

In Greece, or rather in Hellas, in Christian churches in Athens I felt what this means: the eternal unconquerable spirit of man. Truly one must go to Athens to understand a great Christian truth: man is made in the image of God. And how meagre is communism's entire doctrine of philosophical materialism...

I believe that modern man can find rest only where man comes closest to God, to the ages, to the eternal...

This is why, when I am in Rome, I hurry first to the catacombs rather than to St. Peter's when there is no Pieta there. And regardless of all my admiration for Michelangelo, his Christ of the Last Judgement on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, is not the Christ envisaged by the Christian soul. Michelangelo's Last Judge is too human and physical with his expression of irrevocable punishment. Only El Greco, maybe because he was a Greek, succeeded in capturing the spiritual element in the Last Judge. And so also in our Eastern Churches Christ is represented more profoundly and in more spiritual terms.

How sorry I am that I did not have the opportunity to see the paintings by Dali and the sculptures by Meštrović which were then being exhibited at the foot of the Acropolis.

What sad reflections overcome one when one hears that in Western schools they want to remove and are already doing so, studies of works of ancient Hellas in the original because the language is "dead" and one must study everything from the practical point of view. As if man's only aim in life was to fulfill the needs of practical, physical existence, and not the highest pleasure derived from getting to know the surces of our culture which has no parallels so far.

The poverty-stricken Greeks carried their olives on their donkeys, not even glancing towards the Acropolis or the Agora, nor at the ruins of the prison in which it is said that Socrates had died. As then, so now, the tireless winds blew furiously, maybe because today's men had forgotten the greatness of the past, going about their everyday business, working for their daily bread, having forgotten

or perhaps not knowing at all, that before Christ revealed to us the truth about the one God, he had first inspired both Socrates and Plato to propound and prove the existence of one God...

Our bus hurried towards the airport, leaving behind Athens — our hearts and minds filled with disordered thoughts and parallels. Within a few hours to have filled one's soul with the greatness of Buddhism in Bangkok, the greatness of Eastern Christianity in Constantinople and Athens, the greatness of Ancient Hellas in the Acropolis, the greatness of Islam in the mosques of Istanbul — and now towards the center of Western Christianity and of ancient civilization — Rome.

We became sorry for that which had passed. And for some reason we recalled our approach to the Black Sea. I had seen it again and again I had drawn some water from it. For into the Black Sea flow the waters of the Dnipro and bring us a symbolic message from the hills above the river and from Kyïv's St. Sophia.

(To be continued)

Theodore MACKIW
University of Akron

WHO WAS THE AUTHOR OF MAZEPA'S ENGRAVING OF 1706?

The personality and activities of Hetman Ivan Mazepa (March 20, 1639 — October 2, 1709)¹, and Prince of Holy Roman Empire², have been called to the attention of not only contemporary statesmen, diplomats, and historians, but also such poets as Byron, Hugo, Pushkin, Ryleyev, Slowacki; composers such as Liszt, Maurer, Pedrel, Pedrotti, Tchaikovsky; and painters such as Boulanger, Gotschall, Vernet and others.

¹) Hetman liberally translated means "Head Man", the official title of the Chief Executive of an Autonomous Ukrainian Cossack Military Republic, better known as *Hetmanshchyna*, the Hetmanate; for details see: Hans Schumann, *Der Hetmanstaat, 1654-1764*, Breslau 1936, p. 4. Mazepa's date of birth is still a matter of dispute, see Alexander Ohloblyn, *Hetman Ivan Mazepa ta yoho doba, Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka*, (ZNTS); death was established by Borys Krupnyckyj, "Miscellanea Mazepiana", *Pratsi Ukraïns'koho Naukovoho Instytutu*, (thereafter "PUNI"), Warsaw 1939, Vol. 47, pp. 90-92.

²) For details about Mazepa's title of Prince of Holy Roman Empire, see my book: *Prince Mazepa Hetman of Ukraine in Contemporary English Publications 1687-1709*, Publications of the Ukrainian Research and Information Institute, Chicago, 1967, pp. 28-32.

Dr. John Pauls tried to give an account of Mazepa's portraits and their authenticity in his essay "Great Maecenas of the Arts Glorified By Painters."³

Analyzing the authorship of Mazepa's portrait, which was published for the first time in the German magazine, *Die Europaeische Fama* (Leipzig 1706, Vol. XXV, p. 1), Professor Pauls writes: "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."⁴ True, the late Ukrainian historian, V. Sichynsky, quoting German historians V. Thieme and F. Becker, indicated that Beyel painted this picture.⁵ However, the fact is that Mazepa's engraving, which was published in *Die Europaeische Fama* (1706), was made by a German engraver, Martin Berningroth, born in Ramelsburg in 1670, died in Leipzig in 1733.⁶

It may be possible that the Mazepa portrait of 1706 does not represent the reliable portrait of Hetman, yet it should be considered as very possible indeed. First of all, this engraving was done while Mazepa was alive, and secondly, the appearance of the portrait of 1706 corresponds with the description not only by Gustaf Adlerfelt, but also by another eye-witness, a German Field-Chaplain, Johann Wendel Bardili.⁷

Incidentally, this Mazepa's engraving was copied by S. Falka from *Die Europaeische Fama* and published by the German-Hungarian historian Johann Christian von Engel in his *Geschichte der Ukraine und der Kosaken... Fortsetzung der Allgemeinen Welthistorie durch eine Gesellschaft von Gelehrten in Deutschland und England* (Halle 1796, Vol. 48, p. 1).

³ *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 4 (1966), pp. 17-32.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 23.

⁵ V. Thieme and F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, Leipzig 1909, Vol. XI, p. 231, (...Nach Samuel Falka's Zeichnung strach Daniel Beyel ein Mazeppa-Bildniss"); Cf., V. Sichynsky, "Graviury na chest' Mazepy: graviurovani portrety Hetmana", *PUNI*, (1938). Vol. 46, p. 160. For details see my article "Graviura Mazepy z 1706 r.", *Ukrains'kyi Istoryk*, Vol. III, No. 1-2, (1966), pp. 69-72.

⁶ K. H. Heinecken, *Dictionnaire des Artistes*, Leipzig 1788. Vol. II, p. 601, ("Johannes Mazeppa, Cosacor. Dux"); *Allgemeiner Portrait Katalog*, Hamburg 1931, p. 497 ("...16570 Mazeppa, Ivan. Kosakenhetman. 1644-1709. Bender [Bernigeroth cs.]) It is widely accepted that Mazepa's name is spelled with a double "pp", but he himself signed his name with one "p". See my article "Mazepa or Mazeppa?" *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. X, No. 4 (1963), pp. 42-45.

⁷ J. W. Bardili, *Des Weylland Durchl. Printzens Maximilian Emanuels Hertzogs in Württemberg und Obristen über ein Schwedisches Dragoner Regiment, Reisen und Campagnen durch Teutschland in Polen, Lithauen. roth und weiss Reussland, Volhynien, Severien und Ukraine, etc.*, Stuttgart 1730, p. 418. ("...Mazeppa war übrigen der Person nach von keinem Ansehen, hageren Leibs, nicht hoch, und hatte einen Kopf voller Morlocken, oder Pohlischen Zöpfen...").

Dr. Isa BAUER

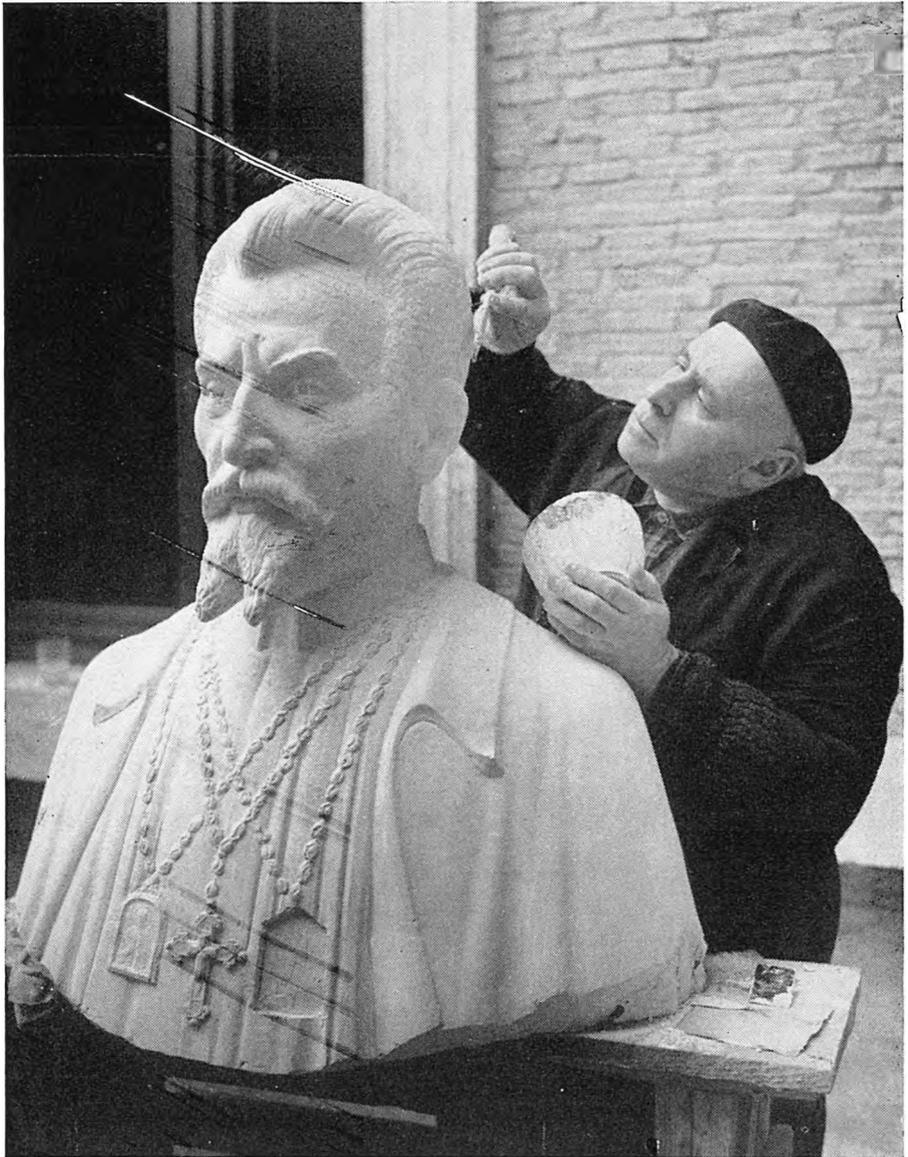
Gregory Kruk —the Sculptor

Introduction

In our age of commercialism and publicity it has become more customary than ever to write and discourse of art at great length with much detail and soul-stirring profundity. The eloquence showered by many sharp-witted interpreters of art on the objects of their scrutiny often tends to confuse the spectator. Opinions are apt to be laid down as immutable laws. Imaginary intentions are often read into a work of art with the result that its vitality is sapped and its natural impact completely destroyed. There is an unmistakable trend in much art criticism to pay court to immediate success. Such success, impressive though it be, is generally short-lived. It is the lot of the ephemeral to be subjected to changing tastes and times. Great art, on the other hand, persists, since it embodies truth, and truth alone endures.

If nevertheless certain ideas and opinions are set forth in this Introduction, they are expressed without dogmatism, in keeping with the modesty and reticence of the artist. The task of making the spectator feel the authenticity and the truth of the statements which the sculptor presents in permanent form must be left entirely to the artistic product itself; it cannot tolerate the despotism of language, for all hard and fast pronouncements are a violation of its integrity. Confronted by the eternal values, the artist in an inspired moment has captured in his sculpture the spirit of truth and liberty that blows through the realm of art. The works of the artist do indeed bear names or labels, but more as indications, for the content of the sculptures is something far deeper and more varied than their names can denote. "Names are but sound and smoke"; Goethe's dictum applies to all sculptures by Gregory Kruk. Each piece is a noble vessel, the ideas it contains representing all the paradoxes of life, and everything is convincingly sublimated in the triumphant serenity of humanity.

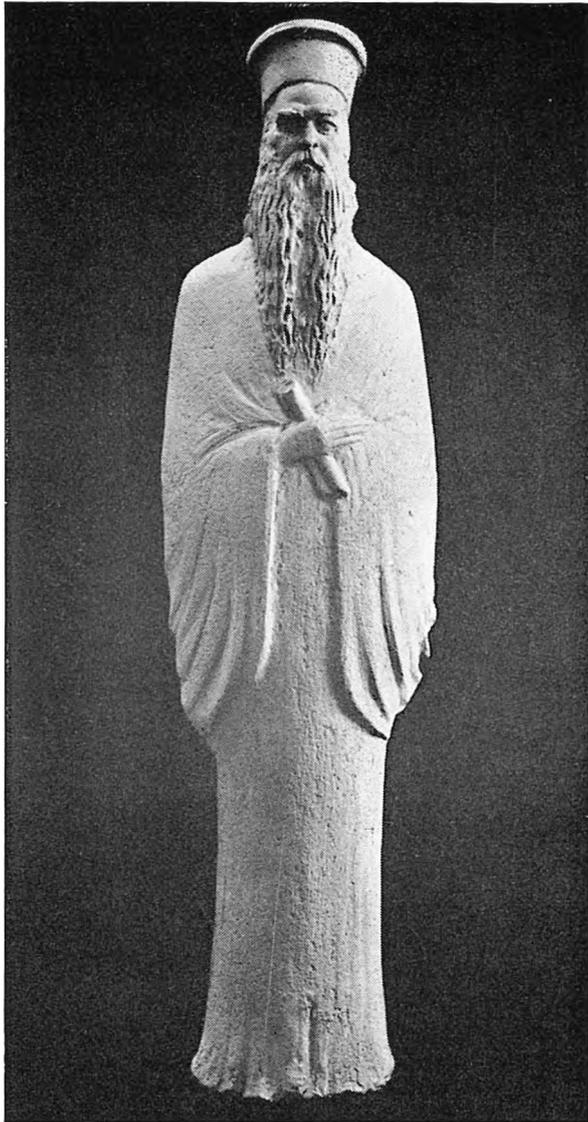
Sculpture demands a special way of seeing things and grasping their essence. Whereas in painting the visual impression is received exclusively through the activity of the eye, the three-dimensionality of sculpture must be apprehended by the feeling for space and proportion. Confronted with a piece of sculpture the spectator, as it were, feels its planes, lines, angles and protrusions with his hands. He is thus following the course pursued by the sculptor in the act of creation, and he is struck by the revelation that matter is energy and movement. The results arrived at by the modern physicist therefore hold beyond his own discipline; they apply to the universal sphere of art.



Gregory Kruk at work on a bust
of Cardinal Joseph Slipyi.



Pope Paul VI greeting Gregory Kruk. In the foreground:
Gregory Kruk's sculptured portrait of Pope Paul VI.



*Gregory Kruk: ATHENAGORAS I,
Archbishop of Constantinople
and Oecumenical Patriarch.*



Gregory Kruk: THE DANCER.

Kruk's figures owe their harmony to the perfect balance they hold between movement and rest. In every line movement is powerfully and subtly translated into form, and vice-versa. In his figures movement is always continued right up, to the very moment of its translation into stone. It is this that makes Kruk a pioneer in sculpture: he has succeeded in reconciling all contrasts and tensions in his sculptures without forfeiting their massiveness and earthiness.

The medium (stone, bronze, clay) is not, as in Rodin's work, artistically dissolved in garments, folds and drapery; even Kruk's draped figures retain the nudity of the material in spite of being clothed. Carrying abstraction to the utmost limit, the sculptor manages to obliterate the clothing without sacrificing anything of its dignity and drama. The pose, arrested permanently, becomes timeless and universally valid. Kruk also shows his mastery of form in his ability to bring concrete things into harmony with their opposites.

Plasticity is the result of establishing harmony between lines and shapes, a goal the sculptor strives for and finally achieves, in his sculpture by translating their equilibrium into pure form.

Space and monumentality. Monumentality denotes massiveness, volume, power. Egyptian, Etruscan and classical Graeco-Roman sculptors generally produced monumental works. Awe-inspiring witnesses from the dawn of human history speak to us in the gigantic cave drawings and rock paintings of the Ice Age, which were connected with religious rites. We realize afresh that all great art is rooted in religion. The monumental is characterized by the unerring line projected with dynamic power, the bare, concentrated line which marvellously captures say, a bison or a horse in action, an art whose perfection has not been equalled since.

When we look at Gregory Kruk's sculpture with this by no means primitive art in mind, we are immediately struck by features common to both: mastery of form and monumental space, stark simplicity and extreme concentration of direction and movement, no matter from what angle or position they are viewed. While the absolutely clear, disciplined line is firm and hard, it nevertheless pulsates with the vitality and feeling emanating from the ponderous but sensitive protuberances. Every movement, reduced to essentials and simplified by the maximum abstraction, returns to its point of departure as a circle or an oval. Kruk's infallibility in discarding all that is unimportant and unessential in form and content gives his work the comforting strength inherent in the wholeness of objects.

Although many of his sculptures are monumental in size, their effect is independent of physical proportions, as may be seen from a whole series of small figures no higher than about a foot. Kruk's figures owe their ponderous solidity to the fact that their compact, perfectly balanced form is a synthesis of the antithetical elements which fill all space, since by their very nature they represent space. Here we are once more reminded of the origins of art exemplified by the early witnesses to prehistoric man's "will to form." Besides the cave paintings, the small limestone figures and other sculptures of the Magdalenian culture (50,000-20,000 B.C.) give an impression of monumentality in spite of their small dimensions. Although the famous Willendorf Venus is only 11 cm high, it represents the monumental character of prehistoric art.

Sculpture is space, space pressed inwards (content and gesture) and space powerfully thrust outwards. To illustrate how a contemporary artist has stamped this age-long law of form on his work as the hallmark of absolute interpretation, we would draw attention to Kruk's crouching figures, indeed to all his seated figures. The "Crouching Girl" and similar pieces express the stillness of meditation; they are completely withdrawn, full of inner peace but nevertheless alive, not at all rigid, animate symbols of the strength which is preserved inviolate in the depth of life. Similarly the "Burgomaster" is a unique representation of composure, of sheer, earth-bound strength; the block is, as it were in impregnable safe where all movement is stored as an inalienable treasure. Kruk's sculptures are all charged with intense feeling; they are in every sense, pregnant, big with promise, as is particularly apparent in the two figures of a "Pregnant Woman." They are, nevertheless, serene and withdrawn, dedicated to the load of life with its burdens, its sadness, but also its consolation. Art is not gay, it must indeed be serious if it lays claim to quality. That a certain gay humour breaks through the disciplined gestures of the "Dancer", the "Roman Catholic Priest" and other pieces goes to show that in spite of their controlled gestures, Kruk combines life's contrasts harmoniously and raises them to the level of universal art by rigorously applying his adamant principle of form.

When Kruk was composing people, destinies, experiences and memories into one melody he may have been inspired by much that was dear in his native Ukraine. The "Peasant playing the Flute", a Ukrainian Pan, who ponders on the notes he has played while listening to the music within himself, and the country girl leaning on her bucket yoke seems to be lost in thought, listening to one of those folk-songs whose plaintive beginning moves one to tears, which give way to happy smiles when the melody ends in a joyous finale.

Since Gregory Kruk's figures define space, they cannot be enclosed in a frame or posed against a background: they must stand free in the space between heaven and earth. Though, charged with transcendental dynamics as they are, they fill this space, they belong absolutely to the earth. The sculptor relates his works in a strong Mother Earth big with child. They are firmly rooted therein as in their home. In return, they create for Gregory Kruk the man and the artist a refuge and a home, an inexhaustible source of pain and longing for creative expression.

The "Refugee", a moving figure, who holds a small bit of his native soil in his hand while he bends his right arm to cover his face in order to hide his mourning, is a beautiful symbol of steadfastness, a symbol of humility and strength, not complaining loudly, but radiating quietness. The bent arm describes a narrow oval.

The controlled pose of this statue, similar to that of the "Standing Peasant", is instinct with urgency and pent-up drama; according to Nature's eternal law, nothing is ever lost. All of this is concentrated to produce an expression of spiritual beauty. Kruk enriches objective, aesthetic form by investing it with the spiritual values that hold for mankind. By so doing he ranges his art under the classical ideal of the *good and the beautiful*.

Beauty this is a concept whose relevance to the artistic quality of Kruk's work calls for comment.

Long habit and certain influences have given many people a conventional idea of beauty, determined, however, by contemporary taste and uniform aims of education. This may explain why purely superficial aesthetic standards can dull the eye and prevent people from experiencing genuine, soul-stirring beauty.

Kruk's sculptures are beautiful. They convey the essence of life by direct impact, not by any extraneous additions or by environment. They are wholly unsentimental, devoid of theatrical gesticulations and sensational appeal. They have the beauty of holiness. This is what lends all these humble, simple people a freedom and a nobility over and beyond their figures. And that is why they are rich in beauty for the spectator whose eye is undimmed by convention. Beauty is much too vast a concept to be confined to any fabricated object whatever. Indeed beauty is most profoundly felt where it is independent of place or rule. "Beauty has not *one* place in our darkness, for it is all hers." This succinct pronouncement by René Char applies to art and it strengthens the claim of Kruk's sculptures to beauty. The concise poetical statement provides us with the key to the understanding of the beautiful in all its complex variety. Such thoughts evoke the right attitude in a spectator, the harmony of feeling and intellect enables him to sense beauty in form, gesture, expression, even in inanimate material such as stone, clay or bronze. Apprehended thus, beauty can appear only as a symbol: being a universal concept it transcends the individual, the personal. Everyone will find the realization of beauty appropriate to his own nature in Kruk's works for his creations reproduce something of the pure, eternal forms which live as ideals and knowledge in the souls of all who are blessed by contact with what is valid for all time, with the bonds common to all humanity.

Gregory Kruk's Art — an Art of the Present

It is customary to show the connections between an artist and his work, with contemporary art. Since the reader's attention is to be drawn primarily to the study of the sculptures, it seems advisable to omit any detailed comments which would interfere with his immediate approach to these. But the study of Kruk's work may invoke memories of two great sculptors — Maillol and Barlach.

"The Crouching Woman", one of Kruk's early works, reminds us in particular of Maillol by its soft though powerful handling of the body. It has the harmony of classical sculpture. Others, for instance the "Large Nude", betray certain influences of academic tradition, while at the same time showing definite indications of Kruk's individual and independent approach to sculpture. As far as subjects are concerned, there are parallels to Barlach, but only to that sculptor's work after his journey to Russia which left a lasting mark on his art. Yet if we compare his work with Kruk's we are struck by the difference in the treatment of surfaces. Barlach's are more restless, the material not being everywhere worked up to produce the great serenity, the modelling less concentrated than in Kruk's work. Both artists have created

statues of figures supported by crutches and representations of pregnant women. In Barlach's versions, however, the physical exertion is still too apparent, almost naturalistically so, to the detriment of their quality as sculpture. Art is more than nature and life. Kruk has integrated his "more" into all his creations. The "Woman on crutches", his most mature work, is at once suffering and triumphant. It portrays courage, humility and renunciation, struggle and defeat, pride and failure. The hard contradictions of life, the tender and the sublime things, everything has its own place and rank in a whole which, though stricken at the very heart, still persists unbroken by the wounds of time and life. Like all art that is not merely fragmented perversions, Kruk's art is whole and therefore filled with the genuine reverence for life which can bring the present world and its frightened inhabitants the healing warmth, the comfort, the feeling of security and peace to enable it and them to escape physical and spiritual impoverishment.

Here the circle is completed. We have returned to our starting point, to the idea that all art is religious in origin. This explains its meaning and its value as an agent of salvation and reconciliation. Kruk's art fulfils this ancient mission in our time with all the more integrity and courage because it flatters nothing, embroiders nothing, does not wish to evoke sentimental ideal conditions. Our sculptor looks concrete reality in the face. Confronted by his theme he rejects all sentimental melancholy and puts his whole soul into his task of translating what is given into terms of a loftier and more abstract reality. This assures Gregory Kruk's work an indisputable place in present day sculpture.

Gregory KRUK

My Life's Story

I was born in Western Ukraine in the village of Bratyshiv which lies in the southern piedmont region near Stanyslaviv. The village consisted of some 350 houses with whitewashed clay walls and thatched roofs, a lovely old wooden church, a four-year school, and, in the very center, a large brick tavern.

The well-to-do people lived from farming. Those with little land practised trades such as shoemaking, tailoring, carpentry, or pottery-making. The poor worked as hired hands for the landlord whose estate lay on the outskirts of the village. Sometimes when we ran short of grain, my mother, too, would go to the landlord's field to reap wheat or rye. For this she received every thirteenth sheaf. Several of the old and sick without families used to go from door to door begging. When someone gave them bread or a little grain, they would loudly bless the house with a Pater Noster. On Sunday morning, most of the population could be found in front of the church, and on Sunday evening, at the tavern.

During the winter the village lay deep in snow. I would make snowmen (we called them "grandmother"), and sometimes when I had a cough, I would sit on the warm stove or before the frozen windows which would be crusted with frost flowers and fantastic figures. I would look in wonder at their complex designs, and with my fingernail I would engrave deeper contours. Then, with huge satisfaction, I would lick them away to the bare glass!

In summer, in back of our house, grew burdock and nettles. After a rain, I would play there and make a church with little mud figures. Around me, red-winged butterflies swarmed over the mud. They always fascinated me with their hues. I would run after them, but I could not catch them. They gave me no peace, and yet I never succeeded in capturing one to examine its colour, just as even today I cannot grasp exact form in sculpture. It haunts me and forever eludes me. It gives me impetus to work and hope, but it does not yield to understanding.

When I was an older and stronger boy of nine or ten, I went to school and on Saturday helped my Mother grind wheat or rye or corn. It was my job to turn the huge millstone, for Mother was not strong and always said her back hurt. I didn't like Saturdays and I dreaded them because I knew I would have to turn that heavy, noisy stone again and with my own strength transform the hard grain into flour.

In school I learned well, although I was more afraid of the teachers than of their learning. Every day when I returned home, I had to take the cow out to graze in the forest. This chore was easier for me than working at the mill, because when I was bored, I could sing or with a knife carve out the angels I had seen in church. The hillside upon which I grazed the cow was called "Wolf Mountain" because once there had actually been wolves there. To a boy of my age, it seemed very large and mysterious.

The most tragic memory of my childhood is of the day I lost the cow in the forest and had to return home in the evening without her. Mother didn't beat me, but in a towering rage she said, "I won't let you into the house or give you anything to eat until you bring that cow home from the forest!" Out of fright I began to cry, and after me my sister and little brother. What were we going to do without our cow?

Mother, too, began to cry, and got a lantern and we all set off to look for the cow. In the forest it was quiet. We listened for a noise, but heard nothing. After a while, Mother loudly and half-crying called the cow, "Hey, Minka! Minka! Come here!"

The dark night and the silence of the forest frightened us and we started home in great despair and grief. On the way I cried harder and harder and Mother scolded me more and more, and kept saying,

"Go into the woods after the cow, because I won't let you into the house anymore!"

I ran away from Mother fearing both her and the dark forest. When we were near the village, Mother stopped at the crossroads and raised her hands in tearful prayer: "Oh, Lord, give me my cow!" The prayer didn't help, and we went weeping back to the village without Minka.

I am fifty years old now. I have attended many funerals and witnessed many fatal accidents, but never anywhere have I seen anyone cry for a departed loved one the way we did over the cow. I won't even try to describe our joy as we reached our house and saw Minka standing in the field. She had come home from the forest by herself and was waiting for us! Out of my Mother's boundless happiness, that cow received a hundred hugs and kisses.

My father, Yakiv, and my Grandfather, Ivan, were potters. From clay they turned out household crockery which they decorated, fired, and themselves marketed at the fairs in the neighbouring towns.

Father had not had an easy time with Grandfather, for as soon as the old man sold his pots, he would go directly to the tavern and there in animated company drink up his entire receipts. Grandfather did not even send Father to school. But by his own efforts, Father had learned to read and write, and he learned well. For his own part, Grandfather could scarcely tolerate the "sober kill-joy" who never wanted to sit down to a glass of schnaps with him and his hard-drinking brothers, Antin and Mykhailo Kruk, and who, instead, read in church and at home, loudly and half singing the Acts of the Apostles, the Gospels, and the Psalms. And in truth my Father knew by heart all the chants and canticles and everything else which pertained to the Greek-Catholic service.

While Father was still young, he worked in Grandfather's workshop but after he was married, he had to strike out on his own in order to provide for his family. His first wife and his seven year old son, Olexa, died leaving him alone with a daughter, Maria, who ever today lives with my Mother in the village of Bratyshiv. Much later my Father told me it was only at the insistence of his old mother that he could make up his mind to marry again, although a woman's help was plainly needed in the household. Two sons were born of this second marriage, my younger brother, Ivan, and I, Gregory (Hryhoriy).

The First World War tore my Father from his work and he had to enter the Austrian army. His military service brought him, however certain advantages. He spent it in Vienna, Budapest, and partly in Zhovkva in East Galicia. He returned stronger than he went and he had also learned German. But most of all his eyes had been opened out there where he found himself in the mainstream of Western culture.

Not long afterwards Grandfather died, and Father took the business and the workshop into his capable hands. He was now able to send me and my little brother to school. Many times he said to my Mother, "Mark well, old woman, our children must never mind the herds of the Polish landlords or learn to sit in the tavern like our people before us. Away with them to the cities and the universities!" And my Father himself never ceased to learn. He never missed an assembly. He belonged to the cultural organization, "Sich", which Cyril Trylovskyj had founded. Often he listened to our Ukrainian national leaders, the fiery Ivan Makukh, the cautious Pavlyk, and above all the gifted politician and poet, our national apostle, Ivan Franko.

At home he repeated to us what he had heard from them. We stood there with open mouths and our eyes sparkled, although we understood little or nothing of what he said. But in some incomprehensible way we are often formed and nourished by what we do not understand.

While still a child, I helped my Father and delighted when under my little fingers figures emerged from the sweet, soft clay and I gave them form and shape. My schoolteacher, Vasyl Lukasevych, was the first to notice my drawings and figures. It was also he who advised my Father to send me to the handicraft school in Stanyslaviv. This my Father did.

Besides being a potter, my Father was also a mason. He made for the farmers those great, wide stoves upon which one can comfortably sleep away the cold winter nights. But he did not build only farm stoves. He could satisfy the most exacting demands.

Apart from that, he carved frames for the iconostasis of the village church and indeed also painted the large pictures which went into them — in oil, no less! We somewhat irreverently call peoples with such a talent "Bohomaz", "Goddaubers." Father said he had learned this noble art together with painting and woodcarving in Vienna while he was there as a soldier. Later, when his hands became unsteady, he gave up this handicraft and occupied himself as a herb doctor. In this he soon became better known than previously as an artist. Not only did ailing sheep, pigs, cows, and farmers become his patients, but even the intelligentsia, the teachers and priests, who ordinarily regarded such things as superstition, came from afar to receive his cures. He was most famous for his remedy against snakebite.

My Mother and Father were not wholly satisfied with my studies at the handicraft school, for their desires went beyond this. I should study to become a "real gentleman" — at least a village schoolmaster or a priest. Yes, that was the peak of ambition among our farm families.

During summer vacations I returned home and continued to help out in Father's workshop. This aroused considerable comment in the village, and people would say, "Look! Look! The son wears a tie and city trousers and isn't after all ashamed of the farmhouse or to work with his hands!"

When we were out building stoves, Father, as he worked, never ceased to talk of his experiences and his life. I gained from this much that has been useful in my life, and most of what he said is even today still vivid in my memory. I turn often to his wise teachings.

Later, when I studied at the Academy of Arts in Cracow, I became acquainted not only with Ukrainian but also with other literatures. Yet these talks with my Father have remained for me richer in content and more worthwhile than all my book learning. A little spring in the forest refreshes in a very different way from the water tap in a school corridor.

Astounded, I often asked my Father, "Bat'ko, how is it that you never read clever books and yet you speak in parables like a great wise man?"

"It's like this", he would say, "always follow the wisest teacher of mankind, Nature. Learn to read Nature and when you love her, she will bare herself to you. Doesn't everyone, learned and unlearned, landlord and peasant, create and build out of Nature?"

Our Mother named us "the philosophers", and many times we were to hear her call, "Come to dinner, my philosophers, or the beans will get cold in the borshch!"

My Father was very pious and never missed a Sunday or Holy Day service. His healthy humour relieved the sick and cheered the strong. He had a kind, soft, conciliatory nature. No beggar ever left our threshold empty handed. But he could also hate. He looked with contempt upon the military, the police, and the tax collectors who were very importunate. "Don't ever dare to find such uniforms attractive or ever want to wear one!" he would warn us with an angry look.

Sometimes my Father would say, "Hryhoriy, you are not suited to be a farmer, for you have a talent which should not be buried. Sometime, though, you will be alone in the world without counsel or help. But for that you have here a living example before you, the example of a very shrewd and very, very practical people, the Jews. Despite my almost sixty years, I have never in my whole life seen a drunken Jewish blacksmith. Your health is precious, Hryhoriy, so protect yourself from heavy physical labour, and if you must waste your eyes, then do so with beautiful images and never fill them with empty trash!"

Father was also very musical. That he could sing hundreds of folk songs was natural for a Ukrainian. But often as we came from the

fair, say, in Nyzhniv, and passed a Catholic church in which someone was playing an organ, my Father would grip my hand excitedly and lead me to the church door. There he would cross himself after the manner of the Eastern Rite and listen transported to the soaring organ music. When the magic was over and we were again on the street, he would say, "Oh, what a shame we don't have organs in our churches! Such a noble instrument. It converts the heathen!"

After I had finished the Cracow Academy of Arts under Prof. Laszczka, Bohdan Lepkyj and Museum Director Stanislaw Till arranged for me to go to Berlin. I obtained a scholarship to the Berlin Kunstakademie from the Ukrainian Institute of Sciences directed by Dr. Ivan Mirchuk whose closest co-worker was Dr. Zenon Kuzela. Professors Focke and Hitzberg were my teachers in Berlin. To them I owe my motto: "First be a man, then become an artist!"

During the Second World War, my brother, Ivan, came to me in Berlin and we lived together. He was a journeyman painter. Ivan was intelligent and modest and had never entertained ambitions to enter the Academy. Before the end of the war, we were able to return to our home village and our beloved parents for what even then seemed to us the last time. What tearful joy this meeting after long separation! What terrible grief that parting under tragic premonitions. It was 1944/45 when we left our parents. We were never to see them again.

Upon our return to Berlin, we realized it would be impossible to remain there any longer. After a short rest, we came to Munich. The Munich beginning was difficult. We managed nevertheless to set up a little retail kiosk. Then for a year I became instructor in sculpture and drawing at the UNRRA University (Dept. of Architecture). After the disbandment of this institution, I returned to the kiosk. I even saved enough money to make little trips to France, Italy, and England. I would have liked to satisfy my yearning to visit Greece, Spain, and above all Egypt — Egypt, the cradle of the world's most powerful sculpture. But I and my plans received a crushing blow through the sudden and too early death of my beloved brother. He had always been my helpful, loving and understanding patron, rejoicing more at my successes than at his own. His little son, Maxym, is now in my care.

My modest work, the done and, with God's help, the yet to be done, I dedicate to the memory of my dear parents. Today I still see them before the Holy Icon, their calloused hands, ennobled by decades of heavy toil, raised in fervent prayer to God for a better future for their children.

V. Bohdaniuk

EXPLOITATION OF UKRAINE'S ECONOMY BY RUSSIA

Russian economic power is greatly strengthened by the domination over Ukraine's resources, her industry and agriculture. It would be true to say that without the possession of Ukraine Russia would be only a medium-size power and not the second most powerful state in the world.

The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic comprises a territory of 603,500 square kilometres (233,000 sq. miles). Its territory is bigger than that of any other European State except Russia. On January 1st, 1967 the population of the Ukrainian S.S.R. amounted to 45.9 million people, i.e. 19.6 p.c. of the total population of the U.S.S.R. It must be remembered that the Ukrainian S.S.R. does not include all Ukrainian ethnographic territories and that several millions of Ukrainians live in areas adjacent to its borders. Economically and politically Ukraine is the second most important republic of the Soviet Union after the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic.

Ukraine's economic potential can be judged from the following table:

Output of Ukraine in 1966

<i>P r o d u c t</i>	<i>Quantity</i>	<i>Ukrainian S.S.R. in percentage of the total output of the U.S.S.R.</i>
Iron ore (mil. tons)	86.9	54.3
Pig iron (mil. tons)	35.2	50.0
Steel (mil. tons)	40.5	41.8
Rolled metal (mil. tons)	32.4	42.3
Steel tubes (mil. tons)	3.4	34.3
Coal (mil. tons)	196	33.5
Incl. coking coal (mil. tons)	76	53.3
Natural gas (billion cu. m.)	43.6	30.0
Petroleum (mil. tons)	9.3	3.5
Electric power (billion kWh)	100	18.3
Mineral fertilisers (mil. tons)	7.9	22.0
Sulphuric acid (thousand tons)	1892	20.2
Caustic soda (thousand tons)	158	11.3
Calcinated soda (thousand tons)	860	29.0
Automobiles (thousands)	72.6	10.7
Tractors (thousands)	124	32.4
Diesel railway engines (sections)	1473	96.3
Metallurgical equipment (thousand tons)	117	46.4
Chemical plant (million roubles)	126	30.3
Electric power transformers (mil. kVA)	41.9	50.0
Turbines (mil. kW)	4.5	29.6
Natural sulphur	?	30 (appx.)
Grain (mil. tons)	34.0	20
Sugar (mil. tons)	5.95	61.3
Butter (thousand tons)	264	23
Meat (thousand tons)	2553	23.6

Vegetable oil (thousand tons)	907	34.8
Milk (mil. tons)	17.3	22.8
Eggs (millions)	7396	23.5
Vegetables (million tons)	5.0	30.0
Fruit & berries (million tons)	1.8	42 (appx.)
<i>Livestock (in millions)</i>		
Cattle	21.9	22.5
incl. cows	9.0	21.8
Pigs	17.9	30.9
Sheep and goats	9.4	6.6

(Based on the official Soviet reports in *Radianska Ukraina*, January 29 and February 1, 1967).

As is seen from the above table Ukraine produces large amounts of raw materials and semi-products, especially the bulky ones, which are artificially priced cheaply. The policy of Moscow has been to keep Ukraine as a colonial raw material base. Its industry is geared to the production of bulky goods while Russia specialises more and more on the production of excessively highly priced goods requiring especially skilled labour, such as precision engineering, textiles etc. Ukraine's goods are sold at a cheap price to Russia while inordinately expensive Russian products dominate the Ukrainian market. Ukraine is forbidden to enter in direct trade relations with any country outside the USSR, because Moscow jealously guards its monopoly in foreign trade.

Ukraine must carry the burden of the financing of various Russian projects as part of the so-called interior Soviet division of labour. Moreover, it must fulfil this responsibility without the slightest consideration of the specific needs of the Ukrainian people. Soviet Ukrainian economists have calculated that from the Ukrainian tax yield between 1959 and 1961 78% never returned to Ukraine. By that alone, Ukraine lost more than 4 milliard roubles annually, that is to say about 15% of its national income — which Moscow saw fit to invest elsewhere.

The share of particular branches of the economy of Ukraine in the total national income of these branches in the USSR as a whole was as follows in 1960: industry — 17%, construction — 18.4%, agriculture — 22.9%, transport and communications — 15.4%, trade, procurements, material and technical supply and other branches of material production — 18.4%. In 1961 the share of agriculture rose to 25.5%. National income of the Ukrainian SSR amounted to 27,046 million roubles (in current prices) in 1960. It means that Ukraine's share in the total volume of the so-called national income of the USSR amounted to 19% in 1960. This proportion has been maintained in later years, and is planned to be maintained in future, too.

(O. O. Nesterenko and others: *National Income of the Ukrainian SSR in the Period of an All-out Construction of Communism*, Kyiv, 1963, pp. 51, 150.)

It must be remembered that the above figures tend to minimise the real importance of Ukraine for the economy of the USSR, because

of the artificial price system which generally makes Ukrainian products look cheaper and thus in the sum lowers the share of Ukraine.

This fact is admitted even by some Soviet Ukrainian economists. Thus the book by Nesterenko, from which we have quoted the above figures, states quite clearly:

"Owing to the gap between low-set prices and the value of output produced by a number of branches of the national economy of Ukraine, the distribution of a certain share of its national income in favour of other union republics takes place. Ukraine supplies other union republics with products the prices of which are set below their values." (*Ibid.*, p. 152).

It goes without saying that the major share of this "free gift" of Ukraine goes to the Russian Republic which exploits the dependent situation of Ukraine to despoil its people from the fruits of its labour.

Ukraine plays a major role in the Soviet export trade. In the total export of the USSR the share of Ukraine amounts to 25 p.c. and in some goods is predominant, e.g.: natural gas — 100 p.c., superphosphate — 99.8 p.c., iron ore — 98 p.c., pig iron — 81.5 p.c., coal — 78.4 p.c., ammonium sulphate — 78 p.c., sugar — 77.4 p.c. Apart from the satellite states, the biggest consumers of Ukrainian products are: Britain (benzene, colophony, pig iron, hops, sugar, textile raw materials), France (soap materials, antracite coal, flax fibre), Finland (coal, sulphur, sugar), USA (glass, pyridine, benzene). These goods are exported as "Russian products" and Ukraine gets little, if anything, in return.

Ukraine is forced to aid satellite countries and various underdeveloped countries to build industrial enterprises. Thus in 1964 Ukraine was helping in the construction of 347 enterprises in these countries and the credit for it, naturally, went to Russia, whereas Ukraine received nothing in return.

In the total world production the share of Ukraine is as follows:

Pig iron	10.5%	(2nd place in the world)
Steel	8.4%	(3rd " " " ")
Coal	9.3%	(5th " " " ")
Natural gas	9.3%	(3rd " " " ")
Electric power	2.7%	(8th " " " ")
Cement	8.0%	(8th " " " ")
Sulphuric acid	2.9%	(9th " " " ")

From the above table one can see that Ukraine is among the major producing countries in the world, but her people are deprived of the right to manage their own destinies, her wealth is used for the strengthening of Russia's war potential and Ukrainians have to suffer in conditions of an artificially lowered standard of living. For this reason alone, apart from other considerations, the Ukrainians are struggling against Russian domination and sustain the aspirations for a free and independent existence as a nation state.

75th ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINIAN SETTLEMENT IN CANADA

by Senator Paul YUZYK

As Canada is celebrating its Centennial as Confederation this year it is fitting to recall that the year 1966 marked the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of Ukrainian Settlement in Canada. It was in early September, 1891, that the first two Ukrainian settlers, Iwan Pylypiw and Wasyl Eleniak (died in 1956 at the age of 97) arrived in Winnipeg. Pylypiw and Eleniak were the first permanent Ukrainian homesteaders in Canada whose example and appeals attracted many thousands of their countrymen to Canada from the Western Ukrainian lands, which at that time were part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. This year, over a half-million Ukrainian Canadians are paying tribute to these and other pioneer settlers and leaders.

The outstanding and everlasting contribution of the Ukrainian pioneers is the bringing under cultivation of millions of acres of virgin soil in the Canadian West and the bringing of civilization and prosperity to these vast, hitherto unsettled regions. The significance of this contribution can be fathomed when a comparison is made: the Ukrainians brought under cultivation considerably more land (my estimate is approximately 10,000,000 acres) in seven decades than the ten-times more numerous French Canadians in Quebec (over 5,000,000 acres) in over 300 years. It took courage, faith, good-will and perseverance for these humble folk to leave their native land forever and settle in an unknown wilderness to face and endure all the trials and hardships of a tough pioneering venture in order to establish a new home and a new life. They pushed back the frontier on the periphery of settlement at that time, establishing numerous new communities which formed a long and almost continuous belt commencing in the south-eastern corner of Manitoba and scattering diagonally across the three prairie provinces in a north-westerly direction to the Peace River area in northern Alberta, in some places the width of the belt being over 100 miles. To their eternal memory, they have left over 130 place-names of Ukrainian origin in this vast strip of territory, such as Ukraina, Komarno, Senkiw and Medika in Manitoba; Gorlitz, Tarnopol, Dnieper, Krydor and Sokal in Saskatchewan; Myrnam, New Kiew, Shandro and Stry in Alberta. Together with the British and French, the Ukrainian are builders of Western Canada and therefore, partners.

The advent of Ukrainian settlement in Canada was preceded by two other Ukrainian newcomers. One was the introduction of Red Fife wheat in the West in 1876, which because of its early maturing as well as superb milling and baking qualities, made possible the settlement of the Prairies. Red Fife wheat was Galician (Ukrainian) wheat planted first in Ontario, from which later were developed over 80 other North American varieties, such as Marquis, Ceres, Reliance, Reward, Thatcher and Apex. It is also remarkable that Red Fife was first produced in the West in the Red River Valley, whose soil on both sides of the river is officially designated in agricultural atlases as "chernozem", the Ukrainian name meaning "black earth", after the fertile soil in central Ukraine "the granary and breadbasket of Europe." Adjacent to the Chernozem of the Red River Valley is a lighter, greyish-black soil labelled "Podzol", named after the soil in the wooded regions of Ukraine. (The Chernozem and Podzol soils extend southward to Minneapolis). And so, when Ukrainians arrived in Manitoba in the 1890's, they felt at home on a Ukrainian-type soil and with a Ukrainian variety of wheat.

Consequently, as could be expected, with their centuries-old background of farming in their native land, and their devotion to hard work and their families, the Ukrainian Canadians have made the most spectacular progress in agriculture. Almost half of the Ukrainian population in the Prairie Provinces is still engaged in farming, the size of the average farm having increased to approximately four quarters, 640 acres, or one square mile. Farming today is highly mechanized and costly, bringing in a good income and wealth to the country.

Ukrainian farmers are ranked among the best in Canada and in the world. The Canadian National Railway Community Progress Competition, held in 1930, awarded the Ukrainian municipalities of Rossburn and Ethelbert first and second place respectively in Manitoba, and first and third place in Alberta — a remarkable achievement. Examples of individuals recognized for the highest grade of grain production are the following: William Skladan of Andrew, Alberta, won the title of the World's Oat Champion at the Chicago International Show in 1939, and again in 1941; in 1940, Paul Pawlowski of Vilna, Alberta, won the world oat championship and Elia Lastiwka, also of Andrew, Alberta, won the world barley championship; in 1941, Pawlowski won the barley championship. The Pushka brothers, of Angusville, Manitoba, gained the greatest number of awards at the Manitoba Seed Fair in 1938; John Palidwor of Hazelridge, Manitoba, won that distinction in 1949; William Desitnyk, of Sandy Lake, Manitoba, became Canada's barley champion in 1951. The Ukrainians are the best vegetable growers in Manitoba and rank high in dairying.

Agricultural experts and scientists of Ukrainian descent have made important contributions in their specific fields. Among the outstanding scientists are: Dr. T. K. Pavlychenko, (died in 1958), former professor of Plant Ecology at the University of Saskatchewan, an author of a number of scientific publications and an outstanding researcher of world renown in chemical weed control; Dr. Isydore Hlynka, an internationally recognized cereal chemist with the

federal Board of Grain Commissioners, is author of several scientific papers, former president of the Manitoba Section of the Chemical Institute of Canada, and member of the editorial boards of the publications *Chemistry in Canada* and *The Cereal Chemist* (U.S.A.); Dr. W. J. Cherewick, with the Dominion Plant Pathology Laboratories in Winnipeg, was for two years supervisor of the Colombo Plan agricultural activities in Malaya, Asia.

In this survey it is impossible to give an adequate account of the rapid strides made by Ukrainians in the economic fields in recent years. The co-operative movement has had little success in business and is now confined mainly to grocery stores. On the other hand, credit unions have grown rapidly since the establishment of the first one in Saskatoon in 1939. In 1964, there were 53 Ukrainian credit unions across Canada with assets, mostly savings, amounting to approximately \$30,000,000; the largest was the Carpathia Credit Union Society in Winnipeg with 2,626 members and assets totalling nearly \$3,000,000. Large-scale enterprises have produced several Ukrainian millionaires, mainly in mining. Among the successful entrepreneurs are such men as Hnat Poworoznyk, President of Essex Packert in Hamilton; M. G. Smerchanski, geologist, with gold and uranium mining interests in northern Manitoba and Quebec, owner of chemical plants in Moncton, N. B. and Winnipeg; Dr. Joseph Boyko, a newcomer, Toronto realtor, manufacturer and investor; the late V. J. Swystun, Winnipeg lawyer, financier, with interests in hotels, a shopping centre, and President of the Settlers Savings and Mortgage Corporation, with the Head Office in Winnipeg; and Harry Winton, Toronto, contractor of large apartments, stores and office buildings. It is obvious that the Ukrainian Canadians are expanding into every branch of economic activity, including those requiring large investments and technological knowledge.

Achievements in Canadian Politics

Perhaps the most important criterion of the integration of any group into Canadian society and life is its active participation in politics and public life. In this respect the Ukrainians are far in advance of many other ethnic groups. This can be explained by at least four factors: 1) The Ukrainians settled in compact communities in the rural areas, and generally in towns and cities, thus being in strong position to elect their own candidates; 2) In Ukraine, they had been oppressed by foreign rule, which manipulated elections and deprived them of representation in parliament; here they possessed complete freedom and the opportunities were open to them; 3) They were anxious to prove that they were active, rather than passive, citizens in politics; and 4) Discrimination and prejudices demonstrated by some segments of the British population served to spur them to political activity through Canadian parties.

The Ukrainians first started at the lowest rung of the political ladder, in municipal affairs, a school for higher politics. The first Ukrainian reeve was elected in 1908; it was Ivan Storosczyk for the Stuartburn Municipality in south-eastern Manitoba. Ever since, they have been electing hundreds of Reeves and councillors in many of the municipalities of Manitoba, Saskatchewan

and Alberta. Besides aldermen and school trustees in several cities in Canada, several Ukrainian Canadians have been elected as mayors, e.g. William Hawrelak of Edmonton, who in 1956 was president of the Canadian Federation of Mayors; Stephen Juba of Winnipeg, twice re-elected by acclamation; Michael Patrick of Windsor, Ontario; Peter Ratuski of Kenora, Ontario.

To date, there have been 63 Ukrainian members of the provincial Legislative Assemblies, some having been re-elected many times, and four of whom have served as cabinet ministers. The first parliamentarian of Ukrainian origin to be elected in Canada was William Shandro, in 1913, as a Liberal for the Vegreville constituency to the Alberta Legislative Assembly. The first and only Ukrainian woman legislator was a lawyer, Mary Batten (Fodchuk), Liberal, Humboldt, Saskatchewan (1956-64) who subsequently became a judge. A record in parliamentary service was established by Nicholas V. Bachynsky, first elected in 1922 in the Manitoba riding of Fisher, which he served, as Liberal, for 34 years: several years as Vice-Speaker and the last two years as Speaker of the provincial house, retiring in 1956. Of the 63 provincial members, 20 were in the Alberta Legislative Assembly, 11 in Saskatchewan, 30 in Manitoba and 2 in Ontario.

So far, there have been four provincial ministers of Ukrainian ancestry, each from a different party and each in a different province. The first was Alexander G. Kuziak, businessman and municipal secretary in Canora, Saskatchewan, who was appointed by the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (C.C.F.) government of Saskatchewan in 1952 as Minister of Telephones, Minister in charge of Government Finance Office and Minister of Natural Resources, having served 12 years. In 1955, Michael N. Hryhorczuk, barrister and former Reeve of Ethelbert, became Attorney General in the Liberal Government of Manitoba, serving until 1958. John Yaremko, a Toronto barrister, has been Minister of Transport, Citizenship and Provincial Secretary in the Conservative Government of Ontario since 1958. Subsequently in 1962, the Social Credit Government of Alberta appointed a former federal Member of Parliament, Ambrose Holowach, musician and businessman, as Provincial Secretary.

Representation of Ukrainians in federal politics was not achieved until 1925, when Michael Luchkowich, American-born teacher, was elected in Alberta. Since that time 13 Ukrainians have served in the House of Commons, one of whom, Michael Starr, former Mayor and businessman of Oshawa, Ontario, served as Minister of Labour from 1957 to 1963 in the Conservative Government of Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker. There have been 3 members of the Canadian Senate appointed for life, the first being William M. Wall (Wolochatiuk), a High School principal of Winnipeg (1955-1962), the next John Hnatyshyn, a barrister of Saskatoon, and myself (Paul Yuzyk, professor of history, Winnipeg).

Thus, at the time of the 75th anniversary of Ukrainian settlement in Canada, the Ukrainians can list 63 provincial members, 13 federal members, and 3 senators for a total of 79 parliamentarians.

Service to the Country

As Canadians of Ukrainian origin have been graduating from colleges, universities, technical and vocational schools, and other educational institutions, they have been increasingly entering the administrative branches of the federal, provincial and municipal governments. Being almost 80 percent Canadian-born, being among the best students for over two generations and having highly qualified specialists among the newcomers, they are found in almost every department of the federal and provincial civil services and government bodies. It would be a fairly long list if all the judges, magistrates and top civil servants were named.

Special mention must be made of Ukrainian Canadians serving in important bodies associated with the federal Canadian Government. Dr. Stephanie Potoski, a physician in Yorkton, Saskatchewan, is member of the Board of Directors of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, where R. A. Choulguine is the French editor of the staff magazine *Closed Circuit — Circuit Fermé*. Peter J. Lazarowich, Q.C., a lawyer in Edmonton, is member of the Board of Directors of the National Film Board. Leon Kossar, a former journalist with the *Winnipeg Tribune* and the *Toronto Evening Telegram*, is the Executive Director of the Canadian Folk Arts Council, associated with the Canadian Centennial Commission. For three years, 1961 to 1964, Monsignor Dr. W. Kushnir, President of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, was member of the Board of Directors of the Canada Council. In 1963, the Liberal Government of Prime Minister L. B. Pearson appointed to the ten-member Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism — Dr. J. B. Rudnycky, Slavic linguist and Head of the Department of Slavic Studies at the University of Manitoba; its report to the Canadian Parliament will have an important bearing on the cultural life of Canada and the relations of the component "races" and ethnic groups.

The real test of loyalty and devoted citizenship is brought out when a country finds itself in a crisis or at war. An estimated 10,000 (a high percentage) were in the ranks of the Canadian army during the First World War; many gave their lives for their adopted country, and Philip Konowal received the highest award for valour in the British Commonwealth, the Victoria Cross. During the Second World War (1939-1945), the Ukrainians were no longer regarded with suspicion, but as full-fledged Canadian citizens; approximately 40,000 predominantly Canadian-born, served in the Canadian Army, Navy and Air Force, which was a proportionately higher number than the Canadian average; among them were many officers, NCO's and winners of medals for bravery, thousands having paid the supreme sacrifice. Being an integral part of the Canadian population, Ukrainian Canadians participated with the Canadian forces fighting in the Korean War and are active in the military forces wherever they serve Canada in defence of freedom, democracy and peace.

Their cultural contribution is known in most parts of Canada. Ukrainian folk-dancing in colourful costumes, choirs, orchestras, embroidery and handicraft have been winning the enthusiastic applause and praises of audiences, leaders, critics and monarchs, at local and national celebrations, since the Diamond Jubilee in 1927, and will be featured in greater magnitude at the

Centennial Celebrations in 1967. All forms of Ukrainian literature have been flourishing, in Ukrainian as well as in the English language, which would require a chapter to do it justice. The Ukrainian language, literature and history are taught at the leading universities in English-speaking and French-speaking Canada, and as an elective subject in the secondary schools of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. Ukrainian culture is being gradually woven into the multicoloured fabric of the composite Canadian culture.

Mission of the Ukrainian Canadians

Seventy-five years ago the Ukrainians came to this land of freedom. Having faith in God and in Canada, they have given their best as constructive citizens, to make Canada greater and a better place to live in. Above all, the Ukrainian Canadians cherish the freedom and democracy of this country, which their compatriots in the land of their origin, Ukraine, have not enjoyed for over two centuries, except for the brief interval of the Ukrainian state, 1917-1921. Ukrainian freedom and democracy were destroyed by the false propaganda and military forces of the Soviet Russian communist dictatorship, which has become the largest colonial power in the world, having designs upon Canada. Ever aware of the catastrophe that befell Ukraine, the Ukrainian Canadians have constantly been keeping before the public and informing the Canadian government, that Soviet Russian communism is engaged in subtly undermining our democratic institutions and freedom, as was disclosed by the former Soviet agent, Igor Gouzenko after the Second World War. Canadians are warned that constant vigilance is necessary in order to preserve our way of life. The defence of freedom and democracy must be the cornerstone of Canadian foreign policy, in which, because of their background, the Ukrainian Canadians should be playing an increasing role; for several years delegations to the United Nations and NATO have included them as members.

The mission of the Ukrainian Canadians also includes the perpetuation of the consciousness of cultural values in the development of the Canadian nation. Their fate is bound with the fate of the non-British and non-French element of the Canadian population, known as the Third Element, which today forms almost one-third of the Canadian population. The "melting-pot" theory with its colourless uniformity has been rejected by Canadian governments for a "mosaic-type" of Canadian culture, based on the voluntary integration of the best elements of the cultures of each of the ethnic groups as partners. This is the multicultural concept of the Canadian nation, which maintains the dignity of the individual and the ethnic group. It is as leaders and part of the Third Element that the Ukrainian Canadians can continue to make an important contribution to Canada.

Yaroslav STETZKO

THE PRESENT-DAY TASKS OF THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK FIGHT

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations which I have the honour to represent differs from many other anti-Communist organisations and alliances in that it is not content with a mere opposition to Communist expansionism and with barring the path to further aggression, it is not content with offering partial solutions as regards the future, it does not believe in partial liberation of only a few of the presently enslaved nations, for instance the satellites. It offers a fundamental, radical, long-term solution, and not merely a palliative for a day or two, but an arrangement which would serve as a guarantee of lasting peace and a solution to many deep international quarrels. The ABN makes a bold attempt to outline a new and better, more just future for the nations of Europe and Asia. The ideas in which the ABN believes are not its inventions. They are simple enough and generally held, though not always acted upon. They are commonsense ideas to which lip service is often paid, but without sincerity and real faith in them. The ABN firmly and sincerely believes in these ideas and upholds them against all attacks.

Let me very briefly outline the ABN ideas, to put them, so to speak, in a nutshell. The political conception of the ABN is based on ideas and principles which hold good and are recognised in the civilised world as the highest possessions and values of human life: freedom and justice for every individual, and state indepen-

dence for every people. These basic rights we demand and claim for all the peoples enslaved by Russian and Chinese Communists, too. The ABN resolutely rejects domination of one nation over another, colonialism and imperialism. It believes that the only way to achieve the liberation of the nations enslaved by Bolshevism is through co-ordinated and synchronised revolutions of these nations led by revolutionary underground organisations. The ABN attempts to be the co-ordinating centre of the revolutionary underground organisations in the enslaved countries fighting for national independence, sovereignty, personal freedom and human dignity. The ABN believes that the main enemy of the free world is Russian communist imperialism which must be broken if the world is to enjoy peace and security. Russian empire in whatever form must be abolished and every people now enslaved in it must be given its independence. This means that such nations as Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, the Baltic States and so on must become independent together with the present-day "satellites", and their right to national freedom should not be questioned. The Russian nation itself must be limited to the territory, which of course is considerably smaller than the territory of the USSR, or even the RSFSR.

The ABN is opposed to any form of petty imperialism when some States try to annex bits and pieces of territory with ethnically alien popula-

tion, justifying this aggrandisement by all kinds of spurious historical, economic and strategic arguments. No historical or any other arguments can justify injustice of domination of one nation over a part of another nation. If we want to have peace and security in Central and Eastern Europe and in Asia in future, all nations now living there must have their frontiers drawn in accordance with the principles of justice, and what principle is more just than that of national states embracing the ethnic territories of each particular nation? The ABN advocates disintegration of the Russian communist empire into independent national States by way of co-ordinated and synchronised revolutions of all the enslaved nations, thus showing a way out of the atomic impasse and a way to avert an atomic war which otherwise may come sooner or later.

In the present world situation there are three main groupings of forces: the communist bloc led by Bolshevik Russia and Red China, the Free World led by the United States and Britain, and the third force which is usually ignored — the nations enslaved by Russian imperialism and communism.

The captive and enslaved nations in the Russian "prison of nations" are a component and integral part of the freedom-loving mankind, as are also the nations under the domination of other communist regimes. At the same time they are a third force, a key force around which all international problems and policies of necessity must revolve. Humanity's road to liberation from fear lies through the anti-imperialist and anti-communist national revolutions of all the nations subjugated by Moscow. These revolutions, I repeat, are a possible alternative to an atomic war which can be averted given the active support by the free world of the national liberation movements and revolutions in the captive countries. The assurance of success lies in their co-ordination and in the chain process of revolutionary uprisings which should be supported by the military might of the West.

The national liberation movements of the enslaved peoples are of great significance to the free world, for they continually frustrate the Kremlin's

imperialistic ambitions to dominate the world. In fact, as a direct result of the revolutionary activities of the national liberation fronts, the Soviet Russian regime was compelled to initiate a "relaxation" policy, generally known as "de-stalinisation."

Some people believe that this "relaxation" policy may lead in the end to the democratisation of Communism and of the Russian Government. Nothing could be wider off the mark, for such a development would lead to the disintegration of the Russian empire as such. Moscow, however, will never willingly give up its present hold over the so-called Soviet Republics and the satellite States; hence it will never become democratic.

History has taught us that Russia only responds to force — never to a policy of appeasement. Hence, support of national revolutions by the West is bound to succeed, on condition, that is, that it does not leave those who have taken up arms against Russian tanks in the lurch, as was done in Hungary. The spirit of Yalta must be banished once and for all.

It is a mistake to see the main danger in Communist China and to underestimate the Russian Communist threat by regarding it as of secondary importance. In support of it I should like to quote the view of the geographer Mackinder. He analysed the situation from the geopolitical point of view: "He who rules Eastern Europe commands the Heartland. He who rules the Heartland commands the World Island. He who rules the World Island commands the whole world." The Heartland, the key territory from the geopolitical standpoint, consists of the European and Asiatic parts of the Russian Empire. If we are to prevent Russia from eventually dominating the world, her position in the Heartland must be weakened. Complete dissolution of the Russian empire into free and independent national States is therefore a necessity for integral and indivisible freedom and lasting peace in the world.

Geopolitical situation of Ukraine, her economic resources, her great human potential, and above all the world of ideas for which Ukraine

fighters against communist Russia, for which Kyiv (Kiev) fights against Moscow, places Ukraine into key role. The idea of the restoration of Ukrainian independence is not merely a regional problem of Eastern Europe. Re-establishment of a free Ukraine means disintegration of the Russian communist empire into national independent States of all the subjugated peoples. It will lead to a fundamental change of the political map of the world and to various other consequences in the military, economic, political, ideological and religious spheres.

In the present age, when dozens of peoples in Asia, Africa and other parts of the world have gained their liberty from colonial rule, the existence of the huge Russian communist empire is an anachronism. Dissolution of the Russian empire is therefore a historical necessity if we are to have a just and lasting peace in the world.

The enslaved nations of Eastern Europe and Asia have not reconciled themselves with Communist tyranny and alien domination. Following the open guerilla warfare in our countries during and after World War II, numerous strikes and uprisings took place in Soviet concentration camps between 1953-1959 of which I need not remind you, except to recall the names of Vorkuta, Norilsk, Karaganda, Kingir, Tayshet and others.

Since 1959, however, a new stage in the national liberation movements is evident. Strikes and mass demonstrations of workers, students and urban population in many industrial towns of Ukraine, especially in the Donbas, are becoming more frequent and widespread. The open revolt in Temir-Tau (Kazakhstan) was followed by widespread riots in Novocherkassk and acute disturbances in Odessa, where longshoremen refused to load ships destined for Cuba. Underground organisations are constantly at work in Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Turkestan, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Byelorussia and in other countries. Active resistance to foreign domination is also to be found in Roumania, Hungary, Poland, Czechia, Slovakia, Bulgaria, East Germany, Albania, Croatia and other subjugated

countries. The actions of the national liberation movements prove that there is a limit to the terrorisation of the peoples by the Soviet Russian regime. These actions have helped to dispel the fear of the popular masses. The intellectual elite of the oppressed peoples has become the intellectual leadership of resistance. Some brave writers, artists, critics and other intellectuals — deeply troubled by the fate of their nations — have not shrunk from pointing out the unhappy position of their peoples and the complete misery of the "socialist" order, in a more or less disguised, and even also unconcealed manner.

Moscow's reaction to this development has not been slow. To quote just a few examples, let me mention first the case of the Ukrainian critic Svitlychnyy, who according to Western press reports from April last year was sentenced to seven years imprisonment in a concentration camp for having allegedly sent literary works of the Ukrainian poet Symonenko to the West, where they had been published. Symonenko died at the age of 29 three years ago, but his poems severely critical of the Soviet Russian regime are widely circulating in manuscript copies in Ukraine.

In Georgia, a show trial took place in the capital of Tbilisi in April, 1965 against young Georgians Alexander Oboladze, Omar Lordkipadze and Givi Avaliani, because they had been the authors of anti-Communist and anti-Russian writings. According to official statements, they had "confessed to actions against the good name of the common fatherland and harming the reputation of the Soviet Union." In connection with the trial the Russian Communist newspaper in Tbilisi, "Zarya Vostoka", became indignant because the mother of the accused sat in the courtroom during the trial "as proud as if her son was a hero."

The Byelorussian poet Yazep Pushcha died in 1964 in Siberian exile where he spent 25 years. Another Byelorussian writer Andrey Aleksandrovich died in 1963 in a Soviet concentration camp, where he spent 10 years. The Byelorussian writer Vladimir Dubowka spent 18 years in

various Soviet concentration camps. Vasil Bykov, also a Byelorussian writer, is being prosecuted now.

One can quote numerous similar examples from all the nations at present enslaved by Moscow. It is a most noteworthy fact that the young generation brought up by parents who had already been born under the Bolshevik regime, has again raised the slogans of patriotism, religion, return to the historical national traditions, to the idea of national state independence, heroic humanism, separation from Russia, and to the combatting of communism and Russian overlordship. The creative work of the persecuted young generation of the writers of the 1960's, in particular in Ukraine, is a slap in the face of the Bolshevik system, which has shown thus its complete bankruptcy in Ukraine and other oppressed countries. Student demonstrations against the arrests of writers and fellow students, as happened in Lviv (Lvov) about April 20th last year, are a symptom which the West should not ignore. It would be of inestimable help if British poets and writers were to express their solidarity with the Ukrainian and other fighters for liberty and if they joined the worldwide action of protest against the terrorisation of the creators of spiritual and artistic values.

Our world is very old. The important thing is not to invent a new ideology: every worthwhile idea has already been expressed. What is needed is to defend the very old ideas. What is needed is character, courage, loyalty and determination in the implementation and application of old ideas. It is because the West has been based on the old Greek, Roman and Christian values that it has become the freest and richest society. But this society is doomed to perish within a short time if Western man ceases to aspire to a higher moral and spiritual order. Whoever deprecates idealistic qualities will also lose his material possessions.

A moral rebirth is an indispensable prerequisite of a successful struggle against the world evil of communism whose main centre is Moscow. It is

high time that the process of erosion of the idealistic ideology of the free world be halted, for society cannot exist without faith and eternal truths.

The present world crisis has been caused by the very existence of the Russian empire and the aggressive Communist ideology used as a tool of Russian imperialism. Russian communism or Bolshevism is a product of Russian history and way of life, it is but another phase in the centuries' long dream of world conquest, regardless of ideological shading or social make-up of Russia. Therefore dissolution of the Russian empire would lead to the destruction of the communist system and the downfall of communism in other countries, including Red China. It is important to emphasise that Bolshevism is not the product of the Chinese mentality, but of the Russian, hence Red China with her economic and technological potential is a power of secondary significance.

The principal task is to concentrate our attention and forces on the chief target and primary enemy: the Russian communist empire. Moscow deliberately draws the United States into secondary and peripheral wars involving in this manner more and more U.S. military and human resources and at the same time protecting Moscow, headquarters of all these attacks, from direct reprisals. The prospect of final victory over communism in such peripheral wars without creating similar fronts of the anti-communist forces within the territories of the Red Russian empire is practically nil. In order to win it is even more important that the U.S. abandon the concept of Yalta, that is dividing the world in half, and defend the sacred rights of human freedom and national independence on all continents, for all nations, and not only for the former British or French colonies, but also for those nations which are today subject to the colonial yoke of the Russian empire, which is incomparably more oppressive than any West European empire ever was in the past.

Although we fully support President Johnson's Vietnam policy of meeting the Communists with armed force, we

reject the political concept which limits the liberation of a nation to a demarcation line, in this case the 17th parallel, regardless of the fact that the living body of the people is thereby being cut through. The continuation of the policy of the divided world is the cause of America's failure to retain influence in Asia. The war in Vietnam can only be won with the idea of liberating *all* Vietnam, with a guarantee to respect its sovereignty without lowering its national dignity, and by carrying the war of liberation into North Vietnam.

The Red Chinese bomb would not present such a great threat, as everyone assumes, if one had not overlooked the most important aspect of the whole thing. Even those who work in the Red Chinese factories, the manufacturers and carriers of the atomic bomb, do not on the whole venerate Lenin and Marx, but Confucius and Sun Yat-sen. If in the confrontation between the free world and Red China the National Chinese alternative is ignored and Taiwan is regarded solely as a U.S. military base, and not as a freedom-radiating island, which inspires hundreds of millions of people on the Chinese mainland, then it is clear that Mao Tse-tung and his atomic bomb represent a threat. As long as Taiwan is not given a free hand to unfold its liberation war on the Chinese mainland, just as South Vietnam and South Korea do not have any possibility of initiating a military offensive toward the North, the curtailmen of the so-called red-yellow danger will remain unsuccessful. A year ago it would have been easier to stage a National Chinese landing than now. If Mao Tse-tung continues to perfect his atomic weapons, which did not exist even a short while ago, then it will be even more difficult to land in a year from now. Lack of determination and indecisiveness are the causes of the West's failures.

When we evaluate critically the attempt of some circles of the Western world to stake on one of the two Communist tyrannies, our position is confirmed also from the moral point

of view. Whoever neglects ethical principles in politics does not have prospects for a final victory, as happened to Hitler, and as will undoubtedly happen to the Red Russian and Red Chinese dictatorships. Does not the recent murder in the Red Chinese embassy in Holland resemble similar murders organised by Shelepin, Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, on the persons of the Ukrainian leader Stepan Bandera and Professor Lev Rebet on the territory of West Germany in 1959 and 1957? These murders were perpetrated on the territory of a foreign State, thus violating — beside everything else — its sovereignty. Or the murder in Paris in May 1926 of the President of Ukraine, Symon Petlura, at the instigation of the GPU, as was ascertained by the investigations of the US Senate Committee on the Judiciary last year? These findings have been published in book form under the title "Murder International" and are available for all those who wish to obtain them.

A few years ago the world was shocked by the murders by Soviet secret agents of the former Slovak minister, Chernak, of the Azerbaijani politician Fatalibeyli, of the Hungarian insurgents' organiser Dzumajsválbi in Munich. And, more recently, the circumstances of the death of the prominent Georgian emigre leader and Secretary General of the A.B.N., Prince Niko Nakashidze, who died in Munich last year, have still not been clarified. How can the West trust those who send secret murderers to commit their evil deeds on the territory of a free country?

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You may ask what are our suggestions to the West, and especially to our British friends for the immediate future, what can be done that is realistic and at the same time would uplift the spirit of resistance among the subjugated peoples?

Surely it would be welcome if the British delegation to the United Nations took more seriously the task of parrying the lying Soviet Russian accusations levelled against the long abandoned British imperialism, by

raising more boldly the question of Russian colonialism, in particular in Ukraine, Turkestan, in the Caucasus, the Baltic States and in Hungary — in view of the 10th anniversary of the uprising of the courageous Hungarian people. In this respect there are several famous precedents, in particular the speech of the Canadian Prime Minister John Diefenbaker at the United Nations General Assembly forum in 1960, when he raised his voice in defence of Ukraine and other countries and branded Russian colonialism for what it really is.

It would be of great help if British official and private bodies voiced their support of the complaint submitted on behalf of Ukrainians to the UN Committee on Colonialism by Yaroslav Stetzko against the Government of the USSR, accusing it of having organised the murder of Stepan Bandera, anti-colonialist leader of the Ukrainian liberation struggle, with particular accusation against Alexander Shelepin as the immediate organiser of the crime, as has been incontestably proven by the Supreme Court of the German Federal Republic and the investigations of the US Internal Security Subcommittee of the US Senate Committee on the Judiciary.

It would be appropriate to raise the problem of Russian colonialism in the countries subjugated by it and in the satellite states during foreign policy debates in the British Houses of Parliament whose opinion is respected throughout the world.

To keep the existence of Russian colonialism and the sufferings of the enslaved peoples in the awareness of the British public it would be desirable to consider the proclamation of a Day of Freedom for all the nations oppressed by Russian colonialism and communism, to be marked each year. It would be perhaps advisable to chose a date which would coincide with some anniversary from the history of the British People, appropriate to the occasion, such as for instance the anniversary of the Magna Carta.

A Psychological Warfare Committee might be set up in the framework of NATO, with a panel of advisers

consisting of exile national leaders from the countries subjugated in the USSR and satellite states.

It would be desirable if the British organisations and individuals supported the idea of convening a World International Anti-Communist Congress for Liberation, Freedom and Independence, with the aim of setting up a World Anti-Communist International Centre, a kind of anti-Communist United Nations.

It would be of great assistance to the liberation struggle if the British people in general and individual organisations spoke up more often in defence of the freedom of speech, thought and religion in the countries behind the Iron Curtain, voicing their protest against the persecution of writers, artists and intellectuals, against the imprisonment of students, against Russification drive in the oppressed countries — in particular in Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, the Baltic States etc., against the forthcoming deportation of 1,500,000 young people to the wild regions of Siberia. Press, radio and television could be of inestimable help if they threw more light on the problem of the liberation struggle of the nations subjugated by Communist Russian imperialism, if they informed the British public about the facts of the resistance and the heroism of the freedom fighters and the reality of the threat of Bolshevism to the free world. In particular a note of criticism has to be made with regard to the B.B.C. which largely ignores the nations enslaved in the USSR. Its broadcasts beyond the Iron Curtain are inadequate. They should be improved and widened. Broadcasts in the more important languages of the USSR, especially the Ukrainian, spoken by over 40 million people, should be introduced.

We should like also to suggest the formation of an organisation of friends of the A.B.N. in Britain which would point out the common interests of the free world with the aspirations of the enslaved peoples and would help to mobilise public opinion for an active moral and material support of the liberation struggle.

MEMORANDUM

FROM THE FREE UKRAINIANS IN GREAT BRITAIN
to the
Prime Minister
The Rt. Hon. HAROLD WILSON, O.B.E., M.P.

49, Linden Gardens,
London, W.2.

1st February, 1967.

The Rt. Hon. Harold Wilson, Esq., O.B.E., M.P.,
10, Downing Street,
Whitehall,
LONDON, S.W.1.

Sir,

We, the representatives of Free Ukrainians in Great Britain, feel that it is our duty to raise our voice on behalf of our compatriots in the Ukraine, who are deprived of all freedom and cannot even appeal to the conscience of humanity. We, therefore, beg to submit the following facts and information for your kind attention and that of H. M. Government, in connection with the forthcoming visit of Mr. Alexey Kosygin, representative of the USSR, in this country.

Ever since the overthrow of the oppressive Tzarist Russian rule in 1917, the Ukrainian Nation has been fighting in various ways to win and keep her national liberty. On January 22nd 1918, the Independence of Ukraine was proclaimed to the entire world and for three years the Ukrainian Army, commanded by Symon Petlura, fought to defend the new Republic against the hostile Bolshevik Russia.

Although the Bolsheviks proclaimed their adherence to the principle of self-determination, they went back on their own solemn declarations. They, for instance, disregarded the terms of the Treaty of Brest Litovsk, by which the Government of Russian Federal Soviet Republic obligates itself: "to conclude peace at once with the Ukrainian People's Republic and to recognise the Treaty of Peace between the State and the Powers of Quadruple Alliance. The Ukrainian Territory will, without delay, be cleared of Russian troops and the Russian Red Guard. Russia is to put an end to all agitation and propaganda against the Government of the Republic or the public institutions of the Ukrainian People's Republic. Estonia and Latvia, likewise, be cleared, without delay, of Russian troops and the Russian Red Guard."

The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was signed on March 3rd, 1918. But, instead of removing the Red Guards, more armies were not long afterwards sent by Lenin into Ukraine, which had been recognized by many foreign Governments, among them by H. M. Government of Great Britain.

The epic story of self-defence and battle for Freedom started at Kruty, on the 29th January 1918, when 350 young students heroically died trying to halt the Russian invaders before Kiev, the capital of Ukraine. This was the beginning of the most cruel and inhuman invasion of communist forces on Ukrainian land. The communists executed peaceful civilians and their savage actions, terror and murders are too well known and too many to be described again.

The war between Ukraine and Russia raged from 1918 to 1921. The Red Army defeated the Ukrainian troops by its greatly superior numbers and armament. The Government of the Ukrainian National Republic, together with the remnants of the Army, went into exile. The occupying authorities suppressed all forms of Ukrainian national life. The Communist regime systematically destroyed the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church by deporting or executing its Metropolitan, Bishops and priests. Later they succeeded in destroying the Ukrainian Catholic Church as well. Russian Communists ruthlessly suppressed all freedom of thought; hundreds of Ukrainian scholars, scientists, writers, poets, artists have been deported, persecuted, imprisoned or executed and many of them perished in slave labour camps.

In the field of national economy, Communist Russia has consistently exploited the natural resources and industrial potentialities of Ukraine for the benefit of Russian aggressive policy. In 1933, millions of Ukrainian peasants were deliberately starved to death in order to prove the feasibility of an absurd communist theory of enforced collectivisation.

The struggle of the Ukrainian nation for freedom never ceased. It has been going on in all forms of resistance and insurrection, e.g. the formation and activities of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (S.V.U.), the Ukrainian Military Organisation (U.V.O.), the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.), the proclamation of the Carpatho-Ukrainian State in 1939, etc.

In June 1941, soon after the outbreak of the Soviet-German War, the Ukrainian revolutionists set up a Provisional Government, headed by Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko, an OUN leader, and the restoration of Ukrainian independence was proclaimed on 30th June, 1941. The Germans, however, soon started reprisals and arrested members of the Government and other prominent Ukrainian patriots, throwing them into concentration camps in Germany. Meanwhile, an armed resistance was organised by the OUN against the German occupation and the 200,000 strong Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) came into existence. A tripartite pact of mutual assistance had to be concluded between Russia, Poland and Czechoslovakia, in order to defeat UPA. Its impact and activities have been witnessed by the communists and satellite sources, and appear in memoirs, documents and research publications. In 1950 the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, Lt.-Gen. Roman Shukhevych, died in battle against the Russian security troops. Hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians lost their lives in actions against Russian occupation regime which distinguished itself by its cruelty and atrocities committed against the civilian population.

There has been a great deal written about the Russian concentration camps, and many former inmates live in this country as well as in other European countries and overseas. Investigations held by the American Senate Committees questioned eye-witnesses and proved true facts beyond any doubt. It has also been revealed that the Ukrainian Liberation Movement has not ceased in concentration camps, it inspired unique resistance, strikes in coal mines, uprisings in Vorkuta, Norilsk, etc. Tanks were used against the unarmed and hungry inmates of the concentration camps. This is but one example of the most inhuman and genocidal actions against the defenceless victims of the concentration camps.

Unable to break the resistance of the Ukrainian nation by terror, threats, violence and propaganda, the Russian communists have resorted to fierce reprisals. Trained assassins were ordered by Moscow to kill leaders and outstanding heroes of resistance. Thus, Symon Petlura, head of the Ukrainian National Republic, was murdered in exile in Paris by a communist agent on 25th May, 1926. Evhen Konovalets, leader of OUN, was assassinated in Rotterdam, Holland, on 23rd May, 1938. Later Stepan Bandera, leader of Ukrainian nationalist revolutionists, was killed in Munich on 15th October, 1959, and so was Prof. Lev Rebet on 12th October, 1957.

At present, Ukrainian resistance still exists, and its activities — in active or passive form — are extended to the religious, ideological, cultural and economic spheres. Young Ukrainian intellectuals and poets boldly express their rejection of Moscow's alien domination, they condemn suppression of national and individual liberty and colonial exploitation of Ukraine by Russia. The young poet, Vasyl Symonenko, raised his voice for resistance and insurrection and his works, smuggled out from the Soviet Union, appeared in Western publications and now circulate in hand-written copies in Ukraine. We heard the heroic speech by I. Dzyuba at the forum of the Ukrainian writers' gathering. He demanded independence and state sovereignty of a Socialist Ukraine. There are numerous similar voices and actions, followed, of course, by arrests and trials, and also deportations of Ukrainian intellectuals.

The West has, on the whole, been slow in demanding from the totalitarian dictatorship of Russia to liquidate its colonial empire. One of the notable exceptions was the courageous speech delivered by the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. J. G. Diefenbaker who, facing Mr. N. Khrushchev at the forum of the United Nations General Assembly in September 1960, said in his historic address:

"What of Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia? What of the freedom-loving Ukrainian and many other Eastern European peoples which I shall not name for fear of omitting some of them? Mr. Khrushchev went further and said: 'Complete and final elimination of the colonial regime in all its forms and manifestations has been prompted by the entire course of world history in the last decades.' — There can be no double standard in international affairs. I ask the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR to give to those nations under his domination the right of free elections, to give them the opportunity to determine the kind of government they want under genuinely free conditions. If those conclusions are what his words meant, for they must apply universally, then indeed will there be new action to carry out the obligations of the United Nations Charter, then indeed will there be new hope for all mankind."

This courageous and historically important speech by Mr. Diefenbaker will be remembered by the future generations of Ukraine and other subjugated nations in times of freedom to come, as the turning point in the relations between the Free West and the biggest colonial and slave empire in history.

How long can slavery such as this be tolerated by our "morally deaf generation?" — was rightly asked by Prof. Watson Kirkconnell of Canada. Will voices be raised universally in defence of freedom or only by those who know that by their heroic declaration they sign their own death warrant?

Since 1959 a new stage in the national liberation movements is evident. Strikes and mass demonstrations of workers, students and urban population in many industrial towns of Ukraine, especially in the Donbas, are becoming more frequent and widespread. The open revolt in Temir-Tau (Kazakhstan) was followed by widespread riots in Novocherkask and acute disturbances in Odessa where longshoremen refused to load ships destined for Cuba. Underground organisations are constantly at work in Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Turkestan, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Byelorussia and in other countries. Active resistance to foreign domination is also to be found in Roumania, Hungary, Poland, Czechia, Slovakia, Bulgaria, East Germany, Albania, Croatia, and other subjugated countries. The actions of the national liberation movements prove that there is a limit to the terrorisation of the peoples by the Soviet Russian regime. These actions have helped to dispel the fear of the popular masses. The intellectual elite of the oppressed peoples has become the intellectual leadership of resistance. Some brave writers, artists, critics and other intellectuals, deeply troubled by the fate of their nations, have not shrunk from pointing out the unhappy position of their peoples and the complete misery of the 'socialist' order, in a more or less disguised, and even unconcealed manner.

The national liberation movements of the enslaved peoples are of great significance to the free world, for they have continually frustrated Kremlin's imperialistic ambitions to dominate the world. In fact, as a direct result of the activities of the national liberation front, Kremlin is compelled to slow down its pressure on the oppressed people, but it would be misleading to suggest that this new trend of the Soviet policy may eventually lead to the democratisation of communism and of the Soviet regime. Moscow will never willingly give up its present position, hence it will never become democratic.

In view of the above mentioned facts, neither Mr. Kosygin, who is now on a visit in the United Kingdom, nor any other representative of the Soviet Union, can legally represent the Ukraine, forcibly held by the USSR, or speak on behalf of Ukraine. Representatives of the Soviet Union will always carry the guilt for crimes their regime committed and is committing against humanity, international law, conventions, breaking numerous treaties, the UN Charter of Human Rights and ordinary rules of human decency.

We hope that H. M. Government, which offered freedom and independence to so many Asiatic and African countries and nations, will be able to raise the question of Russian colonialism and genocide at the forum of the United Nations, for it presents a permanent threat to the security and peace in Eastern Europe. This matter has a special urgency in our days of aggravated world crisis.

We appeal to you, Sir, to H. M. Government, and to the British People, for their moral and political support of the aspirations of the Ukrainian Nation to re-establish a free, sovereign, independent Ukrainian State.

We believe that European Unity and cooperation of all nations are only possible if the nations subjugated by Russia regain their freedom. Ukraine's geographical, economical, political and cultural position places it into a key role in Eastern Europe. A free Ukrainian State would be a valuable and worthy member of the European and world community of nations. An Independent Ukraine would be a guarantee of peace in Europe.

We have the honour to be,

Sir,

Yours truly,

For and on behalf of the
Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Limited
Prof. *Robert Lisowskyj*

President

For and on behalf of the
Federation of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Limited
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V. CHAPLENKO

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE RUSSIFICATION OF THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE

(The End of the 1950s — the Beginning of the 1960s)

Due to lack of information it can only be assumed that after the death of Stalin, people concerned with the cultural usage of the Ukrainian language began, somehow, to talk about certain inconveniences caused by the usage of jargonised language. The first to speak about it, it seems, were the translators from Russian, who must have been the first to encounter difficulties. Even in 1953, one of the translators, O. Kundzich, published the article "Some problems of translations of L. Tolstoy's works" (at the time he was translating "War and Peace" into Ukrainian). In this article he revealed some of these difficulties, mentioning that the translators "were not even permitted to avoid uneuphonious and sometimes even improper coincidence of sounds in a translation."¹ In another article — "Translator's Thought and Translator's Thoughtlessness" — published in 1954 he cites a typical "conversation" of a translator with the officials of the State Publishing House:

"Let us transfer this expression bodily into the Ukrainian text as it appears in Gorky's text: after all, our languages are similar", (say the officials of the State Publishing House. — V. Ch.).

"Yes, but we are now at a point of specificity and not similarity; here the rule of similarity does not apply; at this point our languages differ" (says the translator. — V. Ch.).

"But we shall transfer it as it stands and with that we shall make our languages even more similar", say those comrades.

"But it is untransferable because a Russian idiom cannot enter into a Ukrainian text; it will sound disgusting; it will distort the meaning."

"Nevertheless we shall transfer it anyway", say the editors of the State Publishing House, and they proceed to do it.^{1a}

1) Oleksii Kundzich, *Slovo i obraz* (Word and Image), Kyiv, 1966, p. 29.

1a) *Ibid.*, p. 48.

In the mid-1950's a convention of translators of the entire Soviet Union took place. It condemned the so-called "literalism in translation." The Ukrainian translators began to rely on this "theoretical basis" in defending the purity of the Ukrainian language. In 1954, the translator S. Kovhaniuk published an article entitled "Literalism in Translation", in the periodical *Vitchyzna* (Motherland). Also O. Kundzich in his subsequent articles began to utilise this "theory" in defence of his translations. His article, "The question remains topical", published in 1957, revealed that at that time "alarming voices were raised in the circles of workers in the realm of Ukrainian culture — writers, journalists, lecturers — at various meetings and conferences, about various troublesome problems in the contemporary Ukrainian literary language. At times these voices acquired the character of a unanimous protest against the violation of the norms of the Ukrainian language and its official code, against the disregard of its nationwide base and literary traditions."

But as Kundzich writes further, those "cries of linguists were not taken into consideration."² Until 1957 the authorities did not permit any opposition to the Russification of the Ukrainian language. It is believed that in the following year (1958) the Ukrainian people somehow obtained the permission "to love and respect their native language." The theme of the article by Anton Khyzhniak, the editor-in-chief of *Literaturna hazeta* (Literary Newspaper), was formulated thus: "Let us love and respect our native tongue!" It was published in No. 39 issue of May 20, 1958. At the same time, Stepan Kovhaniuk published an article in the periodical *Vitchyzna* (Motherland) "Notes on Language", in which he argued against unnecessary borrowings from Russian in the Ukrainian language.

The participants in the Ukrainian Writers' Congress in Kyïv in March, 1959, spoke about it more bravely. The then president of the Writers' Union, the poet Mykola Bazhan, in his speech at the Congress said: "The Ukrainian writer is faced, in particular, with one more categorical demand — it is the demand for the purity of language, respect and love of its laws, of its vocabulary resources, of its wealth, which we often forget, or, maybe, we are not even aware of it, do not study it, do not try to discover it..." "It is necessary to understand that it is not a sign of the brotherhood of the Russian and Ukrainian languages, but rather its humiliation to belittle the originality of a language, to practice illiterate linguistic mixture."

The same Congress heard the vigorous poem of Maksym Rylskyi, "Native Tongue." O. Kundzich, defended the originality of the Ukrainian language. In his poem, M. Rylskyi condemned not the Bolshevik, but the... Tsarist interference with the internal rules of the Ukrainian language, although it was abundantly clear to everyone what he intended to say. Here is that poem in a free translation:

²) *Ibid.*, p. 154.

The tsar's jesters and executioners,
 Slaves of the mind and disposition,
 Into a yoke they wanted to harness
 Her, hot as the breath of the steppes,
 And to blind her, and lead her
 To the slave market place, unseeing,
 They wanted to tear out her tongue,
 They wanted to break her legs,
 To trample upon her to violent cries.
 A cripple of cripples they intended
 To make of you, our dear Mother.

(*Zmina* (Change), No. 4, April, 1959).

The social and political conditions of the overt struggle to make the "love of the native word" real remained, however, so difficult that the progress was meagre. The hardship and painfulness of these conditions were certainly felt by those few individuals among the older writers who took upon themselves the task of pushing the matter through, who sincerely wanted to restore the right of the Ukrainian literary language to a normal development. Taking part in a discussion in the *Literaturna hazeta* on "the questions of contemporary language", M. Rylskyi noted that it was very painful for him to see, for instance, that in Ukrainian literature and, especially, in the press, the Ukrainian dative case endings in *-ovi*, *-evi*, *-ievi* were being eliminated, and the Russian endings, rare in Ukrainian language, in *-u* and *-iu* were deliberately introduced.³ The novelist O. Ilchenko, who started that "discussion", had to wriggle between Scylla and Charybdis. He published two articles, "Word, Why Are You Not as Hard as Steel?" (*Literaturna hazeta*, No. 56, July 14, 1959) and "The Answer to Letters" (*Ibid.*, No. 61, July 31, 1959). Ilchenko's position was the more difficult as he undertook to defend the originality of the Ukrainian language in its vocabulary, that is in the field in which the Russifiers did the most damage. In this defence he relied upon Lenin's note "About the purity of the Russian language" in which Lenin came out against the cluttering of the Russian tongue with the borrowings from foreign languages. But what was permitted to the language of the ruling nation, was not obligatory, or even greatly desirable, under the circumstances, for the language of an enslaved nation. Ilchenko tried to defend such original Ukrainian (and therefore "counterrevolutionary") words as "vidsótok" (per cent) and "knyhárnia" (book-store), stating that they cannot be evicted from the Ukrainian language simply because the Russian language does not have Slavic counterparts of these words. He realised that he was liable to be accused of "purism" which in the 1930's was uprooted as "nationalistic sabotage." There-

³) *Literaturna hazeta* (Literary Newspaper), No. 56, Kyiv, July 14, 1959.

fore, he had to give his argument a "balancing" accompaniment: "All nations of the Soviet Union love and respect the splendid (! — V.Ch.) Russian language for its qualities, and are proud of it before the whole world as if it were their own national heritage. We are glad when much-needed good Russian words... enter the thresholds of the Ukrainian language. We are glad when Russian, that is our Soviet words, such as "Soviet", "kolkhoz" and "sputnik" are entering time and again into the usage of the nations of the world." Etc. etc. and similar clap-trap. It is illogical in relation to the demands for purification of the Ukrainian language from Russianisms, and it is absurd from the psychological viewpoint. Why should speakers of one language (Ukrainian) rejoice at the successes of another language (Russian), which endangers the very existence of their native tongue? It is obvious "reinsurance" of the author which thus bears witness to the perilousness of this struggle for those who are engaged in it.

The fact that, in reality, nothing came out of this "discussion" is revealing. People were probably afraid to participate in it. It was concluded by a routine lecture by V. Rusanivskiy on the lines of Lenin-Stalin generalities about the development of national languages under socialism. The author called his article "New Prospects in the Development of National Languages" (*Literaturna hazeta*, No. 60, July 28, 1959), trimming it to the outlines of Khrushchov's Seven-Year Plan, but said nothing new in this respect compared with earlier Bolshevik writings. He did not even mention any new "prospects."

Somewhat greater opportunities in the struggle against "Russianisms" appeared after the Kyïv Conference on language culture, of February 11-15, 1963, in so far as this conference was an "echo" of the one held in Moscow on November 20-24, 1962, where the following was stated: "According to V. I. Lenin's behests, it is necessary to struggle for the purity, adherence to norms and perfection of all the literary languages of the nations of the USSR."⁴ True, the danger to the participants in this struggle remained: at that conference, in periodicals and in books no mention was made about any struggle against "Russianisms", but merely about "the raising of the cultural level of Ukrainian language." In actual fact, however, it was the struggle against "Russianisms" and against the Russo-Ukrainian mixed jargon which "lowered" the cultural level of the Ukrainian language. It was the struggle under the guise of the slogan of language culture.

A certain role in this struggle was played by Alla Koval who published a book entitled "Culture of Ukrainian Language" (Kyïv, 1964), in which she touched upon the question of "borrowings from the Russian language" — as one of the chapters in this book was called. Though she also began with a reassuring statement that "all the nations of our multi-national country love and respect the great,

⁴) *Voprosy yazykoznavniya* (Problems of Philology), No. 3, 1963, p. 8.

rich and powerful Russian language, and pride themselves with it before the whole world" etc.,⁵ she noted further that Russian words are unwanted when they duplicate the Ukrainian ones.

But who was specifically brought under fire at this stage of battle?

Above all it was necessary to disentangle the branch of the vocabulary, where the Russifiers did the most harm, because it is in that ingredient of the language that it is the easiest to implement political intervention. That "untangling" was now combined with a critical revision of the dictionaries, especially the so-called "green" one, that is "Russian-Ukrainian Dictionary" published in Moscow at the beginning of 1948 and later re-published in Kyiv in 1956 without any changes. This dictionary was resolutely condemned by the writers O. Ilchenko and also by B. Antonenko-Davydovych. Z. Franko professionally criticised the dictionary in the article "On Our Common Field", printed in No. 3 of the journal *Vitchyzna* for the year 1963. "As the prime bone of contention between litterateurs, journalists and editors on the one hand and language experts on the other hand", she wrote, "served perhaps the Russian-Ukrainian dictionary of 1948. Critical outcry against it has lasted for 10 years and has not yet subsided. What can be said about it? The date when it came into the world goes a long way towards explaining this dictionary. It was the time when the Ukrainian philology possessed no work which might serve as the norm for the Ukrainian language." Further, she writes more realistically: "At that time lexicography could not ensure full stability. And any deviations in the use of the vocabulary of the spoken language at the time of the cult of Stalin and especially in the period of the arbitrary rule of Kaganovich, were sometimes (sic! — V. Ch.) treated as grounds for all kinds of subjective accusations." Because she was forced to give the dictionary "its due", she further notes: "But, at the same time, the dictionary, as well as all other works of the period, reflects the shadow of the linguistic breezes of the times of the cult of personality when the works and speeches of Stalin were the sole cannon of the style of the epoch and the standard of language." Her conclusions were as follows: "For Ukrainian lexicography, the "green" dictionary is a long past era." She mentioned also the academic dictionary of 1924-1933, even though she gave an erroneous explanation for its disuse: "The academic, 4-volume dictionary of 1924-1933 (of which only 3 volumes came out), and a similar one of 1937, were condemned by the public opinion, the first as nationalistic, and the second as primitive."

In truth, the first academic dictionary of 1924-1933 was a high achievement of Ukrainian lexicography of the 20's and its use was forbidden only because at that time Moscow's offensive against Ukrainian culture, as well as Russification, was resumed on full

⁵ *Kul'tura ukraïns'koi movy* (The Culture of Ukrainian Language), p. 43.

scale; the second (it was compiled by Vasylevskiy, Mustiatsa and Kaganovich) — was Russified scribbling, compiled in haste, in fact a "Russian-Russian" dictionary. It is from that dictionary that the history of the creation of that "Russian-Ukrainian mixed jargon" stems, which a quarter of a century later was condemned as "the belittling of the brotherhood of the Russian and the Ukrainian languages."

While systematising all over again the vocabulary treasures of the Ukrainian language, the Ukrainian lexicographers face the tasks of broadening them to answer the requirements of the 20th century, to include new branches of knowledge and fields of activity such as "astronautics." The toponymist K. Tsiluiko turned his attention to geographical names in the article, "Ukrainian Geographical Nomenclature", published in *Vitchyzna* (No. 5, 1963). He wrote: "The general picture of Ukrainian geographic nomenclature can in no way satisfy the demands of the contemporary general level of culture and the cultural standards of the Ukrainian language" (p. 200). His general conclusion was that "in performing this great and complicated task, while deeply and sincerely respecting all the nations of the world, we should also take care of the ideological contents, the aesthetic beauty of a geographic name and its grammatical and lexical shape in accordance with the norms of the Ukrainian literary language."⁶

Under these conditions, M. Rylskiy could write as follows:

As a sprig of grape vine
Cultivate your language. Diligently and consistently
Weed out the weeds. Clearer than a tear
Let her be.⁷

As a result of this work, the right to existence was gradually restored to some Ukrainian words which had previously been either eliminated altogether or had been artificially classified as obsolete and marked 'archaic' in the dictionaries. "We are happy to see how, one after another, the known and dear words are finding defenders and are again taking their rightful place", wrote Yurii Shkrumeliak in his article in *Literaturna Ukraïna* (No. 53) of June 30, 1963.

Speaking of dictionaries, the participants in the discussion touched upon various problems of lexicology of a very narrow nature — as, for instance, the interrelation between barbarisms and neologisms, the impoverishment of vocabulary in the language officially used in Ukraine, and the abundance of synonyms in the Ukrainian language. In relation to the first problem the authors stressed the appearance of a trend towards removing "superfluous barbarisms"

⁶ *Vitchyzna* (Motherland), No. 5, 1963, p. 221.

⁷ Based upon *Nasha kul'tura* (Our Culture), No. 3, March, 1963, p. 4. However, neither this poem, nor the aforementioned "Tsar's Jesters and Executioners" is included in the posthumous collection, "Sparks of Great Fire", Kyiv, 1965.

from the Ukrainian language. M. Rylskyi wrote that "in the contemporary Russian and Ukrainian languages, a process of partially substituting the terms originating from other languages with the terms built upon native roots is taking place." And further: "Our football players have categorically refused to use the English terminology." He continued: "The process is definitely worth our attention." It is clear that such puristic tendency became possible in Ukrainian language only because it appeared first in the Russian language. True, Rylskyi mentioned the Czech purism also, but he added instantly: "We do not have any grounds to follow the path of the Czechs in the terminological field, for in their case it was historically justified." To this one can say that we, Ukrainians, have the same justification — the necessity to defend Ukrainian from Russian linguistic imperialism, as the Czechs had had the necessity to defend their language from the German threat. The Czechs were able to do it at liberty in a constitutional Austrian Empire where no one interfered in the process of the creation of Czech literary language, whereas we, Ukrainians, at present, do not have such an opportunity; we can implement our puristic intentions only to the extent that Moscow allows.

Discussing the question of synonyms, M. Rylskyi wrote in his article entitled "A Dictionary and the Question of Language Culture": "There is also a strange fear of synonyms. Some editors of Russian and other languages feel that every word from their language should have only one corresponding word in Ukrainian. It is impossible not to see a serious danger in this to the culture of our language." From this initiative of M. Rylskyi a sort of easing off came about later which enabled some previously forbidden words to be rehabilitated; they began to be used again as the so-called synonyms. Thus, for instance, Ilchenko, in trying to restore the word "panna" (Miss), simultaneously proposed that the corresponding Russian word "baryshnia" be also used; in order to bring back into use the word "knyharnia" (book store), he suggested that a Russianism, "knyzhkovyi mahazyn", be also used. The fact that this initiative of M. Rylskyi was taken up by Ukrainian authors as a way to revive the discarded Ukrainian words, and a way to fight Russification quietly, was proved by F. Zhylyko who used this "right to synonyms" in his support of the criticism of the Russified "Orthographic Dictionary" by Stefantsev. "The accusations of the critic with regard to your dictionary are well founded", he wrote in a letter to Stefantsev. "In compiling your dictionary you used the following principle: to include words which are common with Russian, or are borrowed from it, and to exclude synonyms, even those widely used, but found only in Ukrainian."⁸

As a result, the following "wonders" can be noticed in the Soviet Ukrainian publications of recent years: in the same text, standing

⁸) *Ukraina*, 1964.

side-by-side there are such words as "mohýla" (Ukr.) and "kurhán" (Russ.) = a grave-mound, "zhovtohariachyi" (Ukr.) and "oránžovyi" (Russ.) = orange, "brunátnyi" (Ukr.) and "korýchniovyi" (Russ.) = brown.⁹ In the partially revised Russian-Ukrainian Dictionary of D. Hanych and I. Oliinyk (Kyiv, 1962), in parallel with the Ukrainian "ozdoróvnytsia" (rest home), the Russian "zdrávnysia" is found. In the dictionary of Ukrainian geographic names, the Russianised spelling of "Rovno" is given alongside the Ukrainian "Rivne." The Kyiv radio daily announces a programme first for "Ukrainians who live 'za kordónom'" (abroad) and later for "Ukrainians who live 'za rubezhém'" (a Russianism).

It seems that this "easing off" is not only a way to bring back into use Ukrainian words but also a certain "reinsurance" for the authors, enabling them, in case they are again accused of using "nationalistic" words, to use in their defence the fact that Russian words have been used simultaneously.

For the Ukrainian people, however, this is just a different variant of the same "mixture" which some people are trying to defeat in such a "sneaky" way. And besides, some of them are confusing synonyms with parallelisms (or "absolute synonyms", as they are called in Soviet Ukraine) which are littering the vocabulary with useless words.

In the process of the struggle to raise the cultural standards of the Ukrainian language, attention turned to Ukrainian phraseology. The old writer B. Antonenko-Davydovych wrote about the need to utilise these treasures of the Ukrainian language in the article, "Beauty of the Native Tongue." This problem was also mentioned by a group of authors who wrote the article "Care for the Language Culture", and Z. Franko stressed the value of the phraseological materials published serially by I. Vyrhan and M. Pylinska in the Kharkiv literary journal *Prapor* (The Flag).

The question of the style in the Ukrainian cultural usage is one of the most important among the problems of language culture. It was made a topic of discussion when it became topical in the Russian literary language, too. Intensive polemics developed around it and the idea prevailed that grammar should be pushed into the second place while the problem of language styles should move into the foreground. The announcement relating to the Kyiv conference on language culture in February, 1963, stated that "the participants in the conference considered it appropriate to introduce the course of practical science of style at the philological departments of the universities and institutes of education; to create facilities for special training at the philological departments for the cadres of translators,

⁹ In the south-eastern dialect (or possibly wider) this colour is called "vyshnevyyi" (cherry).

technologists and editors; to compile and publish a textbook on the science of style."¹⁰

This was, so to speak, said as an afterthought, for in relation to the said struggle for style in the Russian language, such works had already been published earlier in Ukrainian, as e.g., "Stylistic phenomena in Ukrainian language" by V. Vashchenko (Kharkiv, 1958), "Outlines of the general science of style of contemporary Ukrainian Language" by I. Cherednychenko (Kyiv, 1962), etc., and — after the Conference — the already mentioned popular book by A. Koval, "The Culture of the Ukrainian Language" (Kyiv, 1964). However, they were not textbooks on the science of style but mainly research works (as Vashchenko's) or hints for the general reader (as the book by A. Koval).

Grammatical systematisation of the Ukrainian literary language at this stage was connected, of course, with the work of the Institute of Philology of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R. on the compilation of a five-volume course of the Ukrainian language.

Both, Russians and Ukrainians, had started to think about further systematisation (simplification) of spelling. But even in this matter the Ukrainians had to follow slavishly the Russians. Thus, for instance, one of the Ukrainian authors, A. Moskalenko, echoing Russian proposals, suggested that letters "Я" (Ya), "Ю" (Yu) and "І" (Yi) be eliminated from the Ukrainian alphabet. There were proposals to "invent" separate letters for the sounds "dzh" and "dz." One of the contributors to the periodical *Literaturna mova v shkoli* (Literary Language in Schools) even raised the question of restoring the letter "І" (G) banned as "nationalistic" in the 30's.¹¹

But all these positive gains were achieved by overcoming great obstacles even within the boundaries of the permitted degree of de-Russification of the Ukrainian language. Among these obstacles, the greatest was the official theory of "bilingualism." The "new paths" of bilingualism were contrasted by the Soviet Ukrainian philologist, Bilodid, with the bilingualism of the "pre-October period" and also bilingualism in the first years of the Soviet regime, when the use of both languages — Ukrainian and Russian — "had the character of a simple mixture, or the mixed usage of the vocabulary and phraseology of both languages, mostly in their non-literary forms. Russian words were used in the Ukrainian phonetic appearance, often arbitrary and distorted, even in some circles of the intelligentsia."¹²

¹⁰ *Ukrains'ka mova i literatura v shkoli* (Ukrainian Language and Literature in School), No. 2, 1963.

¹¹ This discussion took place in the periodical *Ukrains'ka mova i literatura v shkoli* in 1963.

¹² *Zakonomirnosti rozvytku* (Laws of Development), p. 48.

H. Yizhakevych in her article, "Stylistic Functions of the Structural Elements of Russian in Ukrainian Oral Speech", based her reasoning on this thesis of I. Bilodid (she quotes him) and condemned the "mixture" as "the unconscious mixing of Russian and Ukrainian that constitutes a simple breaking of the rules of one as well as of the other language." As opposed to this "mixture", she justified "the stylistically and semantically differentiated borrowings from Russian."¹³ But this is only "idealistically dogmatic talk" (to put it in Marxist terms) that has nothing in common either with the sociological understanding of language processes or with the elementary rules of language relations, or with the facts of Soviet reality. Under the existing conditions the only language that could be "enriched" is the language of the enslaved nation, while there is no danger to the language of the dominant nation, which not only will not borrow anything from the language of the captive nation, but does not even have to know it at all. It should be enough to mention here that, according to Khrushchov's law on the study of languages in schools, Russian pupils in the national republics are not required to study the particular national language in school.

A teacher in one of the Russian schools in the city of Zaporizhia, N. Hyrenko, in her article, "Teacher Is a Propagandist of the Native Tongue", published in the periodical *Ukrains'ka mova i literatura v shkoli* (Ukrainian Language and Literature in Schools) (No. 7, 1965) testifies that the teachers in her school do not know Ukrainian at all, "do not read Ukrainian literature, are not interested in it and are not improving their qualifications." She states "that schools with Russian language of instruction are directed by comrades who do not know the Ukrainian language, do not read the Ukrainian press, and are not using Ukrainian language in their work" (p. 76). Thus we see how the "bilingual" system works!

Apart from this, Russian language experts and writers categorically express themselves against the littering of the Russian language in the national republics with words of non-Russian origin. For example, F. Gladkow spoke sharply against Ukrainisms in the Russian language: "The non-Russian word "sternia" (stubble) is persistently used in preference to the Russian word "zhnivyo." But in what respect is this "sternia" better than "zhnivyo"? The Russian language is so rich and expressive that it does not need useless borrowings and substitution of alien words for the native ones."¹⁴

A few years ago, an editorial in the periodical *Voprosy yazykoznavniya* (Questions of Philology) noted (Bilodid, quoting it later, wrote: "Rightly said") that the struggle for the purity of the Russian literary language means, apart from anything else, also that in

¹³) *Ibid.*, p. 218.

¹⁴) A. Koval, *Kul'tura ukrains'koï movy*, Kyïv, 1964, p. 45.

all parts of the Soviet Union the Russian language should be identically pure, identically standardised and highly cultured: "It is impermissible that in the national republics their own orthoepical rules of the Russian literary language should appear."¹⁵

Thus we see how the language is "mutually enriched"!

For Ukrainian-speaking people (as for those speaking other national languages) the constant parallel use of the Russian language as "equal" (but in fact it is dominant language) inevitably results in the littering of the Ukrainian language with Russianisms and can even lead to the loss of feeling of the national language. It is the greatest, if not fatal, obstacle in the struggle against Russification of the Ukrainian language. It is a constant and inexhaustible source of littering of the Ukrainian language, especially in its spoken form, with Russianisms, it is a dangerous source of jargonisation even on the lips of educated people. A pupil from the eighth form in a lower secondary school in Volynia wrote to *Literaturna Ukraïna* (No. 59, 1965) that his teachers spoke in a Russian-Ukrainian jargon, even in class, using in their speech many Russianisms. The previously mentioned author, H. Yizhakevych, stated that "the foremost reason for the seeping through of the Russian language elements into spoken Ukrainian is the active use of Russian by the majority of the Ukrainian population"¹⁶ which is encouraged by the conditions created deliberately by the Soviet Russian regime.

An obstacle to the struggle against Russification presents the official conviction that Ukrainian language has to have certain "irreplaceable" Russianisms in its make-up, which under no circumstances must be objected to. Such are, e.g., the words, "liotchyk" (pilot), "urok" (lesson), "uchylyshche" (training school), etc.

"Carbon-copying" of the Russian language in the scientific and technical terminology still remains a "taboo" which has hampered in the past and is holding up at present a spontaneous development of this important part of the Ukrainian vocabulary. A ray of light was thrown upon the situation in this field by M. Chaikovskyy who wrote in *Literaturna Ukraïna*: "The basic fault of the whole series of academic terminological dictionaries, in my opinion, is that they were conceived and realised as translations of the Russian terminological material, thus becoming more or less good carbon copies." (*Literaturna Ukraïna*, March 2, 1965). *Robitnycha hazeta* (Workers' Newspaper) of February 24, 1965, also complained that in Ukrainian technical dictionaries, "in many instances, instead of Ukrainian terms, Russian carbon copies are in fact given."

The struggle against Russification has also been hampered by the living enemies of the Ukrainian language, of whom Ukraine has

¹⁵) *Voprosy yazykoznavaniya*, No. 3, 1963, p. 8.

¹⁶) *Zakonomirnosti rozvytku*, p. 218.

never been able to rid itself, and under the present language policy of the Communist Party they have become particularly impudent. Everything points to the fact that, in recent years, there has been in evidence in Ukraine the factor about which I wrote in my article, "Is It a New Era in the Bolshevik Language Policy?", as follows: "Our suspicions in this matter are strengthened by the fact that the regime continues to pursue the policy aiming at the creation of a unitary society within the borders of the USSR, the so-called "Soviet nation"..."¹⁷

Who are those powerful enemies of the Ukrainian language in Ukraine? They are those Russians, Russifiers and "reinsurers" who are sitting in publishing houses and on editorial boards and are *de facto* controlling all Ukrainian cultural language usage. Even though we have scanty information about this opposition, something about it can, nevertheless, be gleaned from the Soviet press. Let us take the case of the notorious, impudently Russified school dictionary, "The Orthographic Dictionary" by M. Stefantsev. This dictionary has been reprinted year after year despite all criticism and without any elimination of obvious Russianisms, such as "lapshá" (noodles), "kon'ký" (ice skates), "stolóva" (dining room), etc. This little dictionary has been attacked from every side, but the "Radianska shkola" publishing house has not paid any attention to criticism. For instance, some students of philology of the University of Kyiv wrote to the periodical *Ukraïna* (No. 5, 1965) as follows: "We, students of philology, are disgusted with "The Orthographic Dictionary" of M. P. Stefantsev. "Kon'ký" (ice-skates), "zóntyk" (umbrella), "paryk-mákher" (hairdresser), "uspiváty" (to come in time), "chastúshka" (popular verse), "khvórost" (twigs), "sákhár" (sugar), etc. etc." (All the quoted words are Russianisms. — Ed.) V. Zhyloko, doctor of philology and a well-known Ukrainian dialectician, also criticised the dictionary. But even after all these protests the "Radianska shkola" publishing house (the biggest State publishing house in Ukraine — Ed.) issued the seventh edition of this dictionary without the necessary changes. This called forth new protests in the "republican" press — as the Soviet Ukrainian press is often called (perhaps to avoid the name "Ukrainian"). *Literaturna Ukraïna* (No. 45, 1965) carried a critical note by B. Satsiuk, entitled "The Seventh, Un-revised." In it the author remarked with anxiety that this was one of the primary books which ought to enrich the cultural standard of the language of the pupil; it was, however, full of barbarisms. It is interesting to note that, in demanding corrections, B. Satsiuk based his arguments on "the demands of life, society, teachers and parents", but also stated that "the time demands it." The latter argument should be interpreted as the demand of the Party's current language policy, in so far as there must have been a reason why

17) *Vyzvol'nyi shliakh* (Liberation Path), vol. X, 1963.

such unrelated ideas as language and time were mentioned together in one breath. A similar formulation is found in the title of I. Bilodid's article "Language and Time." It is, perhaps, an echo of a similar reconciliation of the two ideas in the Russian philology of recent years (for example, the title of V. Timofeyeva's book is "The Language of a Poet and the Time", Moscow, 1962.) Surely, the influence of F. de Saussure's theory, who used time as a factor in language changes, cannot be present in this case.

The fact that Stefantsev's apparent "sabotage" of the official Party policy (let us suppose that it is so) is not a single instance in the publication of school textbooks is evident from the article by I. Pylypenko on the language of school textbooks, published in *Literaturna Ukraïna* (No. 41, 1965). "What is offered in the school textbooks of the recent years?" asked the author with indignation. "It is unbelievable! Carbon copies, awkward phrases, officialese, breaches of grammatical rules." The author dared not call Russianisms by the name, using instead the euphemism "carbon copies." But from the examples he quoted, it is clear that he meant Russianisms nonetheless. The author arrived at the following conclusion: "The textbooks in which children read the *belles-lettres* for the first time are terribly inaccurate, they abound in crying errors of language and style, the sins which can forever create aversion in the little readers to *belles-lettres* and the bright originality of the folklore."

A typical case revealed in the Soviet Ukrainian press was that mentioned in B. Tsitskevych's letter to *Literaturna Ukraïna* (No. 56, July 13, 1965), entitled "Why Lusha?" The author stated that the "Radianska shkola" publishing house had published F. Yakovenko's "Alphabet for the Teaching of Children at Home" in 100,000 copies. This "Alphabet", however, gives only Russian children's names — "Lusha", "Masha", "Pasha", etc., although it is supposed to be an aid to teaching Ukrainian.

On the basis of these facts it can be concluded that this most important State publishing house in Ukraine has become a fort of the enemies of the Ukrainian language. Controlling the publication of practically all Ukrainian school textbooks, the managers of this publishing house are aware, of course, that from such a fort it is possible to carry out a most destructive campaign against the Ukrainian language.

The hampering role of bureaucrats — Russifiers, as far as the compilation of Ukrainian terminological dictionaries is concerned, was brought into daylight by an article in *Literaturna Ukraïna* (March 2, 1965) by M. Chaikovskiyi. "Thus, our dictionary (of mathematical terminology. — V. Ch.) has its faults", the author wrote. "There are more of them than we, authors, would like. But if you, readers, could imagine with what a pain this dictionary was born, through how many hands of critics, editors, correctors, it had to pass before it reached you! It undergoes such metamorphoses that

sometimes its parents, that is the authors, can barely recognise their offspring."

An article on the sabotaging of the struggle against the use of the Russian-Ukrainian "mixture" in the Kyiv radio was contributed to *Literaturna Ukraïna* (February 19, 1965) by the corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R., E. Kyryliuk. He complained that the editors of this radio station were ignoring his comments and did not answer his letters. "The language of the broadcasts has not improved", he noted, "but is rather getting worse."

As is evident, all these authors are not using the term "Russification", but are in fact opposing the spread of Russianisms. This very vagueness also speaks volumes.

Another difficulty in the struggle against Russianisms is the fact that some editors and authors are slow in restoring the correct Ukrainian forms advocated by leading Ukrainian philologists-theoreticians. Thus, for masculine noun forms such as "bát'ko" (father), "kin'" (horse), etc., Russian dative singular endings in *-u*, *-iu* have been introduced in the 30's instead of the Ukrainian forms *-ovi*, *-evi*. In his lecture at the Kyiv conference in 1963, doctor of philology M. Zhovtobriukh, bluntly expressed himself against the Russian forms.¹⁸

But even after the conference most newspapers continued stubbornly to use the Russian endings. Even *Literaturna Ukraïna* which usually leads the way in the struggle against Russianisms has been no exception. Only the periodical *Ukraïns'ka mova i literatura v shkoli* (Ukrainian Language and Literature in Schools) has largely used the Ukrainian endings. Ukrainian endings in foreign names and titles are especially shunned.

Disregarding the injunction of Ukrainian philologists regarding the correct spelling of surnames, especially those in *-ych*, *-iv* (*On Language Culture*, p. 204), they are frequently written according to Russian pronunciation, e.g. "Plotkin", "Kravtsev", etc.

It cannot be said that philologists themselves always exhibit scientific bravery; they often defend obvious Russianisms. As an example can serve the question of the "nationalistic" letter "I" (G), banned since the 30's. M. Nakonechnyi, a speaker at the Kyiv Conference, though dealing with the tasks in the sphere of orthoepy, simply avoided the question of "G", and M. Zhovtobriukh, another speaker, though he touched upon it, turned his argumentation in such a way as to create the impression that this letter was completely unnecessary.

Despite all this, the encouraging fact remains that some authors have virtually overtaken the theoreticians-philologists in rehabilitat-

¹⁸ *Pro kul'turu movy* (*On Language Culture*), Kyiv, 1964, p. 53.

ing by way of "fait accompli" many Ukrainian phenomena. Among them have been I. Vyrhan, O. Ilchenko and others.

These writers took advantage of the permission to choose freely the language means in their creative work. O. Ilchenko, in his article, "Every language existing in it", stated: "Naturally (under Soviet Russian conditions? — V. Ch.) nobody hinders me now in choosing freely the most exact and most appropriate words from the rich scale of all the tones and nuances of the contemporary Ukrainian language, nobody tries nowadays to limit my linguistic or stylistic search, and never have we been able to write more freely than at present." Though after these words he added: "But some angry corporals, sometimes and in some places, continue even today to practice witchcraft over the manuscripts of some of my friends."¹⁹

Nevertheless, some freedom in this respect has been granted to the writers and the quality of language now largely depends upon the author or the editor. Some authors know the language better and are using this privilege more bravely, while others know it poorly or are always looking over their shoulder, so to speak, fearing the repetition of the terror campaign against the Ukrainian language. As a result, some writers have in the last few years contributed such good texts that up to now did not exist in Ukrainian (for example, that same M. Ilchenko in his novel, *There Is No End to the Cossack Clan*). Good language is also found in the works of M. Stelmakh, I. Vyrhan and B. Antonenko-Davydovych. The fact that some of the youngest writers and poets are using good language is a very encouraging phenomenon. The same is also true of the writers in the western provinces.

Summarising the above, it can be said that despite tremendous obstacles and difficulties in the struggle against the Russification of the Ukrainian language, the latter has achieved very high standards of development, surpassing those in the past. Its advantages are: (a) the unity of practically all Ukrainian lands (from the Carpathians to the Kuban; (b) systematisation of norms of the language, (c) expressional universality — the presence of all possible language styles in the literary language. And when Ukrainian philologists (for example I. Bilodid) claim that Ukrainian is one of the most developed languages in the world, this is true.

The factors which have led to it acted independently of the official meanderings of the Bolshevik language policy, namely: (a) the experience of the 20's in Central Ukraine and the Kuban area, (b) 50 years of Ukrainian schools, (c) "unification" of practically all Ukrainian lands under "one roof", (d) "State function" of the Ukrainian language (though with great restrictions).

However, the danger of Russification constantly hangs over it.

¹⁹ *Radians'ka Ukraïna* (Soviet Ukraine), Kyïv, No. 115, 1963.

Lew SHANKOWSKY

SYMBOL "33" AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

Thirty-three Ukrainian students were shot to death in 1952 because of their membership in OUN and their alleged participation in the execution of the Bolshevik writer and pamphleteer Yaroslav Halan.

In the late fall of 1951, the Bolshevik security agency MGB arrested many of the Ukrainian students from Lviv, Uzhhorod, Chernivtsi, Odessa and Kyiv universities and other schools of higher learning. According to Dr. Alexander Rathaus's testimony over 800 students were arrested at that time.

The trials of these students took place in Lviv, Rivne, Lutsk, Vinnytsia and other cities during May, 1952. The defendants were accused of belonging to the underground organisation — OUN and of their alleged participation in the liquidation of Yaroslav Halan. Andrii Bilynskyi in his book entitled *In the Concentration Camps of USSR*, published in 1961, testified, on the basis of his conversation with an unnamed Jewish lawyer, that "200 students have suffered because of Halan."

Halan was killed in Lviv on October 24, 1949. This "Ukrainian writer" was sentenced to die by OUN not because of his "fiery" pamphlets against the Greek Catholic Church or OUN, but for his disgraceful service to the security organs of MGB. Upon the orders of MGB Halan performed the most shameful tasks in order to penance for his part in the Polish intelligence service in the 30's. MGB knew about these activities of Halan and, therefore, it did not exhibit too great a confidence in this servant, denying him, for instance, the right to carry personal arms. In order to buy himself this trust, Halan delivered to the security agency even his friends from the village of Lower Bereziv from where his wife originally came and who was destroyed by the Bolsheviks during the Yezhov purges. Besides betrayals of the "nationalists" Halan also recruited Ukrainian students for service in the security organs. Because of all these provocations and his spy activities this janissary was condemned to the death penalty by the underground organisation, the execution of which was to be carried out by its Lviv branch.

Of course, Halan's assassination shook the security organs of MGB to their limits, and they did everything possible to discover the executors of this assassination. They succeeded in this, and, today, we even know, that they were helped to a great extent by Bohdan Stashynskyi, the future murderer of Lev Rebet and Stepan Bandera, in Munich in 1957 and 1959 respectively, at the orders of KGB. At the time Stashynskyi was beginning his career as an agent of the security organs of MGB and it is possible that he fell upon the trail

of the assassin because of an unconscious help of his sister, the member of OUN. Anyhow, the security agency caught the immediate assassin — Mykhailo Starukh — and the organisers of Halan's assassination — students Iliarii Lukashevych and Roman Shchepanskyi. The trial of the arrested members of the underground organisation and their families took place in Lviv on October 16, 1951. In the press and in books only biased prepared excerpts from the trial appeared, among other things in the book of Luka Kyzia, entitled *The Age Long Struggle of the Ukrainian People Against the Vatican* (Kyiv, 1959). In this book, the former head of the Ukr.S.S.R.'s delegation to the U.N. does not know the difference between the Papal "encyclical" and an "encyclopaedia" and writes about Papal "encyclopaedias" (p. 222), but he sharply accuses the Vatican of the organisation of Halan's assassination. And besides, the father of Iliarii, Fr. Denys Lukashevych "admitted" at the trial that "according to Vatican's directions", he "sent his son and Starukh to murder the writer Halan."

The diplomat Kyzia will go into history as an organiser of the first meeting with "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists" in New York; the "historian" Kyzia, as a recorder of the struggle of the Ukrainian people with the Vatican, against which the Bolsheviks made even an old poet like Petro Karmanskyi, who in his life took advantage of Vatican's hospitality, write pamphlets. All this was needed by the Bolsheviks in order to terrorize the Greek Catholics in Western Ukraine, because the true background of Halan's assassination was very well known to them. The security organs had the opportunity to convince themselves that the underground network of the OUN found great following among the Ukrainian students. The importance to uncover and to render this student organisation harmless loomed before these security organs. To this end, they brought to life a truly diabolical plan, that could have been conceived only in the minds of the criminals.

Thus, the leaders of the Lviv branch of MGB enrolled one of their officers in the Lviv University and told him to court one of the girls who was suspected of belonging to the organisation. They knew very well that her arrest would not bring any results because the members of the organisation always carried poison, which they would use in the event of a sudden arrest. Before the security agency stood the task of uncovering the widest circle of membership, its connections, plans, etc.

The officer of MGB carried out the instructions of his superiors explicitly. A pleasant, handsome boy who pretended to be from Volyn enrolled at the university, began to attend classes diligently and made friends with the indicated girl. His courtship brought results; he married the girl; the ceremony took place in Church; he became the father of her child. But not for one moment did he turn his attention away from the real end. When everything was ready

and exposed, MGB suddenly fell upon the underground members and carried out their arrests. At the trial which followed, this agent, now in the uniform of an officer of MGB, submitted his testimony, also against his own wife who was condemned to die. Furthermore, before that trial, the officer was granted a divorce, and the baby was taken to the children's home.

As the result of this trial, which took place in May, 1952, 33 Ukrainian students received the death sentence. Others were given a smaller or greater number of years of deportation. It seems that all the students who were condemned to die, were tried in Lviv, even though not all of them were originally Western Ukrainians. As has already been indicated, the trials took place in other cities as well.

Nevertheless, the memory of 33 Ukrainian students, the victims of the Bolshevik terror, remained and is kept alive by the Ukrainian students at all Ukrainian schools of higher learning. This is evident from the testimony of Dr. Alexander Rathaus, the former member of the Communist Party of the S.U., of the Jewish nationality, who now lives in Israel. Upon leaving the USSR, he described on the pages of the French press how upon his visit to the Kyiv University in May, 1961, he was detained by the security agents, who were searching the university building. After his release, Dr. Rathaus learned from dean, an acquaintance of his, that somebody has painted the number "33" on all the corridors of the building. The notified security organs with the help of special instruments were looking for the traces of tar on the hands of the students in order to uncover those who painted these "dangerous" numbers. It was an anniversary of the condemnation of the Ukrainian students by the Russian tribunal.

Dr. Alexander Rathaus also explained to his readers, that an underground students' organisation calls itself by the symbol "33" in honour of the 33 Ukrainian students who were executed "because of their defence of the Ukrainian language." We have already related the true nature of this execution. Nevertheless, it is impossible to disregard the testimony of Dr. Alexander Rathaus, since in his interpretation the fact, that an underground students' organisation exists and acts, is indisputable. It is also worth stressing, that Dr. Rathaus explains that Ukrainian underground organisation which encompasses chiefly students of the schools of higher learning and is fighting for the creation of sovereign and independent Ukraine, calls itself by the symbol "33." At the present time, says this eyewitness, this organisation is struggling for the spiritual rebirth of its membership as well as all young Ukrainians. In the light of everything that we know about the Ukrainian youth, there cannot be the least doubt that this struggle is gaining great success in Ukraine.

This is the true meaning of the symbol "33", which appears often in Ukraine and where everyone understands its significance.

VOICE OF COURAGEOUS UKRAINIAN INTELLECTUAL

Ivan Dziuba is the most prominent contemporary literary and cultural critic in Ukraine, who radiates the typical traits of Ukrainian culture: he is the spokesman of all the noble human ideals; he views the world through the Ukrainian national prism; he is a real humanitarian, who has been educated in humanities and social sciences. For being a close friend of the late Vasyl Symonenko, the foremost Ukrainian poet after World War II, who died in 1963 at the age of 28, the totalitarian Soviet-Russian regime started to persecute Dziuba. He was arrested and imprisoned. Then attempts were made to break him morally. One very noticeable example was the publication of a satire entitled: "About Mr. Stetzko and the Martyred Little Frog", which appeared in the periodical *Perets* (No. 17) of September, 1966. Dziuba was variously called in the said article: "the nasty little frog", "the croaking and twaddling of the little frog"; "the fool"; "the stupid Panko Koloda (Log) — shoed in the wrong way." A dark hint was uttered against him: "Panko is speculating with his rights..." Anger was expressed that Dziuba was not condemning the activities of the Ukrainian emigrés, and in particular those who are working to achieve freedom of Ukraine. This abuse by the Russian mouthpiece contains some piquant examples of Communist journalistic ethics: "You, son of a bitch!.. Your tongue has come back so you should climb up a stump and call out: 'Gentlemen, stop twaddling!'" But Dziuba manly resists tyranny, although the quisling author said: "he took an uncompromising stand. Everything is not to the taste of this fool... the line of policy is wrong, and it turns in the wrong direction... he sometimes even appeals to the people." The agent-correspondent confesses that Dziuba "became an international figure, a noble martyr, a great sufferer." His views are strongly attacked: "The method of socialist realism is not to his liking; he is not content with the Soviet way of life at all... He remains unrestrained and irreconcilable." The Bolsheviks confess that Dziuba has a clear Ukrainian national view point and a strong character. Even though he was 'treated' at special clinics during 1965-66, he did not renounce his Ukrainian national ideas and his opposition to anti-Ukrainian policies of the Soviet-Russian regime: "He contradicted the Soviet people, the Leninist ideas and the Communist ideology." Nowhere, however, does the anti-Ukrainian writer allege that Dziuba rose against the interests of the Ukrainian people!

In reply to the denunciations and persecutions in the autumn and winter of 1966, Ivan Dziuba published his views in the newspaper *Nove Zhyttia* in Priashiv, Czecho-Slovakia on January 14, 1967, no. 2 (990). This answer is reproduced below. To the question whether he replied to the article in *Perets*, Ivan Dziuba answered in such a noble, sincere and humane way, that in the reality of Communist-Russian totalitarianism with its terroristic police methods such a public statement reveals the personal greatness of Ivan Dziuba. Once again, as he argues in his statement, the Ukrainian culture and nation arise on the international scene as a separate dynamic society aware of its own potentialities and willing to participate and to contribute to the wider development of mankind. Dziuba is fighting to find a place for his nation under the sun. He proves the power of literature in the service of justice and freedom and the development of man and world progress.

A. W. B.

IVAN DZIUBA REPLIES

From time to time, we will introduce in the *Resonances** outstanding people from different walks of life. Today, the editors' written questions are being answered by one of the foremost critics and literary scholars, Ivan Dziuba, who is the subject of many discussions, both bad and good.

What have I been working on recently?

— In most instances I was not doing what I would have liked to do. Nevertheless, the work on certain historical-literary subjects, which have attracted me in the last few years, is progressing slowly. In particular, I hope to bring to an end an attempt at the survey of the search for ideas by Ukrainian intelligentsia, on the background of

*) *Resonances* is the youth page in the newspaper, *New Life* which is printed in Priashiv, Czecho-Slovakia. The editors of this page state: *Resonances* suggests: to print on this page, as often as possible material about the life of Ukrainian youth in Czecho-Slovakia in the various places of work, regardless whether this Ukrainian youth is culturally active or culturally "asleep."

the spiritual life in Europe (including Russia), which I have started long ago. I have felt for a long time that we are unable to evaluate in a worthy (or independent) way and to make sense of many of the phenomena in our culture and spiritual make-up because we are considering them narrowly, torn apart from everything which the world at the time considered necessary for life, forgetting that we always were and are an organical part of mankind. Therefore, we sometimes do not see and do not transmit to others many of the universal achievements of Ukrainian thought and creative work. Furthermore, this has given rise to the idea that Ukrainian literature is marked by, let us say, a certain provincialism and inferiority, that it is characterised by a certain retardation of its ideas and forms. Of course, both belatedness and provincialism existed, but often they are not perceived where they really manifested themselves. We tend to see some motives and features as the birth of a typical Ukrainian phenomenon, but in reality they were evident to a great extent in all European literature. Many of the motives in Shevchenko's poetry, for instance, will assume their true "universal" significance, when what was happening and what was being said in German, Italian, Hungarian etc. (including also Latin American) literature of the age is taken into consideration. The same is true of Lesia Ukraïnka, Vasyl Stefanyk, Olha Kobyljanska (it is from them that I started; the chapters about them and T. Shevchenko are almost finished) and also many others up to the XVII century (not mentioning Hryhorii Skovoroda and Ivan Vyshenskyi). It is understandable that this topic goes far beyond the boundaries of exclusively literary contents.

I am also working on a book about Vasyl Stefanyk. In my opinion he is the greatest Ukrainian prose writer and one of the greatest in the world literature of the XX century. He is the forebearer of a series of the phenomena of modern prose. Unfortunately, nobody in Ukrainian literature went in the direction which he discovered and now, after many years we, under the influence of Hemingway and others, are seeking that to which Stefanyk should have inspired us long ago.

I would also like to finish a book about T. H. Shevchenko, *The One Who Chased Out the Pharisees*. It concerns the titanic "biblical" single combat by Shevchenko with the official ideology and the official "morality."

I am also interested in the history of the struggle of the Russian tsarism against the revolutionary freedom movements. This history has many extremely interesting pages.

But most important — I would prefer to return to the active work in the field of actual literary criticism of contemporary Ukrainian literature.

What problems trouble me?

— If you have in mind literary problems I have answered that question above. Or are you concerned with life or civic problems? Of those I have plenty... In the first place I am concerned with the fate of my friends. I am troubled by the complicated and at times contradictory processes which are taking place in our social and national life. I am worried about the problems, disappointments and aspirations of that part of youth which wants to contribute to the process of creation of full-valued socialist life in practice, not just talk, and thinks of what it can gain from it subjectively in its search for truth and purpose of life and what it can give to the nation.

A number of broader social and ethical problems could be mentioned. Generally ethics interests me more than politics, but ethics in a broader sense, as the relation of man to the world and to himself.

How do I evaluate the contemporary Ukrainian prose?

— I shall not attempt to evaluate it in a few words. If you wish, I shall try to write an article on this for your paper. I feel that last year's most interesting books were a novel by R. Andriashyk, "People from Fear", collection of short stories by Hryhor Tiutiunyk (younger brother of the author of the novel "Whirlpool", Heorhiy Tiutiunyk), "Germination", and Yurii Shcherbak's "As at War" (a novel and short stories). These are young prose writers who bring new qualities to our prose. But all in all there is plenty here to talk about.

Did you give an answer to "Perets"?

— My answer of any kind would constitute a sanction or legalisation of the slanderous allegations which are beyond all moral and judicial norms. Elementary human contempt will not permit me to pay attention to it.

Thank you for your attention and I wish you success in your noble work for Ukrainian culture.

Ivan Dziuba

December 2, 1966, Kyiv

(*New Life*, Priashiv, Czecho-Slovakia, no. 2 (990), January 14, 1967).

Ivan DZIUBA

THE CLEANSING AND LIFE- GIVING FIRE

The motives of "national shame" and national "self-criticism"
in Shevchenko's poetry.

Great love brings with it great duties and gives great rights. And he in whom great suffering of the soul gave birth to the greatest words, known to people, of fiery love to his long-suffering motherland:

I love her with such loving care,
My Ukraina poor, downtrodden,
That I could curse at Holy God, and
For her be damned for evermore. —

(*"A Dream"*)

had every right to say to it the most bitter words of pain, anger and shame. For love alone, the words of love alone, could not have been the whole truth, and could not have led to the truth. But he was called to say "the holy truth on earth", that new word, that "new voice" about which he prayed to the "Holy Mother, full of grace":

Send me that holy word, the new
Voice, O send, of holy truth,
And that word with holy wisdom
Do thou revivify, enlighten!

.
Grant strength to the poor soul, inspire
That it might speak forth living fire,
So that the word, as flame apparent,
Will melt the heart of human-kind,
Throughout Ukraine the word be carried,
There in Ukraine the word be hallowed,
The word, the frankincense divine,
The frankincense of truth.

(*"The Neophytes"*).

Shevchenko manifested this fiery word to the world from Ukraine, and at the same time it was the expression of love toward Ukraine, the expression of hatred toward her enemies, and the expression of intolerance and anger toward the "misbegotten" sons of Ukraine herself. This great threefold word of Shevchenko was "hallowed"; it lived and multiplied in the hearts of the nation; it multiplied and grew in the words of the heirs of the spirit — Franko, Lesia Ukrainka, Olha Kobylianska and many, many others.

Here we will talk about one component of this "threefold word": we will talk about Shevchenko as the creator in Ukrainian literature and the spiritual life of Ukraine of the great and merciless spirit of national "self-criticism", as the awakener of that "national shame" (expression of Karl Marx) which always is a necessity and a prerequisite of a great social and national movement, of any great national revival and struggle — and which since then has resounded alertly and sharply in Ukrainian literature, having become one of its leading motives (let us remember the motives of national "shame" in Lesia Ukrainka, or "betrayal" in Olha Kobylianska; let us remember Franko's great:

My soul is anxious for your future, sighing,
I cannot sleep. Shame burns within me ever,
Shame for the lot before your children lying,

(From the Prologue to "Moses".)

Similar motives are common to many world literatures, especially to the literatures of the peoples who suffered national oppression, catastrophies or degeneration, and who arose to the great historical feat of national revival. Let us name, for example, Petöfi in Hungary, Lessing, Heine in Germany; let us refer to the great vogue of national "self-criticism" in the French literature of the late 19th C. (especially in Rolland) under the influence of the French defeat in the Franco-Prussian War in 1870 and the national depression due to it (but how much greater was the historical catastrophe of Ukraine!). In all these writers many almost identical calls to our Shevchenko, Franko, Lesia Ukrainka are found, and not by chance. Similar circumstances produce similar results.

For those who are used to treating the national question in a primitive and vulgar manner and to whom the concept of national "self-criticism" and "national shame" appears "suspicious" and "anti-Marxist", because it, allegedly, substitutes national-mystical categories for the class and political ones, — for them particularly (and even more for the better understanding of the matter) let us say that Marx and Engels used similar concepts widely; moreover, they attached great importance to them (here we are speaking not of Marxism as a theory, but about particular views of Marx and Engels which reveal a wide range of interesting coincidences with the views of other great people.)

In March of 1843, Karl Marx wrote to A. Ruhe:

"I am now travelling around Holland. Judging by the local and French press, Germany is sinking in mud more and more each day. Believe me that even when you do not entertain any feeling of national pride, nevertheless, you feel the national shame, even in Holland. The most insignificant Dutchman is, however, a citizen in comparison with the greatest German." (Let us compare it with a letter of our Lesia Ukrainka to her brother Mykhailo during her first trip abroad, to Austria: "...If it is true that here in this land I feel somehow freer, then again never and nowhere did I feel so painfully how hard it is to wear chains, and how the yoke has been hurting my neck... It often seems to me... that red marks are visible upon my hands and neck, which have been left by the chains and the yoke of slavery, and everybody sees these marks and I am ashamed for myself before the free people.") And further Marx writes: "It is also a discovery, only a negative one... You look at me with a smile and ask what advantage is there in this. Revolution cannot be made of shame." (Again let us mention Lesia Ukrainka's question: "...how can Ukraine be made a political force right now? "Shame" alone, of course, will not help much in this case, because Ukrainians have been feeling it since the times of Shevchenko, but they have done nothing to save their souls.") Marx answers this question thus: "But I say: shame is already a revolution... Shame is a type of anger, only turned inside. And when the whole nation really has felt the sense of shame, it would be similar to a lion who is getting ready to leap." (K. Marx, F. Engels, *Selected Letters*, Ukrpolitvydav, Kiev, 1949, p. 13).

It is characteristic that later, towards the end of his life, Engels speaks about the downfall of the "national state" and the "plunder of the German lands" as the greatest German national "shame of the past." (See *ibid.*, p. 451). Identically in the same way, the Ukrainian literature beginning with Shevchenko has treated the corresponding phenomena in the Ukrainian history.

It is such a national shame about which Marx speaks, shame as a revolutionary force that was engendered by Shevchenko's poetry, by its insatiable scourging of national instability, concessiveness, submissiveness, renegation, and silent slavery; in the same way this poetry also reawakened national pride by the glorious historical memories and revelations of love; and as this pride was always open to deadly insults of the humiliating reality, it inflamed the shame even more; thus constantly they nourished one another, one turned into another, one multiplied the other — shame and pride, love and hatred, faith and despair. This hard inner struggle and the painful mutual fertilisation of contradictory feelings, these living clots of pain and torment were poured with strength, little known in the world poetry, into the "Epistle" ("To the Dead, the Living and the Unborn"), "Chyhyryn", "The Fool of God" ("The Half-Wit"), "Hosea's Chapter XIV" and many other poems.

The poet consciously inflamed the national shame: with it, as with national pride, national memories, he wanted to regenerate the entire nation, to change its historical fate. As a spiritual giant, he would take upon himself its sorrows and misfortunes; he makes himself answer for them; he torments himself for the sins he did not commit; says "we" where he could and should have said "you" — and this is to him not a rhetorical figure, not an artistic device, but a voluntary assumption upon himself of the responsibility for his countrymen; it is that idea "For all will I speak, for all will I suffer"; this is the torment for all and the shame for all.

We stood and stared in dumb amazement,
Scratching our heads, no answer gave,
We, the speechless, coward slaves,
The footstools of the Tsar, the lackeys
Of the drunk corporal...

("The Fool of God")

But where may we find such a mother?
Our hearts are naked to the core!
We are but slaves with branded faces,
Lackeys in gilded braids and laces,
The foot-cloths, the hearth-sweepings of
His Majesty! . . . And nothing more.

(*"In Judea in the days of yore"*).

It is understandable that Shevchenko spoke differently about the unfree slaves, the blind slaves, "the slaves of slaves" (his image) — and about devoted slaves, sincere slaves, slaves eager and vigilant in their servitude, the slaves with a privileged status, the slaves among lords. With the former he either sympathised or reproached them; but upon the latter he invoked fierce punishment:

O anguish,
O my soul's heavy, heavy woe,
It is not you I pity so,
Dear friends, you, poor in spirit, blind;
But those who, over them inclined
See axe and hammer, yet are still
Forging new fetters. They will kill
And cut your throats, they the life slayers,
And from a well of blood they'll slake the
Thirst of their dogs...

But "anguish" and "sorrow", pain and shame — were, nevertheless, felt by him for everyone, and Shevchenko, as a great poet, could not disavow them. A great poet could not do otherwise.

From this immeasurable shame and pain a "tremendous" (Franko's term) word speaking for everyone was born. It was commensurate with the historical mission which Shevchenko consistently placed upon it: to forge "a new blade" and "a keen new share" for the "old plough", to "cleave" the "evil, rotten, sickly heart" of his nation, to "drain from it all the poisoned blood", and to pour into it "living Cossack blood, Holy, clean and pure" ("Chyhyryn"). It is this very nation-saving sense that pervades the unending reproaches of "the unfaithful children" of Ukraine, their "duplicity and treachery", that often grow into raging curses of the entire nation, the "sinful womb" of Ukraine. Yes, yes, of the whole nation. Did Shevchenko have the right to scold his nation? Read "Hosea's Chapter XIV", read other works and you will see. Shevchenko knew two Ukraines: Ukraine as a permanent principle and Ukraine as a historical moment. Ukraine-mother, and Ukraine — a stray. Ukraine the immaculate, and Ukraine the "corrupt." Ukraine of "heroes" and Ukraine of "slaves, underlings." The latter, historically mutilated and historically transient Ukraine he had to scourge and curse because of the former — Ukraine-mother, Ukraine historically permanent. He had to scold the sons — because of the mother. Similarly, Chernyshevsky spoke with hatred about his Russia to which he gave his whole life: "A pitiful nation, a nation of slaves; from top to bottom everyone is a slave!" Lenin elaborated upon these words, saying that they had been born by the love for his nation and the pain caused by the "lack of the revolutionary spirit" in it.

Could Shevchenko, besides reproaching the Ukrainian landlords, also reproach the Ukrainian peasant, whom he loved more than himself? Could he chastise and curse simply a Ukrainian as a representative of a nation? Read the mystery "The Great Vault" where the "First Soul" is cursed because when she had been human she crossed Hetman Khmelnytskyi's path with full pails of water (a symbol of well-wishing) when he "was going to Pereyaslav to swear Moscow fealty"; the "Second Soul" — because she "watered once the horse of the Moscow tsar" (Peter I — the Ed.); the "Third Soul" — because she smiled at the tsarina (Catherine II — the Ed.) without knowing that "this tsarina reigned as... the fierce enemy of Ukraine." Read the poem "P.S.":

...People, people,
If for a scrap of rotten sausage
They asked your mother as a hostage,
You'd sell her, too!

I do not keep a
Grudge against drunken Crookleg Peter,
But a great grudge I bear against
People, those poor, half-witted babes.

Read his fiery satires about "the tsars", a whole series of works of high ideological tension, the main theme of which is: the people, due to their own servitude, "deserve" the "tsars" and are suffering because of their baseness:

O people, people, dimwits foolish,
 What need have you of tsars high-reigning?
 What need have you then of dog-trainers,
 For you are *not* dogs, you are human!

Here the national "self-criticism" grows into a "criticism" of humanity, and the "national shame" enters the "universal human shame"; but this is a different topic.

Thus, besides the unmasking of the nobility and the "renegades", "the uncles of foreign fatherland", Shevchenko has many an angry word about the entire nation, about its characteristic national faults and "complexes" formed by history, by the conditions of historical development. And about this history itself: the merciless, critical review of the Ukrainian national history is one of the chief motives of Shevchenko's poetry:

Only look well, only read
 That glory through once more,
 From the first word to the last,
 Read; do not ignore
 Even the least apostrophe,
 Not one comma even.
 Search out the meaning of it all,
 Then ask yourself the question:
 'Who are we? Whose sons? Of what sires?
 By whom and why enchained?'
 And then, indeed, you'll see for what
 Are your Bruti famed:
 Toadies, slaves, the filth of Moscow,
 Warsaw's garbage...

(*"The Epistle"*)

At the same time Shevchenko elevated the truly heroic pages of the Ukrainian history and defended them against falsification, pretensions and the designs of the enemies, especially tsarism, which proclaimed as its own that which had been Ukrainian since time began:

They* say, you see, that "All of this
 Belonged in olden days to
 Us, and we only leased it out
 To the Tartars, for grazing,
 And to the Poles"...

*) i.e. the Russians.

He defended them against distortion by tsarism which wanted to persuade Ukrainian society, the Ukrainian nation, that its, the tsarism's servants and thus traitors of the Ukrainian nation — were heroes, and that the real heroes were "traitors" and "bandits":

*'The Haydamaky were no warriors,
Thieves they were, and robbers,
A blot upon our history!
Thou liest, people-starver:
For freedom and the holy truth
A robber does not rise up,
Nor does he set free a people
Who, dark, unenlightened,
Are bound into your chains, does not
Slay with his own hand
An evil son, nor break his living
Heart for his native land!
It is you that are the robbers,
You, the insatiate!*

("The Cold Ravine")

There are many similar "words" in other great Ukrainian writers, as there are many of them in the literatures of other nations. Again let us remember that Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels spoke about the particular traits of the German and English society as the general national faults, and not the traits of separate classes only.

"...We have always led the greatest struggle within the party against the petty bourgeoisie, lower middle class-philistine spirit, because it, developing from the time of the Thirty Years War and encompassing *all* classes (underlined by Engels — I. D.) in Germany, became her hereditary misery, the bosom brother of servility, of "loyal subject" humility and all other German hereditary vices. It was this which made us look funny and worthy of scorn abroad. Such philistinism is the main cause of weakness and lack of character, which are reigning here. It reigns on the throne as often as in the house of the shoemaker." (From a letter of F. Engels to E. Bernstein from February 27 — March 1, 1883; K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Letters*, Ukrpolitvydav, K. 1949, p. 354.)

The higher the national-political ideal of the poet and citizen, the stronger his need to incite his nation to revolution, — the greater shame burns him for the similar mistakes of his own nation, the more impatiently he fights them and thus with greater joy he is intoxicated with the fine virtues of the nation and the achievements of the national history, which overcome these faults or rather should overcome them; with historical precedents which can contradict these faults (naturally, here we have in mind not any inborn faults of this

or that nation, proper to it owing to its nature — these do not exist — but the historically conditioned and historically transient mistakes). Thus in Shevchenko, with the same frequency, we find the words on the slave spirit and the historical sterility of his nation —

Father will not slay his son,
His own child; a deed for
Honour, glory, Brotherhood
And Ukraina's freedom;
Will not slay him, but will rear him
And to Moscow sell him
To the slaughterhouse... This is
The widow's mite, I tell you,
For the throne, the "Fatherland",
And for the German-payment...;

(*"To Hohol"*)

Rue, rue has grown,
And choked our freedom down.

...But Ukraine
Has fallen asleep, mould-grown, covered in weeds,
Set her heart there to rot in the mud, in a puddle,
Let in poisonous snakes to a tree-trunk's cold hollow...

(*"Chyhyryn"*)

— and the words about the freedom-loving, heroic, glorious spirit of his nation and its great mission in the history of man: —

...Will smash the throne, the mantle shredding,
He will tear down your evil fetish,
You human woodworms!

(*"The Fool of God"*)

Thus the love of Motherland in Shevchenko is not blind and fanatically comforting, but seeing and inexorable; this love did not kiss away the wounds and ulcers, but burned them out. This love was free from the vices of sycophancy, obtrusiveness, wheedling, plaintiveness and the specific wearisomeness of a poor relative or an unacknowledged dignitary. No, it was love which tempered the tone and feeling of personal dignity. And the higher and fuller of content this dignity became, the more dramatic feelings it discovered, because everywhere it was open to insults and met with humiliation; the more severe became its anger against its own countrymen, for it saw their insensitivity to honour, their tolerance of dishonour; the more abnormal and more unbelievable, disgracefully insane appeared the accustomed "normal" state of affairs, because the common sense of

the philistine-slave is the basest absurdity, and the more acutely burned the yearning for the "madness" of benefaction, dignity and honour, the "madness" of a heroic act, that ever-present daily yearning. ("The Fool of God").

Thus in the history of his nation, Shevchenko found and glorified this holy "insanity" of heroism, and he, himself, was a hero. And he embodied the ineradicable creative power of his nation, the very existence of which, contrary to all prophesyings, rules and demands of those who considered themselves the trusted people of "history", its "informers" or court executors — its very stubborn existence and growth even amounted to that very "madness" of historical heroism.

Thus, no matter how great were his doubts, Shevchenko's belief in Ukraine kept renewing itself, as Ukraine herself, buried and abandoned by the "flower of the nation", kept renewing herself in the common people:

They spat, defiling,
 Those hangmen, on Thy purity;
 Defamed Thy meekness! As for Thee . . .
 Like gold within the fire refinéd,
 Renewed in human souls, Thou shinest,
 In souls of those in slavery,
 Souls of the poor, the suffering.
 ("Mary")

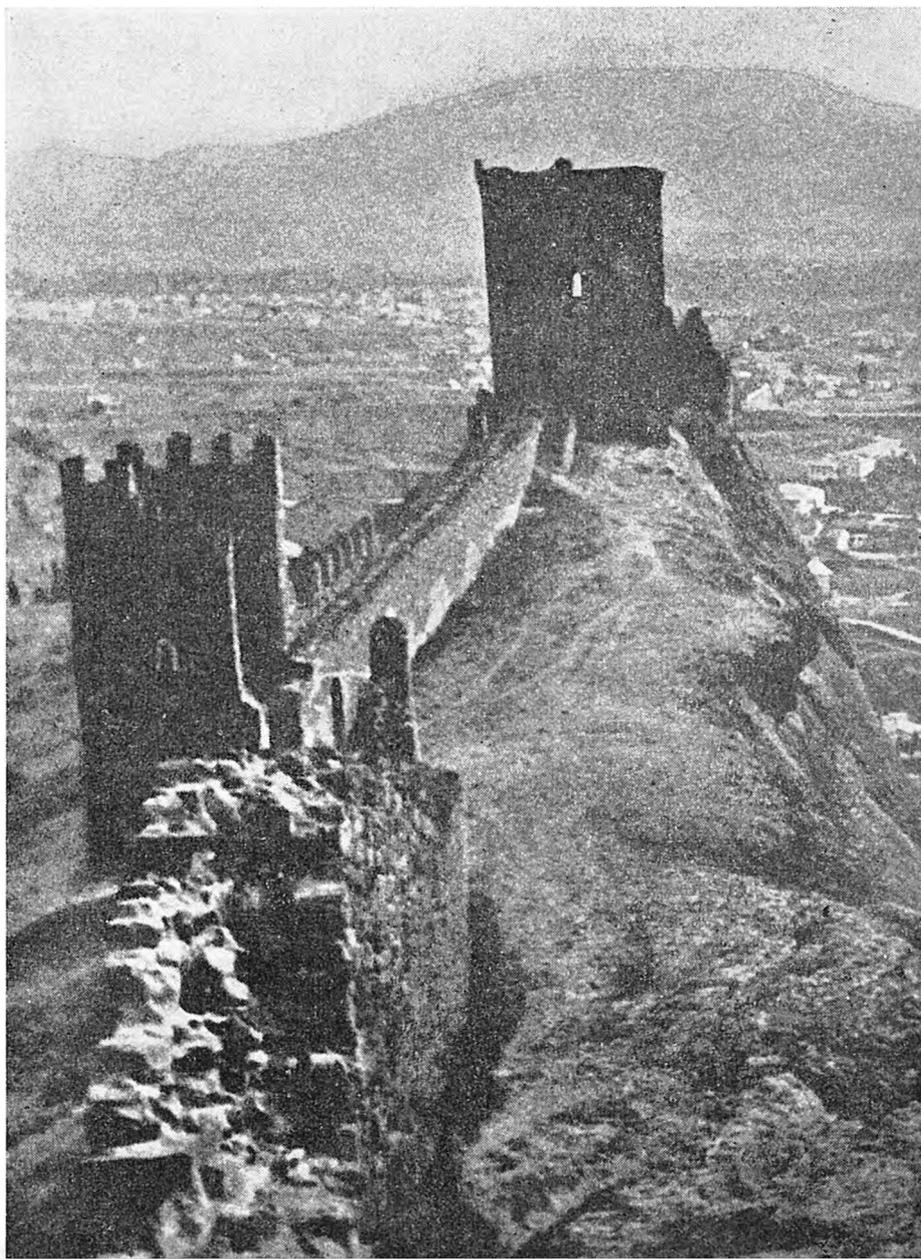
Thus, given the extraordinary dramatic complexity of the picture of the Motherland in Shevchenko (possibly to a greater extent than in anyone else except, perhaps, Petöfi, that picture has become such a focus of pain and sorrow, pride and bitterness, joy and disappointment, love that turns into hatred and curses, and from them again, and on them again rages into even greater, senseless love), the picture of the Motherland in which such polar and heavy emotions and reflections are counteracting, this picture, despite all that, is unambiguous, sacred and binding:

Love her... in fierce times of evil,
 In the last dread of hour of struggle,
 Fervently beseech God for her.

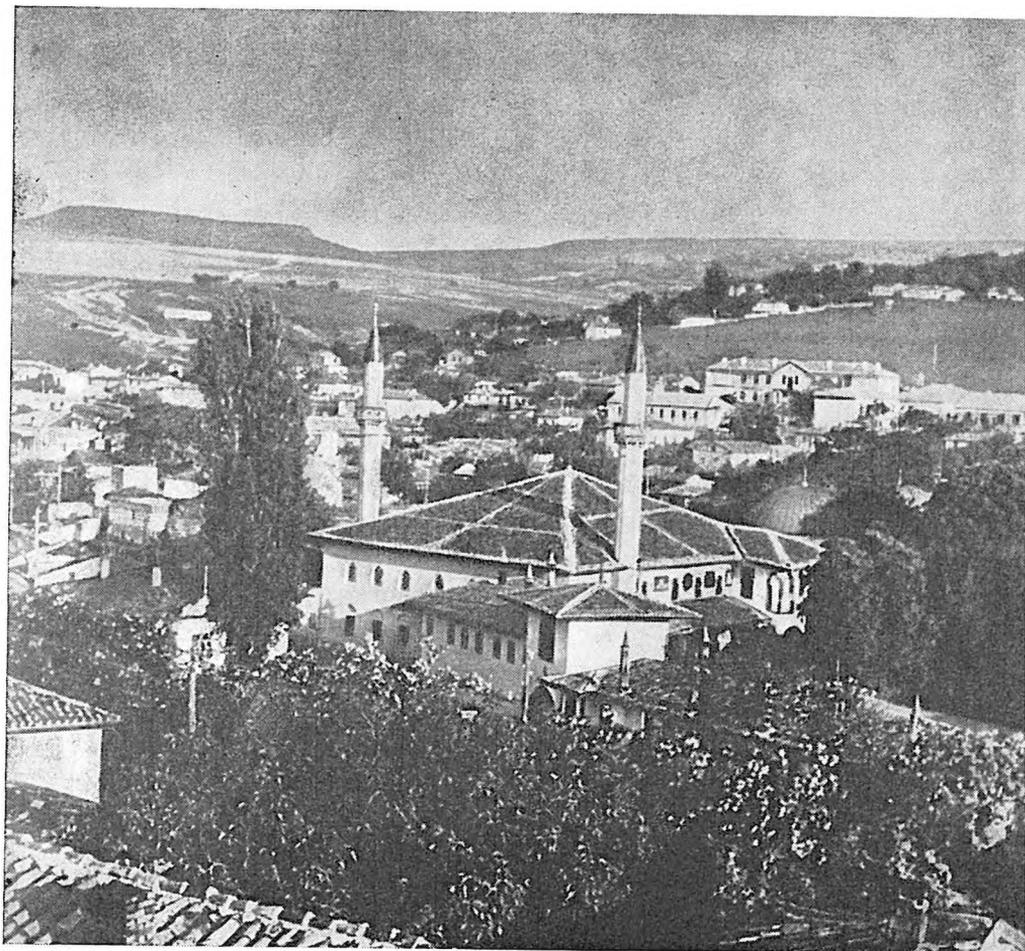
("Shall we ever meet again?")

Editors' Note. The Editors wish to express their gratitude to Miss Vera Rich for her kind permission to use her translations of the quoted excerpts from T. Shevchenko's and I. Franko's poems.

PICTURESQUE UKRAINE



SUDAK (CRIMEA). RUINS OF GENOESE FORTRESS (14th-15th C.)



BAKHCHESARAI (CRIMEA). THE PALACE OF THE TATAR KHANS.
(16th-18th C.)

Igor Peter SHANKOWSKY

Department of Slavonic Languages and Literatures,
The University of Alberta.

Vasyl Symonenko and His Background

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

(Continuation — 2)

THE DIARY — VASYL' SYMONENKO ABOUT HIMSELF

There are many methods and schools dedicated to the evaluation of literary works. Many concern themselves with interrelations between language and the "psyche" of the writer on the path to individual style, many advocate a purely linguistic approach where a number of contexts are driven under a common denominator and an author becomes a faceless by-stander bowing his head before the almighty computer. There is only one official school in the Soviet Union which is based on the theory of dialectical materialism. This school is a conception of life by the Communist Party⁷⁴. There is one major issue upon which all the literary schools do agree and that is that the cultural level of a Nation is best documented by its literature.

A closer look at the subject of literature will reveal a further dichotomy of a given school into a history of literature and a theory of literature. Both disciplines are correlative, both agree in general that an author should be considered and studied within the framework of his surroundings, with the exception of the school advocating a purely linguistic approach. In the words of two Western literary theoreticians: "The social allegiance, attitude, and ideology of a writer can be studied not only in his writings but also, frequently, in biographical extra-literary documents. The writer has been a citizen, has pronounced on questions of social and political importance, has taken part in the issues of his time."⁷⁵

⁷⁴) K. M. Storčak, *Osnovy metodyky literatury*, vyd-vo "Radyans'ka škola", Kiev — 1965, 20.

⁷⁵) Rene Wellek and Austin Warren, *Theory of Literature*, (New York: A Harvest Book, Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1964), 97.

The Diary of Vasyl' Symonenko is the prime concern of this dissertation. Symonenko started his diary on September 18, 1962, and wrote the last entry on September 20, 1963.⁷⁶ The authenticity of *The Diary* was confirmed by Soviet sources.⁷⁷ The reasoning behind selecting Symonenko's *Diary* as our prime concern is clear: "The most obvious cause of a work of art is its creator, the author; and hence an explanation in terms of the personality and the life of the writer has been one of the oldest and best-established methods of literary study."⁷⁸

In the very first entry of *The Diary* we find the deep-felt reasoning of an accomplished personality:

September 18, 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 all my doubts. I know of no loyal and sincere friend greater than paper.

The earth bears me now for the 28th time around the sun. Little did I accomplish during this time that could be called good or beautiful. I did however, learn to *drink whisky and smell of tobacco*⁷⁹ and learned to keep quiet and be careful at times when one should have shouted. And the most terrible of all — I have learned how to be insincere...⁸⁰

Only a very sincere personality is able to put down such a confession on paper, to admit, if only to oneself, one's own shortcomings in

⁷⁶ *The Diary* of Vasyl' Symonenko was first published in *Sučasnist'*, (January, 1965), 13-18. This Ukrainian magazine dedicated to Literature, Art, and Public life of Ukrainians abroad is published monthly in West Germany. Excerpts of *The Diary*, according to an editorial statement in *Sučasnist'*, arrived from the Soviet Ukraine.

⁷⁷ The authenticity of Symonenko's *Diary* was confirmed by a letter of Symonenko's mother published along with an article by Mykola Nehoda, "Everest pidlosti", *Radyans'ka Ukraïna*, (April 15, 1965), 3. (I. Koshelivets' erroneously quotes this Soviet source as printed on April 5, 1965). An issue of *Radyans'ka Ukraïna* did not appear on April 5, 1965 at all. See: Vasyl' Symonenko, *Bereh chekan'*, vyd-vo "Prolog", München — 1965, 12, 47. Another Soviet source is an article by Vasyl' Kozachenko and Petro Panch, "Tobi, narode", *Literaturna Ukraïna*, (April 27, 1965), 2.

⁷⁸ Rene Wellek and Austin Warren, *Theory of Literature*, (New York: A Harvest Book, Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1964), 75.

⁷⁹ This and all the future excerpts from *The Diary* are literally translated from the Ukrainian language as published in Vasyl' Symonenko, *Bereh chekan'*, vyd-vo "Prolog", München — 1965, 171-181. Further reference to this source will be quoted as *The Diary* with an indication of the page number. It is interesting to note that the editor of the above-named source omitted the underlined sentence from *The Diary* which was published on a previous occasion in *Sučasnist'*, *loc. cit.* Another phrase *They are artists*, was omitted too and the original version of *...for the 28th time...* was changed to *...for the 28th year...* Since this is a document of great importance, one can hardly excuse such carelessness by editor Ivan Koshelivets' in this respect. All translations from the Ukrainian language are by the author of this dissertation.

⁸⁰ *The Diary*, 171.

full. This confession sheds light on the environment of Symonenko's everyday life, on the reality of the Soviet system in general. Symonenko further develops critical thoughts about himself and his environment in the same entry of September 18, 1962:

Lying, probably, is my profession. The inborn talent of a liar is within me. There are three categories of liars: some lie for moral or material gain, others lie for the mere sake of lying as if lying were an Art. This group actually devises, or rather contrives, logical endings to the truth. These kind of liars appear noble to me from the perspectives of my liar's mudpile. *They are artists.* They are the literary reserve. Life would become boring without them, without them even truth would become scanty and mundane, repulsive and petty. Noble lying does enhance truth.⁸¹

In the same entry Symonenko goes on to associate himself with the third group of liars. He goes on to say: "...such persons as I are essential to literature. We, with our feeble thoughts, will fertilize the soil from which a giant will arise."⁸² One could expect here that "a giant" in Symonenko's understanding, being raised and educated within Soviet system, would refer to Lenin, as is customary in the Soviet Union. However, Symonenko goes on to give a clear answer: "A future Taras or Franko. I am awaiting him, as a believer awaits the advent of Christ."⁸³

The next available entry of *The Diary* is completely devoted to deliberations on the deposed "giants." This entry is dated September 19, 1962:

Once in a while children, without knowing it, say important things. I remember, about a year ago, we were strolling with Oles' around the Kazbets' Market Place. Coming face to face with a statue of a despot, he asked:

- Father, who is that?
- Stalin.

He kept on staring at it for a while and then asks me in a nonchalant way:

- What reason did he have to climb up there?

True enough, Stalin did not ascend the pedestal, people did not put him there. He himself climbed up by treachery, meanness, climbed up bloodily and boldly, like all butchers. Now this tiger, who fed on human flesh, would croak from fury, if he found out what a find for scrap-metal collectors his crude, trashy statues have become.

81) *The Diary*, 171-172.

82) *Ibid.*

83) *Ibid.*

It's horrifying, if glory and deification in life become shame in death. Such is not glory at all, but, perhaps, a plaything which amuses the grown-up children. Only the frail in soul and mind could fail to understand that.⁸⁴

One could hardly add anything to this entry. In the first chapter of this dissertation an attempt was made to show the effect that the Stalinist period had on Ukrainian literature. Symonenko did not live to see the similar deposition of Nikita Khrushchov which came about a year after his death. Now Khrushchov lives in obscurity and the deposition processes in the Soviet Union, judging by the past, are far from being complete.

Suppose, however, we do place ourselves in the conditions under which Symonenko lived and created. We cannot fail then to better understand why "...biography explains and illuminates the actual product of poetry."⁸⁵ Later, while studying more of Symonenko's thoughts, we will see that both his prose and his poetry (above all *The Diary*) were a result not only of his talent, for he easily could have devoted himself to any literary subject, but of his impulsive reaction against the evil surrounding him.

In the next available entry of September 27, 1962, Symonenko wrote about a surprise visit to Cherkasy of his friend V., whom he had not seen for four years. He writes that V. forgot about their meeting in 1958, but: "I — didn't. Even then he had made quite an impression upon me. I began believing in him since our first acquaintance and I think that I have not been mistaken."⁸⁶ Symonenko goes on to complain that a shortage of funds made it impossible for him to join Mykola on a journey to Kaniv.⁸⁷ This mention of the mysterious V's first name points to Mykola Vinhranovs'kyi⁸⁸ (1935-), a promising young poet, who was Symonenko's contemporary and who shared his conception of life. This interpretation of V's identity is further justified by Symonenko's reference to Vinhranovs'kyi in the next entry of *The Diary* for October 8, 1962:

Three days and a hundred impressions. Vinhranovs'kyi, P'yanov, Kolomyets' and your sinful me⁸⁹ have made cavalry attacks on Kryvyi Rih and Kirovohrad. And though not once did we succeed in appearing before a large audience, I have remained content. Mykola — he really is a tribune. The words in his poems are simply bursting with passion and thoughts. When side-by-side with him one's soul expands.⁹⁰

84) *The Diary*, 172-173.

85) Rene Wellek and Austin Warren, *Theory of Literature*, (New York: A Harvest Book, Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1964), 75.

86) *The Diary*, 173.

87) Kaniv — a village near Kiev, where Taras Shevchenko was buried.

88) *Dictionary IV*, 197-198.

89) Symonenko refers to himself.

90) *The Diary*, 174.

At this point of *The Diary* Symonenko sheds some light upon his religious beliefs. It would be worthwhile to mention here that views similar to those of Symonenko on religious thought in the Soviet Union after the revolution were written by Nicholas Berdyayev⁹¹ (1874-1948), a Russian, who was banished from the Soviet Union shortly after his arrest in 1921. In his works: *The Meaning of History* (1923); *A New Middle Ages* (1923); *The Origin of Russian Communism* (1937); and *Spirit and Reality* (1937), Berdyayev identified Christianity with humanism. "Like Dostoevsky he had faith in the Russian idea as religious universality, and he followed Solovyov in the latter's concepts of salvation through collectivity and of the supreme metaphysical value of humanity."⁹²

We cannot classify Symonenko as a believer, and yet his thoughts in the following passage of *The Diary* are of importance:

I have argued with P'yanov about "Roses in Mourning."⁹³ It seems to me that one cannot confuse the Madonna created by the artists with the strictly spiritual Mother of God. Hypocrites in cassocks have converted the beautiful Jesus and His Mother into rapists of human flesh and spirit. For if even the most beautiful legend (and I consider Jesus and the Virgin Mary as unique creations) has become a tool for spiritual oppression, then I cannot judge the "*personae dramatis*" of the legend without connecting them to the deeds that the infidels are doing while hiding behind their names. No highly noble and highly humane precepts of any teaching can be of service to progress if they have become a fixed dogma. The purity of Virgin Mary is worthy of admiration, but, forgive me, could not stand as an example to follow. Self-denial of the pleasures of the flesh works against nature, and therefore is cruel and reactionary.⁹⁴

The above passage tends to classify Symonenko as an agnostic. However, although he regards Jesus and the Virgin Mary as a "beautiful legend", one must agree that all other deliberations in this passage are mature and objective. Even more significant is what follows within the same entry where Symonenko reveals the true meaning behind his poem "Roses in Mourning":

Besides, in the "Roses in Mourning" my intention was not at all aimed at "overthrowing the gods." In them I rise in opposition to the new religion, against the hypocrites who are trying, and not without success, to convert Marxism into a religion, into a Procrustean bed of science, art and love. Sad examples are found in kibernetics, genetics, the rapid

⁹¹ "Berdyayev", *Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopedia* (2nd ed.), IV, 624.

⁹² Marc Slonim *Modern Russian Literature. From Chekhov to the Present*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953), 115-116.

⁹³ Symonenko refers here to one of his poems, "Trayandy v trauri" (Roses in Mourning). Only a passage of this poem was ever printed. See: *Zmina*, (September, 1962), 10.

⁹⁴ *The Diary*, 174.

growth of fairy-mushrooms in literature and Fine Arts, ever-lasting appeals calling for sacrifices, and the never-ending promises of a "paradise to come." Is all that really so far removed from the tragedy of Bruno and Galileo, from psalm-writing and icon-painting, from the monasteries and the Kingdom of Heaven?

If Marxism will not withstand the violent advance of dogmatism, then it is doomed to become a religion. No teaching can ever monopolize the intellectual life of humanity. Einstein, after all, was not my political adherent, yet he made discoveries that have shaken the very roots of science.⁹⁵

After graduating from Kiev University⁹⁶ in 1957, Symonenko was assigned to work on the staff of *Cherkas'ka pravda* and *Molod' Cherkashchyny*⁹⁷, an assignment which often gave him the opportunity to roam the countryside. It would have been impossible for him, a person with a deep feeling for human justice, not to notice what was going on in the various collective farms which he was visiting.

There is almost no material available for study regarding Symonenko's journalistic activities. Symonenko contributed his features mainly to the above-named newspapers. These were regional newspapers and as such were not distributed abroad.

In the next available entry for October 16, 1962, Symonenko reveals a typical incident. The event described occurred probably somewhere in Cherkasy region:

Nothing could be more horrible than unlimited power in the hands of a limited man.

The chairman of the collective farm in Yaremenko's village was screaming in helplessness and fury during a meeting:

— I'll arrange another 1933 for you!⁹⁸

Naturally, nobody even thought about taking this scoundrel out by the scruff of his neck. And yet this fool with one idiotic phrase would destroy the achievements made by dozens of sensible people. If our leaders had more brains than they really do, such loudmouths would be admiring the sky from behind iron bars.⁹⁹

The above entry constitutes the first direct accusation against the existing order in the Soviet Ukraine. Note that Symonenko does not accuse as much the "scoundrel" as the *leaders* who allow such scoundrels to flourish in responsible positions.

⁹⁵) *The Diary*, 174-175.

⁹⁶) *Dictionary V*, 432.

⁹⁷) *Ibid.*

⁹⁸) 1933 was the year of famine in Ukraine. Millions perished, while Communists were enforcing collectivisation in the Soviet Ukraine and other parts of the Soviet Union.

⁹⁹) *The Diary*, 175.

Very interesting and relevant to the present-day situation in the Soviet Ukraine are Symonenko's thoughts about poetry. In the entry for October 21, 1962 he writes:

I hate to the point of senselessness official, patented, well-fed wisdom. No matter what quotations the useless would utilize trying to shore up their intellectual ceiling, it's still too low to accommodate a human being of normal size. What kind of space is it if one cannot freely move in it? What kind of poetry is possible without thought? True poetry is magnificent wisdom.¹⁰⁰

He then goes on to complain about impoverished satire and ends this entry by saying that "... the earth is full of Herostrates."¹⁰¹

The next and final entry for 1962 is of personal nature. Dated November 9, 1962, this entry shows that Symonenko, critical of others, was also critical of himself. He writes: "... I feel ashamed when I recall my past behaviour. Yesterday, I conducted myself as the scum of society, — even insulting people. How sad, that nobody punched me in the nose!"¹⁰² He ends this confession with a remark: "... Belated repentance always looks like one is posing. But there is no other way out for me. One has to learn to observe oneself from the side."¹⁰³

At this point *The Diary* is interrupted for almost half a year. The next available entry is dated April 21, 1963 and deals with formalism. Symonenko's thoughts on formalism are original if only for the reason that he accuses of formalism the limited, official horizons of "socialist realism." He says:

Almost half a year has passed since I looked into this notebook, despite the fact that some events have occurred during this past six months which somehow should have been recorded.

I have almost choked up from the powder smoke of ideological campaigns. Realism again emerged victorious, not with works, of course, but by having on its side the administrative measures.

To be honest, I think that the danger of formalist madness was somehow overdone. At least in Ukraine I have not encountered a single follower of abstractionism or of some kind of neo-futurism. The real danger, just as before, remains the threat of formalist thoughtlessness in literature. For isn't it formalism, when hundreds of second rate writers use stereotyped patterns in sucking dry the so-called eternal ideas like: — love your work, respect father and mother, don't see evil in your neighbour, and a dozen or two others? Formalism starts where thought dies.

100) *Ibid.*, 175-176.

101) *Ibid.*, 176.

102) *The Diary*, 176.

103) *Ibid.*

When a poet fails to produce new thoughts and emotions — he is a formalist. It does not matter if and how he advertises his belonging to the realists. Realism cannot be today. There is the realism to which Shevchenko contributed and the realism which relies on the services of Dmyterko.¹⁰⁴ Two different things! For “dmyterkos” will never inherit literature. They live *of* and not *for* literature. It is doubtful if anybody could accuse me of formalism, and yet nothing of mine is being published.¹⁰⁵

Here, for the first time, Symonenko speaks about “administrative measures” as applied to literary activities in the Soviet Ukraine. Symonenko proves to be violently opposed to the processes which tend to impoverish Ukrainian literature. His comparison of the great national poet Taras Shevchenko and his realism to that of the “socialist-realist” Lyubomyr Dmyterko, speaks louder than any comment. Furthermore, Symonenko’s reference to the fact that the “dmyterkos” in literature are only coincidental and temporary phenomena shows that the young generation, for which Symonenko was one of the foremost spokesmen, does not share the views of Soviet literary policy-makers.

In the next entry, dated July 6, 1963, Symonenko expresses some opinions of a personal nature, the most significant part of which is the ending: “. . . Last Sunday we were in Odessa, where local numbskulls amused us plenty with their idiotic fright that something might happen. The fact was that we were forbidden to appear at an evening dedicated to Shevchenko. It seems that there are some who are afraid of Taras even now. Philistines of the revolution.”¹⁰⁶

This shows that local authorities in the Soviet Ukraine are in the position to invoke literary censorship. It becomes even more significant when one considers the fact that Taras Shevchenko’s works are not forbidden and are widely read in Ukraine. It was the idea behind a literary evening in honour of Shevchenko, a national poet, that was objectionable to the local authorities. Courageous Symonenko had a chance to amuse himself with “local numbskulls” who worried that “something might happen.”

By the time Symonenko wrote his next entry, dated July 22, 1963, he was beginning to feel the advent of his near end:

I think that my extinction has begun. Physically I am almost helpless, though morally I am not completely exhausted. Thinking about dying I feel no fear. It is so, probably, because the end is still far away. Funny thing: I do not want to die, and yet I have no particular longing for life. Ten years more would be enough for me.

104) On Lyubomyr Dmyterko see: *Dictionary IV*, 397-408.

105) *The Diary*, 177.

106) *Ibid.*, 178.

I look back on my past with irony. I'll soon be twenty-nine, and what have I accomplished? Did I even begin to scratch the surface of something worthwhile? Not life but a chain of petty worries, petty failures, petty disappointments, and petty achievements!

No, I did not imagine myself living like that. Fortunate is he who wants little from life — he never gets to be disappointed in it. The most simple and most straightforward path to so-called happiness is to become a Philistine. The brain is capable of making its owner happy.¹⁰⁷

One of the most significant sections of *The Diary* is the ending of the next entry. In it Symonenko directly accuses the Soviet Ukrainian press of censoring his works. This entry is dated September 3, 1963. After reminiscing about the past summer and his trip to Kaniv, Symonenko writes:

...My friends have fallen silent, nothing can be heard about them. The press has become even more inept and impudent. *Literaturna Ukraïna*¹⁰⁸ castrates my article, *Ukraïna*¹⁰⁹ treats cruelly my poetry. Every lackey is doing what he pleases. How is it possible to burn with thankfulness, how can one fail to pray every morning and every evening for those who bestowed such freedom upon us? To this I can only add that in April my poetry was taken off the press in *Zmina*¹¹⁰, lashed out at in *Zhovten'*¹¹¹, and later rejected by *Dnipro*¹¹² and *Vitchyzna*.¹¹³

Ay, ay, ay, happy so! We are all in press.

And that is what we need for progress.¹¹⁴

A careful search was carried out by the author of this dissertation in *Literaturna Ukraïna* and *Ukraïna* for the year 1963 to locate the article and poetry by Symonenko which the poet claimed to be abused by censorship. In *Literaturna Ukraïna* (August 20, 1963), there appears an article by Vasyl Symonenko entitled "Dekoratsiï i zhyvi dereva" containing critical thoughts about contemporary Soviet Ukrainian poetry. This is the only article by Symonenko that appeared in *Literaturna Ukraïna* during 1963 so there can be no doubt that this is the article referred to as being "castrated." Even so this article carries quite a punch against those who "profane literature" and who "separate labour from man." As an example Symonenko quotes with admiration the poetry of Maksym Ryl's'kyi,

¹⁰⁷) *The Diary*, 178-179.

¹⁰⁸) *Literaturna Ukraïna* is the official newspaper of the Ukrainian Writers Union and is published semi-weekly in Kiev.

¹⁰⁹) *Ukraïna* is a bi-weekly magazine, published in Kiev.

¹¹⁰) *Zmina* (now changed to *Ranok*) is a Communist Youth monthly in Kiev.

¹¹¹) *Zhovten'* is a literary monthly published in L'viv.

¹¹²) *Dnipro* is a literary monthly published in Kiev.

¹¹³) *Vitchyzna* is the official literary magazine of the Ukrainian Writers Union, published monthly in Kiev.

¹¹⁴) *The Diary*, 179-180.

as opposed to the poetry of "literary dabblers."¹¹⁵ One can only admire Symonenko's courage and his outspoken vigour, for if this article was "castrated" by Soviet censorship and, although mutilated, still carried such a punch, then one can only imagine the size of Symonenko's indignation in the original version.

Further research revealed in *Ukraina* No. 19 (August, 1963), 10, two short Symonenko's poems "Zemne tyazhinnya" ("Earth's Gravitation", and "Ridna zemle..." ("My Native Land...") with a short biographical note and a portrait of the poet. Both poems can be found in Symonenko's posthumous book¹¹⁶ published in Kiev. I do not know how much censorship was exercised over Symonenko's posthumous book, but the difference between the two published versions is obvious.

These changes, unlike some other of Symonenko's poetry, which will be discussed in a separate place within this dissertation, have no significant relevance. However, they do not improve Symonenko's originals (if the versions printed in his posthumous book are originals). Thus, Symonenko's indignation in *The Diary*: "...Ukraine treats cruelly my poetry", and "...every lackey is doing what he pleases."

In the same entry of *The Diary* dated September 3, 1963, Symonenko complains that: "...in April my poetry was taken off the press in *Zmina*." At the time of writing this entry the September, 1963 issue of *Zmina* was probably still not available to him, for in that issue a selection of his poems was published along with the portrait of the poet.¹¹⁷

There are only two more available entries in *The Diary*, the first one dated September 5 and the last September 20, 1963 — less than three months before the poet's premature death. Both are relevant to the overall picture of Symonenko and his works, for in the first he mentions Mykola Nehoda (1928-), namely that their friendship has ended. The same Nehoda later appointed himself to denounce the Ukrainian emigrées for printing *The Diary* and using excerpts of it in their broadcasts to the Soviet Ukraine. He did so in Symonenko's name in an article "Everest pidlosti", printed in *Literaturna Ukraina* (April 27, 1965), 2. This is ironic since Symonenko denounces Nehoda in *The Diary* three months before his death. In the entry for September 5, 1963, we read:

Yesterday I wrote "The Fable about Durylo." I wrote it in one breath, although some notes were taken before. Today I still like it. How sad that there is nobody to read it to.

¹¹⁵ V. Symonenko "Dekoratsiï i zhyvi dereva", *Literaturna Ukraina* (August 20, 1963), 2.

¹¹⁶ Vasyľ Symonenko, *Zemne tyazhinnya*, vyd-vo "Molod", Kiev — 1964.

¹¹⁷ *Zmina* (September, 1963), 4-5.

Now I am even lonelier than before here in Cherkasy. Even the group at the *Molod' Cherkashchyny* is gone. The paths of friendship between me and Nehoda and Ohloblyn, one could say, were overgrown by thick, rank weeds. To one of them I was useful, as long as I could have been helpful; the second one proved to be simply a fly-by-night operator. I have no doubt that he will hound me with the same enthusiasm with which he used to praise me earlier. And he already had demonstrated that from several pulpits at a number of meetings.

But the job must go on.¹¹⁸

The last entry of *The Diary*, refers, most likely, to Symonenko's poem "Loneliness", which was printed in Symonenko's posthumous book "The Shore of Expectation", published abroad in 1965. (An English translation of the poem "Loneliness" appeared in *The Ukrainian Review*, No. 2, 1966, p. 48.).

When I speak about a "wild island" and my loneliness, I do not mean it in contempt of people. The fact that in Cherkassy I have almost no friends does not mean that I regard everybody as object, not worthy of my attention, etc. (my wife is accusing me of that). It is simply that I have not found among them anyone with the same spiritual outlook as I, and friendship, as we all know, cannot depend upon "ratio" alone.

Not long ago I have become acquainted with B. H.

It seems that I am writing worse than a year ago. My brain and heart have fallen into idleness.¹¹⁹

With the above entry ends *The Diary*, which Symonenko himself named "Scraps of Thoughts." It contains one year and two days of Symonenko's life, his doubts, his worries, his philosophy of life and his loneliness. Symonenko started *The Diary* with the motto: "To read other people diaries without permission is the Everest of baseness (unknown aphorism of commoner Wilson)."¹²¹ But since he died on December 14 (?)¹²², 1963, there was no way of asking him for permission to read his "Scraps of thoughts."

The Diary determines Symonenko's place within the framework of Soviet Ukrainian literature. It is not on the side of "socialist realism." Knowing the most intimate thoughts of the poet is already a stepping-stone towards better understanding of his works.

(To be continued.)

¹¹⁸) *The Diary*, 118.

¹¹⁹) *Ibid.*, 180-181.

¹²⁰) This poem was unknown abroad and was first published in the chapter "Poetry Forbidden in Ukrainian S.S.R.", Vasyly Symonenko, *Bereh chekan'*, vyd-vo "Prolog", München — 1965, 155. Now it also appears in Vasyly Symonenko, *Poezii*, vyd-vo "Molod'", Kiev — 1966, 189.

¹²¹) *The Diary*, 171.

¹²²) *Dictionary V*, 432. See also: *Zmina* (January, 1964), No. 24, which gives the date of death as December 13, 1963.

Anatol W. BEDRIY

MYKOLA MIKHNOVSKYI – FIRST THEORETICIAN OF MODERN UKRAINIAN NATIONALISM

1. LIFE OF MYKOLA MIKHNOVSKYI

a. The Early Period

Mykola Ivanovych Mikhnovskyi was born in 1873 in the village of Turivka, Pryluka county, Poltava province. His father was a parish priest in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, which at that time was controlled and dominated by the Russian Imperial Church. The Mikhnovskyis descended from an old Cossack-clergy family. Although the Russian Government used the Church as one of its chief instruments of domination over and of Russification of Ukraine, Mykola's father staunchly and piously preserved the true religious spirit and Ukrainian cultural values. In spite of brutal prohibition to speak Ukrainian publicly he always delivered his sermons in Ukrainian, urging his parishioners to keep their national traditions.

Mykola finished his elementary education in his native village. Due to his parental education he became deeply imbued with the notion that Ukrainians of all classes belonged to one supra-class society called the Ukrainian nation and that all class problems shall and can best be solved from the point of view of the whole nation, or in other words, solution of national problems must be put before solutions of class problems. At the same time Mikhnovskyi learned that all Ukrainian classes, the whole Ukrainian nation, were dominated by the Russian nation, by its various classes, and not only by the tsarist regime.

To continue his education, Mykola was sent to the Gymnasium at Pryluka. During holidays he returned to his native village thus developing new social horizons. On one hand he thoroughly mastered the folk culture of Ukrainian peasantry, which he fully appreciated. On the other hand, he began to understand the problems of the more literate classes, which were under strongest pressure of Russification. At the Gymnasium Mykola organized a social club. Upon his initiative

a similar club was soon formed at Lubni Gymnasium, led by a good friend of his, Volodymyr Shemet. After graduation he entered the Faculty of Law of St. Volodymyr University at Kyiv. At that time he was already imbued with two powerful influences: the Ukrainian folk culture and the strivings for higher education necessary to alleviate the oppression of the Ukrainian people. Mikhnovskiy selected the field of his higher studies with a national and altruistic motive in mind, namely, jurisprudence by means of which he intended to help the exploited and unjustly treated Ukrainian people.

Another motive was a great influence upon him of Taras Shevchenko's poetry, the greatest Ukrainian poet. Mykola knew well Shevchenko's works, and this factor was decisive in the formation of Mykola's political views. When he came to Kyiv at the beginning of the 90's Socialist ideology began to be popular. Soon the student organisation broke into two factions: one group led by Mikhnovskiy and Shemet stressed the concept of the whole Ukrainian people as the object and means of alleviating political and social hardships; the other group inclined toward a Marxist class approach.

To Ukrainians the grave of Taras Shevchenko in Kaniv on the Dnipro River was a national shrine, which must be visited by everyone. In 1891 a group of students from the Kyiv university made a trip to this grave. Under the inspiration of the event, the 18-year-old Mikhnovskiy suggested to his friends the idea of establishing a secret society with the aim of striving to fulfil Shevchenko's testament regarding the liberation of Ukraine from political, social, and economic slavery. The others enthusiastically accepted the proposal. The group called itself *Bratstvo Tarasivtsiv* (Brotherhood of Taras Shevchenko). Ivan Lypa (later a prominent intellectual and politician) was chosen as head of the brotherhood. Other members were Vitalii Borovyk, M. Kononenko, B. Hrinchenko, Volodymyr Shemet, V. Stepanenko, and V. Samiilenko. All members swore to lead their whole lives according to Shevchenko's teaching. The headquarters was set up at Kharkiv. One of the members, whose name has not been established, worked out a draft programme for the Brotherhood under the heading "Profession de foi", which was printed in the newspaper *Pravda* in Lviv, 1893. However, the head of the Brotherhood and other members declared later that such a programme was never adopted and that the published text was not identical with the original draft.¹ The main points of it were: "1) destruction of Muscovite chains and liberation of the people from the oppressive despotism and centralism; 2) revival of formation of stronger national feelings among the intelligentsia and the people as a whole; 3) raising the people's standard of living; 4) development of a system, in which there would be any place for exploiters and exploited, and 5) giving all their energy to the liberation of the Ukrainian nation." The falsified version added a sixth principle, which would have changed

radically the ideology of this group. It read: "Full autonomy to all peoples."² This last point would suggest that the group did not strive to establish an independent Ukrainian state but a federation of nations which were under tsarist Russian yoke. R. Mlynovetskyi maintains that the original draft programme advocated complete sovereignty of the Ukrainian nation. The head of the Brotherhood of Taras Shevchenko, Ivan Lypa, was an ardent nationalist, to whom it was a sacred duty to strive for Ukraine's independence.

The scholar of Mykola Mikhnovskyyi, Petro Mirchuk, summarised the influence of the appearance of this "Profession de foi" in the following words: "Publication of this declaration in the Ukrainian press of Halychyna [Galicia] had tremendous significance: it was unifying the two main sections of the Ukrainian people — those under Russian and under Austrian occupation — and gave to the movement a clear ideological-political nation-wide character."³ The same author concludes that Yulian Bachynskyyi was stimulated by Mikhnovskyyi's ideas when he wrote in 1895 the book *Ukraïna irredenta*. The main thesis of Bachynskyyi was: "The political independence of Ukraine is *conditio sine qua non* of her economic and cultural development, a condition of her very existence." Similarly the ideas of "Profession de foi" influenced two Ukrainian parties, active in areas under Austrian occupation, namely, the Ukrainian Radical Party and the Ukrainian National Democratic Party, to include in their platforms of 1895 and 1900 respectively the right of the Ukrainian people to national independence. The idea of a Ukrainian national independent state soon became the popular topic of discussion in the Ukrainian press. (Under Russia the slightest indication of independence strivings were brutally suppressed and exterminated.) Ivan Franko, the great Ukrainian poet, novelist and humanist scholar, joined this discussion by writing in 1895 the article "Ukraïna irredenta" favouring the idea of Ukraine's independence.⁴

Taras Shevchenko Brotherhood conducted educational activities. A good summary of these activities is contained in the article "Tarasivtsi" by Yurii Lypa, printed in *Literaturno-naukovyi visnyk*, Lviv, v. 12, 1925. The brotherhood directed its main attention to combatting so-called Ukrainophils, who considered Ukrainian culture as a local provincial culture, but accepted Russian state and culture as superior and progressive, adapted to the needs of the educated higher classes. The brotherhood advocated the equality of Ukrainian culture with the cultures of the independent West European nations. Members of the brotherhood endeavoured to instill and develop Ukrainian patriotism and the moral obligation to uphold Ukrainian language, traditions, and the historical idea of an independent Ukrainian state.

Throughout its existence its secrecy remained excellent. Its members managed to organise several branches. In 1893 the brother-

hood brought, illegally, a large shipment of Ukrainian books from Ukrainian territories under Austrian rule. Russian police conducted 40 searches, arrested 20 persons, but was unable to bring into the court any evidence against the brotherhood. However many members were expelled from universities, thrown into prisons for various periods of time, and kept under police surveillance for years.⁵ The society ceased to be active, but the idea of a political movement striving to establish independence of Ukraine spread. One commentator came to the conclusion, that Mikhnovskiyi became "the *spiritus movens* and the vanguard-pioneer of the new idea..."⁶

In 1895 Mikhnovskiyi completed the translation from Russian into Ukrainian of the novel *Muzyka* by Taras Shevchenko, which was published the same year in Lviv in the magazine *Zoria*. In this way he showed his opposition to the Russian pressure to prohibit the use of Ukrainian language in public. It was an act of defiance, by which Mikhnovskiyi tried to prove that Ukrainian language should be used and is used not only by Ukrainian peasants but by educated people as well.

In 1897 the Ukrainian Student Association was established in Kharkiv. It maintained the closest possible contact with Mykola Mikhnovskiyi, who after finishing his law studies in 1899 became a practising attorney in Kharkiv. The programme of the Association included: "the duty of each Ukrainian always to distinguish his own nation from others, everywhere to raise the national question and to defend the rights of the Ukrainian nation, but primarily to aim at national freedom for his people."⁷ The student movement, based on a clear national ideology, quickly spread from Kharkiv to other cities. By 1899 the students announced the formation of a union of the various student associations with the aim to stop the denationalisation of Ukrainian youth. The announcement stated that "the poor social-economic and cultural conditions of our people depend upon its national and political slavery resulting directly from Russian absolutism."⁸ The influence of Mikhnovskiyi and of the T. Shevchenko Brotherhood is clearly perceived in the Kharkiv Student Association, among whom he enjoyed high prestige. The leading members in this group were Dmytro Antonovych, Yurii Kollard, Evlampii Tyshchenko, Oleksander Kovalenko, and Ivan Kukhta — all well-known Ukrainian figures later on.

From the point of propagating Ukrainian national goals, the Kharkiv Student Association had so much success, that a commentator concluded: "It gained great influence among Ukrainian students all over Ukraine and it became the mother of almost all Ukrainian organisations and parties, established later on, which played important role in Ukrainian national rebirth."⁹

b. R.U.P. and U.N.P.

As the result of the successes of the Brotherhood of T. Shevchenko and of the student movement Mikhnovskyi put forward the idea of establishing a nation-wide party whose primary aim would be to advocate independence for Ukraine. On February 5th, 1900, the Ukraïns'ka Revolutsiina Partiiia (RUP) was formed. This Ukrainian Revolutionary Party was planned to become a mass legal party in the Russian empire. In order to popularise the ideas and programme of the RUP, Mikhnovskyi spoke on two occasions, first on February 19th, 1900, at Poltava at the rally commemorating Taras Shevchenko's anniversary, at which incidentally Symon Petlura was present. (Symon Petlura was President of the Ukrainian independent state in 1918-20.) The second time Mikhnovskyi spoke on a similar occasion in Kharkiv on February 19th, 1900. RUP proposed to Mikhnovskyi that he should elaborate further the ideas expounded in these two excellent speeches. He agreed and thus a famous treatise of Ukrainian nationalist ideology arose. RUP accepted it as its guiding principle and published it under the title *Samostiina Ukraina* (Independent Ukraine). The work was printed in Lviv by V. Starosolskyi and E. Kosevych, wherefrom it was clandestinely distributed throughout areas under Russian occupation. Besides Mikhnovskyi the leading members of RUP were: Dmytro Antonovych, Mykhailo Rusov, Bonifatii Kaminskyi, L. Matsiievych, Yurii Kollard, O. Kovalenko, and Dmytro Poznanskyi.

Later the same year, on the occasion of prohibition by the Russian government to put in Ukrainian the inscription on the statue of Ivan Kotliarevskyi (Ukrainian poet and writer), Mikhnovskyi wrote *An Open Letter To The Russian Minister Of Internal Affairs — Sipiagin*. It was printed by RUP in Lviv and immediately reprinted in the journal *Moloda Ukraïna*, no. 9-10, 1900. It was a short treatise in defence of Ukrainian language and culture, which were under tremendous pressure of Russification.

Writings and activities of Mikhnovskyi contributed to the rise of nationalist sentiment and political consciousness in Ukraine. Two periodicals, *Moloda Ukraïna* (Young Ukraine) and *Dilo* (Cause) adopted favourable attitudes. But the journal *Bukovyna*, published in Chernivtsi, took a negative position. Ivan Franko responded to the criticism of *Bukovyna* with an article in *Literaturno-naukovyi visnyk* (v. 10, 1900) entitled "Poza mezhamy mozhlyvoho" (Beyond the limits of possibility), in which the great scholar defended the idea of national independence and the right of Ukrainian people to achieve this idea.¹⁰

Under the influence of Mikhnovskyi and RUP the student organisation called "Moloda Ukraïna" was formed in Halychyna [Galicia]. On July 14, 1900, a big student rally was held in Lviv. Amongst

general enthusiasm a resolution was adopted that "only in its own independent state will the Ukrainian people find full freedom of development."¹¹ One of the prominent members of RUP, Yurii Kollard, wrote in 1929 his "Memoirs of youthful days",¹² in which he contended that "RUP actually spread to all provinces of Ukraine."

Russian imperialists increased their ideological-political activities in Ukraine with the aim to prevent the rise of a united Ukrainian nationalist front. Russian Conservatives severely persecuted and suppressed Ukrainian nationalists by legal and police methods, while Socialists tried to split the Ukrainian front by favouring growth of Ukrainian socialist parties, which would advocate federal ties with Russia under actual Russian domination. This pressure bore fruit, because soon RUP split into two factions — nationalist and autonomist. The autonomists left aside the advocacy of independence and concentrated their activities on alleviation of economic and social conditions of peasantry and workers.

The ideological ferment among the politically inexperienced members of RUP made Mikhnovskiy realize the weakness of RUP, namely, that its membership was based purely on the slogan of independence, but lacked a programme of appropriate national liberation policy and nationalist ideology. With this objective in mind he and his adherents formed in 1902 a new party, Ukraïns'ka Narodnia Partiia — UNP (Ukrainian People's Party), which was to be a mass party as RUP, but which did not admit into its membership people with autonomist views but only those who declared themselves for independence of Ukraine. UNP's most active leaders were Volodymyr and Serhii Shemet, V. and H. Shevchenko, S. and Oleksander Makarenko, Mykhailo Biletskyi, E. Liubarskyi-Pysmennyi, O. Stepanenko, and O. Rostorhuiev.

For this party Mikhnovskiy wrote several pamphlets, published in Lviv, of which most important are *Workers' question in the programme of UNP* (1902) and *The Matter of Ukrainian intelligentsia in the programme of UNP* (1904). In 1905 the single issue of a UNP newspaper *Samostiïna Ukraïna* appeared in Lviv, which contained a draft of the constitution of the future Ukrainian state prepared by Mykola Mikhnovskiy.¹³ The main points of this draft constitution are the following: the Ukrainian state should be constituted of a union of autonomous, self-governing territories; all land property is nationalised; complete equality of citizens before law; all estate and class privileges should be abolished; personal liberty, freedom of religion and of expression; church should be formally separated from the state; state censorship should be abrogated; sovereignty belongs to the people; supreme legislation should be composed of a council of representatives and a senate; a strong executive presidency; complete external independence and unity of all Ukrainians within the Ukrainian state. R. Mlynovetskyi summarized the characteristic

features of this draft constitution: "In this 'basic law', there is no mention of any league with Russia, but only that Ukrainian ethnographic territories should compose a "league of the Ukrainian people, a league of free self-governing territories." In the chapter on government it is said: "the whole government belongs to the Ukrainian people." There is a point about expropriation of land, which is formulated thus: "Nationalisation of land should be carried out according to the principle — land of Ukrainian owners will be redeemed, land of foreigners will be confiscated."¹⁴ Prof. Dnistrianskyi called this draft in his work *General science, law, and politics* "the basic law of independent Ukraine."¹⁵

In 1906 the UNP published its programme. Its characteristic was to uphold the primacy of fighting for independence with simultaneous stress on fighting for liquidation of economic and social slavery in which Russian occupation placed Ukrainian peasant and working classes. In this period Mikhnovskyi became the initiator of a political programme which would combine struggle for independence with the struggle to achieve social-economic progress of Ukrainian people. Finally, Mikhnovskyi prepared *Ten Commandments of the UNP* which were the epitome of UNP's ideology. One commentator wrote that it was originally entitled "Ten commandments for the Ukrainian people."¹⁶

In 1905 Mikhnovskyi started to publish together with the Shemet brothers the newspaper *Khliborob* (Farmer), which was short-lived because it was soon prohibited by Russian authorities. Later he started other periodicals, *Zaporozhets* in Katerynoslav and *Slobozhanshchyna* in Kharkiv.

In his main work, *Samostiina Ukraïna*, Mikhnovskyi wrote: "We will take by force what belongs to us by right." He used this expression not as a winged rhetorical phrase, but as a serious contemplation of methods of liberation. In 1902 he organised an armed section called "Oborona Ukraïny" (Defence of Ukraine) within the UNP, headed by Victor Chekhovskyi. According to Roman Mlynovetskyi the name of this secret insurgent group was "Ukraïnska Narodna Oborona" or "U.N.O." (Ukrainian People's Defence).¹⁷ Its purpose was to perform revolutionary military acts and to become the nucleus of a liberation army to prepare the military uprising against the Russian empire.

First armed actions were planned in 1903 and the first executed act was the dynamiting of Pushkin's monument at Kharkiv in 1904 during the peak of big Russian propaganda campaign on the 250th anniversary of the Pereyaslav Treaty. Russians were trying to show that Ukraine then willingly joined the sovereign Russian state and became its province. The importance of the event was stressed by the arrival from Petersburg of the tsarist minister of education. UNP demonstrated by its excellently performed act its negative attitude

toward bonds between Ukraine and Russia. Contemporary press reports about this act are reprinted in R. Mlynovetskyi's book.¹⁸ At the same time with the bombing the UNP issued a declaration denouncing Russification of Ukraine by the tsarist regime.

"Oborona Ukraïny" of UNP was particularly active in 1906 trying to turn social-economic strikes and riots into the struggle against Russian occupation. It was a secret organisation and even today there are scarce facts about the people active in it. By 1907 the tsarist regime had regained complete control over all the subjugated peoples and was exterminating ruthlessly every trace of Ukrainian nationalism. However in 1909 "Oborona Ukraïny" led big demonstrations on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the battle at Poltava. In Kyiv the monument to Ukrainian-Russian friendship was dynamited, and a detachment of Ukrainian soldiers in the tsarist army, led by lieutenant Zhdanovych, member of "Oborona Ukraïny" paraded in front of the statue of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi with a Ukrainian national flag.

Mikhnovskyi tried out his hand also in political satire. His short story entitled *Spirillum Patricianum Ukrainofilicum* or "Dissertation for a doctor of patriotism" appeared in 1905 in Lviv bi-weekly *Rus'ka khata*. For its motto he took the poetry of Havlichko (translated by I. Franko), a quotation from *Dead souls* of Hohol, and Shulgin's "Spirilla multiply in most restful waters, especially where there are many water-lilies and duck-weed." This story is a satire on the so-called Ukrainophils, Ukrainians loyal to the foreign occupation regime.¹⁹

In 1906 Russian occupation regime ruthlessly attacked all activities of Ukrainian nationalists. RUP and UNP were weakened and went underground. In these conditions Mikhnovskyi turned his energy to the legal profession defending Ukrainian peasants in many political trials, organised by the tsarist regime in the wake of 1905-06 riots and revolts. In the memoirs of E. Chykalenko there is an interesting note about an incident involving Mikhnovskyi: "In the court lobby (at Kharkiv) some lawyer without proper enquiries brought together Mikhnovskyi and [the Russian writer of Ukrainian origin] Korolenko in order to acquaint them with each other. Korolenko readily extended his hand. However Mikhnovskyi pulled his hand behind his back and replied with his customary theatrical pathos: 'I am not giving my hand to a traitor of my people!' We can imagine how insulted Korolenko felt. Is it possible that someone did not want to shake his hand, the hand which Russian society is willing to kiss?"²⁰ Among others he defended Mykola Shemet, the younger brother of Volodymyr, one of his best friends, for his Ukrainian nationalist activities during 1903-1905. The tsarist court sentenced Mykola Shemet to death through hanging, but Mikhnovskyi won the case in the Court of Appeals and the defendant was saved from hanging.²¹

He also defended peasants accused of "anti-Semitic pogroms." It was unusual, because most lawyers active in Ukraine at the time were Jews, and whoever dared to defend Ukrainian peasant against anti-Semitic charges was himself accused automatically of anti-Semitic bias. However Mikhnovskyi, who revealed unusual skills as attorney, argued that a particular shop keeper was object of riots not because he was a Jew but because he inhumanly exploited the peasants. Mikhnovskyi spoke in opposition to anti-Semitic riots but also in opposition to lawless exploitation by Jewish shop-keepers of Ukrainian peasants.²²

In 1907 the UNP held a secret conference and issued noteworthy resolutions on social questions. They were treated from a national standpoint, distinguishing between the proletariat of the Ukrainian subjugated nation and the proletariat of the imperialistic Russian nation.

During 1912 Mikhnovskyi regularly contributed to the weekly *Snip (Sheaf)* "newspaper for Ukrainian intelligentsia", published by M. Bilenyk. It was a magazine of literature and general cultural subjects. Its attitude was anti-Russian. Some of its more prominent contributors were Ivan Franko, M. Kononenko, Khrystia Alchevska, O. Slisarenko, H. Hetmanets, P. Voronyi, a.o.²³

In 1913, a secret organisation with the name "Bratstvo Samo-stiinykiv" (Brotherhood for Independence) arose in Kyiv. Its aim was to fulfil the ideas of the Brotherhood of T. Shevchenko and of Mikhnovskyi. At this time appeared a pamphlet of Dmytro Dontsov under the title "Modern Russophilism", which made a great impression upon the members of the newly formed group. Valentyn Otamanovskyi (author of the novel *Son of Ukraine* was chosen to be its head. Soon the brotherhood started to publish an illegal newspaper, *Vilna Dumka* (Free thought). In 1917 the brotherhood established a legal publishing house, "Vernyhora", which was very active and soon became a significant centre of dissemination of Ukrainian nationalist ideas.²⁴

After the outbreak of the first World War, in 1914, Mykola Mikhnovskyi was mobilised into the Russian army as a reserve officer and was attached to the Kyiv area military court with the rank of first lieutenant to head the group of defence lawyers. He saved many Ukrainian soldiers charged with desertion or sabotage, for which Russian judges usually passed death sentences.

c. The year 1917.

When in March 1917 the anti-tsarist and anti-imperialistic revolution broke out in the territories of the Russian empire, Mikhnovskyi luckily was in Kyiv. His political associates, the majority of whom belonged to the Bratstvo Samostiinykiv, formed at a meeting of

March 15th the Ukrainian Central Council (Ukrainska Tsentralna Rada) as an organ of temporary legislative authority in Ukraine on the grounds that the Russian tsarist government, which was the legal heir to the Pereiaslav treaty of 1654 disappeared and thereby the bonds between the two states were legally dissolved. On the same day Valentyn Otamanovskiy — a close associate of Mikhnovskiy and promotor of the Brotherhood for Independence — formed a staff of Ukrainian militia and started to organise a Ukrainian cavalry company.

In Kyïv there existed at the outbreak of the revolution a general civic-cultural association called *Tovarystvo Ukraïnskykh Postupovtshykh* (Association of Ukrainian Progressives). This association also came forward with the initiative to form a temporary Ukrainian representation under the same name as that formed by the Mikhnovskiy group. It was joined immediately by Ukrainian Socialist parties. In order to contribute to the formation of one strong representative Ukrainian government, the Ukrainian Central Rada organised by the *Bratstvo Samostiïnykiv* decided to join the other centre. The merging occurred two weeks later on March 29th, 1917. The motive which prompted the nationalists to agree to the formation of one Ukrainian national representation was described by Serhii Shemet on the example of Mikhnovskiy as the leading nationalist. He wrote: "Mikhnovskiy believed, that whoever should stay at the head of the Tsentralna Rada, with whatever party should the old Hrushevskiy associate himself, whichever party should take into its hands the reins of government, the work of a Ukrainian state will be performed, better or worse, but nevertheless it will be advanced."²⁵

In the merged Tsentralna Rada a conflict arose immediately. Mikhnovskiy's group demanded immediate declaration of Ukraine's independence. Other groups opposed this view. The "non-political culturists" favoured the policy of remaining temporarily within a Russian state, while laying down foundation for a Ukrainian State. Socialists on the contrary truly believed that with Russian federalists in power it will be possible to create a multi-national state along federalist-Socialist principles. Mikhnovskiy decided not to press his demand of proclaiming independence at this point.

Mikhnovskiy and the nationalists believed that at this time most important tasks were to concentrate their attention on the creation of a Ukrainian national army, on political education, and on endeavours to infiltrate with nationalist ideas as many segments of Ukrainian society as possible. However they left the formulation and execution of national policy of the Tsentralna Rada in the hands of the autonomists.

The first "Preparatory Rally" of Ukrainians in the Russian army was organised by the nationalists on March 19th, at which 211 persons took part. Mikhnovskiy delivered a speech stressing the necessity of

organising the Ukrainian army promptly. An appropriate resolution was adopted. On March 22nd, another rally attended by 4000 Ukrainian officers and soldiers was held. Those present at the rally constituted themselves as the Temporary Ukrainian Military Council. The next mass rally was held on the 24th, and plans to organise a Ukrainian infantry regiment were laid down. Another important rally took place on March 29th, at which its secretary, First Lieutenant Mikhnovskyi, proposed the following resolution: "To start immediately the organisation of our own national army as our own powerful military force, without which it is impossible even to think of winning complete freedom of Ukraine." It has been further decided to open "the Military Club of Hetman P. Polubotok" to cultivate among Ukrainians the spirit of a Ukrainian national army. Mikhnovskyi became the Head of the Club, and he also drafted the by-laws for it.

Besides the Military Club the nationalists formed the Ukrainian Military Organisational Committee with the purpose of initiating, directing, and establishing Ukrainian military units throughout the country. This committee was headed by Colonel Hlynskyi and included Mikhnovskyi.

Meanwhile the Polubotok Club issued a proclamation to Ukrainian soldiers, distributed in tens of thousands of copies, calling to form Ukrainian military units. This proclamation said: "Let us remember, that a stubborn enemy remains on our soil, who will use all his strength in order to dominate permanently the whole of Ukraine. Fellow-brothers! Let us not deliver Ukraine to anyone! Flushed with blood of famous Cossacks-Zaporozhians, covered during this war with mountains of our corpses — let her arise to her own life! Fellow Ukrainians! Unite in your own groups! Unite with the thought of Ukraine's freedom, of her Cossack power!"²⁶ This proclamation was written by Mikhnovskyi. It created a tremendous impression upon the Ukrainian soldiers and during the next few weeks many Ukrainian military clubs and units sprang up.

On April 1st the Russian federalists organised a mass demonstration in Kyiv on the occasion of the downfall of tsarism. Around 100 000 persons gathered, half of whom were Ukrainians. Nationalists saw to it that Ukrainian national emblems and sentiment appeared strong. Mikhnovskyi delivered a speech calling the revolution not merely anti-tsarist, but a revolution for independence of Ukraine from Russia.

On April 18th Mikhnovskyi, on behalf of Ukrainian military, came before the Ukrainian teachers' congress and appealed to the educationalists to work for speedy national independence. Then on April 20th he delivered a message to the 2000 members of a Ukrainian regiment recently organised in Chernyhiv, named Regiment of

Hetman Petro Doroshenko. Afterwards, an armed conflict ensued between this regiment and the local Russian garrison, which was the first such military incident based on the growing will of Ukrainians to achieve their national freedom and the Russian determination to keep Ukraine enslaved.

In either April or May Mikhnovskyi wrote a pamphlet entitled *Conditions Before the War*, printed by the publishing house "Vernyhora." However, neither this important pamphlet nor any part of it can be obtained for study.

From April 19th to 21st inclusive, 1917, the All-Ukrainian Congress was held in Kyiv. It is considered by many to be the first national constituent assembly of Ukrainian people in modern times. It became the arena of struggle for influence between nationalists, led by Mykola Mikhnovskyi, and autonomists, led by Volodymyr Vynnychenko and Prof. Mykhailo Hrushevskiyi. The latter won, because the organisational apparatus was in their hands and the autonomists were able to muster more votes, arranging the delegations according to such a scheme which favoured places with most of their Socialist and federalist supporters. At the Congress the autonomists excluded from the programme two principal speeches which were to be delivered on behalf of the Military Club of Hetman Polubotok by Mikhnovskyi ("Ukrainian armed forces — the main pillar of Ukraine's statehood") and by V. Otamanovskyi ("The struggle of our ancestors for independence of Ukraine"). But Mikhnovskyi took the floor at the Congress, and proposed a draft resolution calling for immediate creation of a Ukrainian national army. This draft was rejected by the autonomist majority. He was, however, elected to the Tsentralna Rada, the national legislature of Ukraine, as its permanent member. Upon the insistence of the military, the Congress sent a delegation, which included Mikhnovskyi, to the Russian Defence Minister Guchkov, who came at that time to Kyiv, demanding Ukrainisation of troops composed of Ukrainians, but the minister rejected the petition.

On April 25th the Ukrainian Peoples' Party (UNP) was reactivated in Kharkiv, undoubtedly under instigation of Mykola Mikhnovskyi and with the aim to develop into a mass political party in order to counteract the organised forces of the autonomists.

On May 1st the first Ukrainian regiment of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi was officially formed in Kyiv. To a great extent it was the work of Mikhnovskyi. Instantly this regiment became a bone of contention between Russian imperialists and Ukrainian autonomists on one side and Ukrainian nationalists on the other side. Mikhnovskyi stayed in the forefront of the political battle, arguing that the masses of Ukrainians in the Russian army were by the thousands demanding formation of separate Ukrainian forces which would defend primarily the interests of the Ukrainian people.

A meeting was held at the Russian military headquarters at Kyïv. Mikhnovskyi said allegedly the following, freely transmitted by R. Mlynovetskyi: "The Military Club of Hetman P. Polubotok did not participate in the formation of this regiment directly. However we wish to turn your attention to the fact, that you — Muscovites — did not want to know us — Ukrainians — and did not want to hear our moanings and pleadings, as if they did not reach you. Only when we took the road of fighting for our natural and neglected rights of our nation, only when you have seen these soldiers, who are not willing to remain a dumb cannon fodder, who do not want to die as people without name and nation, only then you noticed us and began to fuss. Now we witness the establishment of a regiment. Such a sudden transformation of 'Russkiy soldat' of tsarist times into a Ukrainian Cossack is a riddle to you and to us. Let us be reasonable. As two neighbouring peoples, let us mutually recognise all the due rights, equal rights. We believe that no one should care solely for his own skin, no one should leave our front. We need courageous soldiers and among these 3000 men we do not see any deserters. If such should be found we will ourselves organise a people's court to try them justly. However this regiment must remain Ukrainian, while removal of the technical difficulties and final decision of the matter should be handed over to higher military command. This higher military command shall learn, that all of us agreed, that the rights of the Ukrainian people to organise ourselves have been recognised. Without freedom, complete freedom, there can be no reconciliation between our peoples, although such a reconciliation is needed and wanted."²⁷

On May 3rd a delegation was sent to General Brusilov in Kamianets-Podilskyi to get his approval on the formation of this regiment. The delegation was headed by Mykola Mikhnovskyi. Gen. Brusilov agreed to the creation of a separate Ukrainian regimental base camp with the permanent force of 500 men, but the remaining 2500 men should be sent to the front immediately upon the completion of their training.

To summarise the political-constitutional processes going on in Ukraine from March till May 1917, we give the word to a historian: "The autonomists always achieved their goal; through the merger of the nationalist Tsentralna Rada with the autonomist Rada they gained a majority, and then they liquidated this 'united' Rada at the Congress organised by them and directed by them, at which they succeeded to install a new Rada, to which too few nationalists were admitted to have any influence on decisions of the whole."²⁸ The reason for the described gains of the autonomists over the nationalists in the opinion of the same author is the following: "The nationalists gave too little attention to the formation of mass political organisations, concentrating their attention upon the matter of creating a

Ukrainian army and upon attempts to sharpen the struggle between Ukrainians and Russians in order to influence other Ukrainian parties and turning our intelligentsia from Russophil views grafted upon them by the oppressors."²⁹ In other words, the autonomists with Russian assistance captured the reigns of Ukrainian government. Nationalist influence among the military could not be decisive in politics until the government did come into the hands of nationalists. Autonomists mustered a stronger propaganda machine than the nationalists, because the power of the autonomists rested mainly in the intelligentsia and townspeople and, therefore right away they could afford to publish four newspapers in Kyiv alone. The nationalist strength was composed mainly of students, soldiers, and peasants — poorer people in general — and therefore they were unable to develop a powerful press of their own. A third reason why nationalists began losing ground during the summer months of 1917 was pointed out by Petro Mirchuk. The autonomists had in the person of Volodymyr Vynnychenko a much more clever tactician than the nationalists had in the person of Mikhnovskyi: the latter was an idealist and a romantic, while Vynnychenko was an unscrupulous opportunistic demagogue.³⁰

Having captured the government, the autonomists decided to capture control over the Ukrainian military units. On May 18th the First All-Ukrainian Military Convention was held in Kyiv. Nationalists had a pre-convention strategy meeting. Two plans of action were introduced: either to discontinue cooperation with the autonomists or to cooperate with them. The latter plan won the day. At the Convention nationalists proposed Mikhnovskyi for chairmanship. The autonomists proposed a collective chair or a presidium composed of Symon Petlura, Mykola Mikhnovskyi, and three other members. The second proposal was adopted, and the autonomists, having the majority, won again. The Convention became a political-ideological battleground between the nationalists and the autonomists. Mikhnovskyi delivered an emotional and deeply ideological speech on the role of the army in the creation of the national independent Ukraine. He proposed a draft resolution with the demand of national independence, referring to the recently proclaimed declaration of the President of the United States of America, T. Woodrow Wilson, on the right of nations to self-determination.³¹

The chief antagonist of Mykola Mikhnovskyi, Volodymyr Vynnychenko, came out with a contradictory thesis — founded on Socialist pacifism — that an army is unnecessary for Ukrainian people, because it would become the tool of a new class oppression.

The Convention concluded with the election of a Ukrainian Military General Committee, composed of four nationalists and thirteen autonomists. Mikhnovskyi was one of the members. Thus nationalist strategy to form a consolidated Ukrainian front suffered a defeat.

The real victor was Russian imperialism, whose partisans proceeded firmly to dissolve and liquidate all Ukrainian armed forces. On May 30th the Tsentralna Rada organised a parade on the occasion of a visit to Kyiv of the Russian Prime-Minister Kerenski, in which 1500 Ukrainian soldiers took part. Russians reciprocated by dispatching these troops immediately to the front to defend their tottering empire.

In May the Brotherhood for Independence held a secret conference at which Mikhnovskyi was officially admitted to its membership. Upon his suggestion the brotherhood reprinted in 100 000 copies the "Catechism of the Ukrainian" and "The Ten Commandments of the Ukrainian", and established a legal nationalist association, "Soiuz Ukraïnskoï Derzhavnosti" (Union for Ukraine's Statehood) on May 15th, 1917. The "Vernyhora" publishing house issued Mikhnovskyi's speech at the First All-Ukrainian Military Convention entitled "Our Attitude Toward the War." In this speech Mikhnovskyi spoke in favour of stopping to fight at the front for the Russian empire, proclaiming Ukraine's independence, requesting a peace treaty with the Central Powers, and turning Ukrainian forces against Russian aggression in Ukraine.

On June 18th the Second All-Ukrainian Military Convention opened in Kyiv. On this occasion Mikhnovskyi proclaimed with enthusiasm: "The Church of St. Sophia, which during centuries witnessed the glory of Ukraine, greets the reborn Ukrainian army!"³²

The Union for Ukraine's Statehood held a mass rally nearby, at which 2500 military men participated, with the aim to buttress nationalist influence at the military convention.

When it became evident that the autonomists would gain complete control over the military organs, nationalist members of the Ukrainian Military General Committee — M. Mikhnovskyi and I. Lutsenko — resigned in protest against the pro-Russian policies of the autonomists.

At the end of June the Russian Government under Kerenski and Lvov decided to narrow the power and the authority of Tsentralna Rada with the clear intention to change it into a purely territorial administrative body. By then the nationalists realised their mistake of cooperating with the autonomists. A conviction grew that revolutionary action was needed. The decision to organise an uprising was made at a secret meeting of Brotherhood for Independence on June 27th. The opinions were however divided as to the political objectives: one group argued in favour of removing Tsentralna Rada from office and instituting a revolutionary nationalist government, but the second group inclined toward leaving the Rada in office but demanding from it the immediate proclamation of independence. The latter view won the day. It is not clear which view was held by Mikhnovskyi. Anyway he was in the midst of directing the uprising.

He co-ordinated the movement of nationalist forces from the provinces into Kyiv and tried feverishly to persuade Colonel Yurii Kapkan, the commanding officer of a major Ukrainised unit stationed at Kyiv, to support the uprising. However Col. Kapkan wavered between the opposition of the nationalists and of the autonomists. Mikhnovskyyi meanwhile became secretary of a newly formed Ukrainian Peasant Democratic Party in order to bring it to the nationalist side. Its other prominent leaders were brothers Shemet and Viacheslav Lypynskyyi.

The uprising came about during the night of 17th and 18th July. Around 5000 men participated in it, but they were poorly armed. The next morning the capital of Ukraine was safely in Ukrainian hands. To the surprise of many nationalists, Tsentralna Rada turned against the revolutionaries. It managed to gain loyalty of some Ukrainian troops and demanded that all troops return to their barracks. Meanwhile Russian occupation forces regrouped and soon reoccupied strategic positions in the city. Nationalists were not prepared to fight the Tsentralna Rada and the uprising was quelled. The inexperienced and naïve Ukrainian nationalism received a tremendous blow. For the next half year nationalist movement and politics were almost extinguished, although the second half of 1917 was the best historical time when the Ukrainian nation could have liberated itself and created a national state. The most severe blow was struck at the nationalist sentiment of the tens and hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian military, who were willing to fight for Ukraine in the summer of 1917, but have lost this fervour during the succeeding several months as the result of a powerful Bolshevik and Socialist propaganda and the hostility of Tsentralna Rada toward establishment of a powerful Ukrainian army. All Ukrainised troops were disarmed, or sent to the front, or disbanded. Nationalists were persecuted and arrested. Mykola Mikhnovskyyi was ordered to leave for the Rumanian front, escorted by military police.

Although personally Mikhnovskyyi was defeated and the achievement of Ukrainian independence received a set-back, he was successful in accomplishing the spread of nationalist ideas among Ukrainian military people. One scholar well summarised this work of his: "Mykola Mikhnovskyyi... succeeded in gathering energetic and attached partners (Col. Pavlo Voloshyn, Captain Ol. Sakhno-Ustymovych, Captain Yurko Han, Sergeants Hots, Lukiianiv, and Pavelko, the Odessa military doctor Ivan Lutsenko); together with them he did a tremendous preliminary work in creating Ukrainian councils, committees, and clubs within the Russian army and in forming Ukrainians into separate Ukrainian national units."³³

At the Rumanian front Mikhnovskyyi remained in isolation from politics till the downfall of the Provisional Russian Government in November 1917. We do not know anything about his emotional

conditions during that time. We can presume that he might have been depressed and feeling defeated. He surely was examining his experiences.

d. The Last Period

In November 1917 Mikhnovskyi returned to his native province of Paltava, where he soon renewed his activity in the Ukrainian Peasant Democratic Party. He concentrated his endeavours in making this party nation-wide. Its programme was worked out by Viacheslav Lypynskyi, who later became the chief theoretician of Ukrainian monarchism.

The All-Russian Legislative Assembly was to be held in November 1917. The Ukrainian Peasant Democratic Party wanted to participate in that assembly in order to demand through its spokesmen recognition of Ukrainian independence. In its candidates' list Mykola Mikhnovskyi was in the first place. However Russian authorities issued orders to all printers prohibiting to publish campaign material of this Ukrainian party. Though paralysed, the party and Mikhnovskyi nevertheless received over 1100 counted votes in the Lubni county alone.³⁴

In February 1918 Eastern Ukraine was invaded and occupied by the Bolsheviks. For two months Mikhnovskyi was hiding until the Bolsheviks were expelled from Ukraine by the German army which acted in cooperation with Tsentralna Rada, which by that time was governing an independent Ukrainian state, proclaimed on January 22nd, 1918. Mikhnovskyi went to Kyïv and acknowledged the regime of Tsentralna Rada as the only legal government of Ukraine. But he opposed its attempts to co-operate with Russian leftist imperialists and its Marxist programmes. Therefore, he affiliated himself with the rising national conservative movement. In this atmosphere he met General Pavlo Skoropadskyi, the apparent leader of Ukrainian monarchists. On March 23rd, 1918, the Ukrainian Peasant Democratic Party held a conference in Lubni. Upon Mikhnovskyi's initiative this party resolved to send a delegation to the Tsentralna Rada petitioning the government to change its domestic and foreign policies. However, Tsentralna Rada refused even to talk about any political changes or compromises. The event had one indirect effect, namely, it revealed that the majority of Ukrainian peasantry was not supporting the Socialist parties of the Tsentralna Rada.

On April 29th, 1918, General Skoropadskyi conducted a successful *coup d'état* against Tsentralna Rada. General Skoropadskyi was installed as Hetman of Ukraine. From the beginning of his rule he chose to base his strength not on the nationalist Ukrainian Peasant Democratic Party, but on a movement called Soiuz Zemelnykh

Substvennikov (Union of Landed Proprietors), which advocated the restoration of the Russian monarchist empire. Mikhnovskyi soon found out that the government quickly came into the hands of the people who favoured liquidation of Ukraine's independence and restoration of the Russian monarchist colonial domination over Ukraine. Friends of Mikhnovskyi attempted to convince the Hetman to make Mikhnovskyi his prime-minister, but the Hetman refused. Instead, Hetman Skoropadskyi offered to Mikhnovskyi the position of a "special personal adviser", which in turn Mikhnovskyi turned down, considering this position of no political importance. During the period of Mikhnovskyi's opposition to the Hetman, he stood in close personal contact with Dr. Dmytro Dontsov, whose advice he readily accepted. Actually it was Dontsov who dissuaded him from accepting the position offered to Mikhnovskyi by the Hetman.³⁵ He did not want to associate himself with any attempts to bring Ukraine again under Russian domination. On the other hand, Hetman Skoropadskyi repudiated the uncompromising nationalist policies advocated by Mikhnovskyi. Soon the whole Peasant Democratic Party dissociated itself from the support of the Skoropadskyi regime.

Late in May, 1918, Mykola Mikhnovskyi formed a legal opposition to the monarchist regime under the name Ukraïnskyi Natsionalno-Derzhavnyi Soiuz (Ukrainian National State Union), which united six political groups with the purpose of saving Ukraine's independence and sovereignty. Mikhnovskyi drafted a memorandum, which was handed over to the Hetman on behalf of the parties forming the National State Union on May 24th. The main purpose of this memorandum was to urge Hetman Skoropadskyi to expel from his government persons with Russian imperialistic-chauvinist views. The Hetman made in consequence some minor changes in his cabinet, but refused to change his policy of accepting support of the Russian imperialistic monarchists.

On June 10th, 1918, a delegation from the National State Union met in Kyïv with the Chief of Staff of the German army in Ukraine, General Gröner. It seems that Mikhnovskyi was the spokesman of this delegation. According to the stenographic report from German archives Mikhnovskyi declared: "The delegation recognises Hetman as Head of Ukraine, but his cabinet of ministers does not have the confidence of Ukrainian parties. It is necessary to replace the present cabinet, because it is composed of enemies of the Ukrainian people..." Gen. Gröner replied that German representatives will urge Hetman Skoropadskyi to admit to the cabinet more members from among the nationalists, but they do not favour, at this time, the changing of the whole cabinet, because important agreements will shortly be concluded concerning financial and commercial relations with the Hetman's government. In turn Mikhnovskyi declared: "...we understand the independence of Ukraine differently than the German

government does. We look at it from the national standpoint, not from the territorial standpoint. At the present moment all Ukrainian officials are being dismissed from the Ministry of Agriculture."³⁶ Only in October 1918 did the German Consul-General Til suggest to the Hetman to reshuffle his cabinet. He handed over to Hetman's people a list of persons who should be considered for ministerial positions. The name of Mikhnovskyi figured therein for the position of Minister of Religious Affairs. Hetman's representative, Nikovskyi, then revealed the list of intended cabinet changes on which Mikhnovskyi's name was missing.

In order to become a strong national front the Ukrainian National State Union admitted to its membership the two major Ukrainian Socialist parties, the Socialist Revolutionaries and the Socialist Democrats, which earlier formed the backbone of Tsentralna Rada's autonomist policies. Using expert demagogic techniques these two parties gained domination over the Union, which resulted in the disassociation of the Peasant Democratic Party from the Union. On October 26-28, 1918, this party held its convention in Kyiv, headed by S. Shemet, M. Mikhnovskyi, and V. Sovachiv. It adopted resolutions supporting the defence of national independence and sovereignty, and stated that the party distinctly opposed any kind of federation with Russia.

Meanwhile the Socialists renamed the Ukrainian National State Union to Ukrainian National Union and executed successfully a *coup d'état* against the Hetman's regime. The new government called "the Directory" convened on January 23-28, 1919, the Trudovyi Kongres (Labour Congress), which was supposed to be the parliament of the Ukrainian Peoples' Republic (Ukrainska Narodnia Respublika — UNR). However Mikhnovskyi and some prominent nationalists were not even admitted as representatives of important political parties.

With seemingly untired energy, Mikhnovskyi laid broad plans of consolidating nationalists forces in the Ukrainian army. He drew to his side Col. Evhen Konovalets, the Commander of the strongest unit, the Corps of Sichovi Striltsi. At the end of January 1919 he went to Kremenchuk to hold an important meeting with Col. Bolbochan, who was campaigning against the Bolsheviks in South Ukraine. From the memoirs of Victor Andriievskyi we learn that Mikhnovskyi and Col. Konovalets kept in close touch and met several times.³⁷ In Kremenchuk Mikhnovskyi fell sick with typhus. At the same time Bolsheviks invaded Ukraine for the second time and caught Mikhnovskyi in hospital at Kremenchuk. The CheKa (secret police) immediately arrested him and removed him to a prison even though he still did not recover from typhus. After some time he was released from prison but kept under house arrest. Mikhnovskyi never again regained strong health.

There are very scarce facts about the life of Mykola Mikhnovskiy after 1919. After staying for some time in the Poltava oblast under CheKa surveillance, he was permitted to go to the Kuban region where he received a teaching position in an elementary school at the village of Poltavska and was also active in the co-operative movement. All the time he lived in great poverty. He was caught there by the Denikin forces, tried to emigrate, but Denikin's office refused to give him an exit visa. Prof. M. Sadylenko wrote in his memoirs about the stay of Mikhnovskiy in the Kuban during 1920-22: "His love for Ukraine, his sufferings seeing her enslaved by Russian invaders, his hate for the Reds, Moscow, and the Muscovites — those were his chief preoccupations!"³⁸

The daughter of Pavlushkov, head of the secret Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM) in the 1920's, executed by the Russians, Natalia Pavlushkova, wrote in her memoirs that Mikhnovskiy became a member of the secret nationalist movement, Bratstvo Ukraïnskoï Derzhavnosty (Brotherhood for Ukrainian Statehood), and besides Yefremov — Head of the brotherhood — and V. Otamanivskiy was in its leadership.

In the spring of 1924 Mikhnovskiy returned secretly to Kyïv, taking residence with his old friend — Volodymyr Shemet. He started corresponding with Serhii Shemet, who fled to Berlin. In his letters he showed much interest in Ukrainian activities abroad. In one such letter he expressed the desire to emigrate. But at the end of April 1924 he was arrested by the GPU, the Russian secret police, and interrogated uninterruptedly for several days, which might have been accompanied by torture. Then he was allegedly released, but the next day was found hanged in a garden. It happened on May 3rd 1924. Victor Andriievskiy gave May 28th as the date of his death.³⁹ It is presumed that the GPU murdered Mykola Ivanovych Mikhnovskiy staging this event in such a way that it would look like a suicide. Where he was buried nobody knows, probably because Russian secret police was afraid that his grave, like Shevchenko's, would become a national shrine.

NOTES

1) See R. Mlynovetskyi, *Narysy z Ukraïns'kykh vyzvol'nykh zmahaniï 1917-1920 rr.* 2 v. n. p., 1961-1965. v. 1, p. 12.

2) According to V. Martynets, *Ukrainian underground: from UVO to OUN.* (In Ukrainian). Winnipeg, Canada, 1949, p. 117.

3) *Mykola Mikhnovskiy.* Philadelphia, TUSM, 1960, p. 16.

4) Published in the periodical *Zhyttie i slovo*, Lviv, v. 4, pp. 471-483; reprinted in Bohdan Kravtsiv, ed., *Vyvid prav Ukraïny.* New York, Prolog Publ., 1964.

5) See detailed material of Yurii Lypa in *Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk.* Lviv, issues for 1925.

- 6) *Op. cit.*, p. 118.
- 7) *Loc. cit.*
- 8) *Loc. cit.*
- 9) R. N., "Mykola Mikhnovskiy" in *Vyzvol'nyi shliakh*, London, Ukrainian Publ., v. 5, no. 5, May 1952, p. 6.
- 10) This article is reprinted in B. Kravtsov, ed., *op. cit.*, and is analyzed and commented in M. Mukhyn, "Ivan Franko yak krytyk Drahomanova" in *Vyzvol'nyi shliakh*, v. 9, 1956, no. 103, p. 527-531.
- 11) See Dmytro Doroshenko, *Istoriia Ukraïny, 1917-1923*. 2 v., 2nd ed., New York, "Bulava", 1954, v. 1, p. 30.
- 12) Printed in *Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk*, Lviv, June 1928—Dec. 1930.
- 13) A detailed study of this constitution was made by Z. Knysh in the work "Konstytutsiia Ukraïny v proiekti UNP" in *Samostiina Ukraïna*, Chicago, 1956. (Monthly).
- 14) His *Narysy z istorii Ukraïns'kykh vyzvol'nykh zmahaniï*, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 18.
- 15) According to R. Mlynovetskyi, *loc. cit.*
- 16) Victor Andriievskiy, "Mykola Mikhnovskiy" in *Surma*, Munich, Units of OUN Abroad, no. 31, May, 1951, p. 4.
- 17) His *Istoriia Ukraïns'koho narodu*, Munich, Ukraïns'ke naukove vyd., 1951, p. 392.
- 18) R. Mlynovetskyi, *Narysy z istorii...*, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 16-17.
- 19) See article "Mykola Mikhnovskiy as writer" signed "ich", in *Vyzvol'nyi shliakh*, v. 16, no. 4, April, 1961.
- 20) E. Chykalenko, *Shchodennyk*, 1911, p. 300.
- 21) See Viktor Andriievskiy, *Z mynuloho*, 2 v. in 1 pts., 2nd ed., New York, pt. 1, p. 61.
- 22) Compare Petro Mirchuk, *op. cit.*, p. 53-54.
- 23) Based on the *loc. cit.* article in *Vyzvol'nyi shliakh*, signed "ich", p. 466-7.
- 24) Detailed material about the Brotherhood for Independence can be found in *Istoriia natsionalistychnoho rukhu*, San Paulo, 1949, and in the article signed with the initials Kh. D., entitled "Bratstvo Samostiinykiv" in *Surma*, Munich, no. 8, June 15, 1949, p. 9-11.
- 25) In his article "M. Mikhnovskiy" in *Khliborobs'ka Ukraïna*, v. 5, p. 17.
- 26) *Istoriia Ukraïns'koho viis'ka*. 2nd ed., Winnipeg, Canada, I. Tyktor, 1951, p. 359.
- 27) R. Mlynovetskyi, *Narysy z istorii Ukraïns'kykh vyzvol'nykh zmahaniï*, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 105.
- 28) *Ibidem.*, p. 133.
- 29) *Ibidem.*, p. 139-140.
- 30) See his *op. cit.*, chapter on "Angel and demon of Ukrainian statehood", p. 73-84.
- 31) See D. Doroshenko, *Istoriia Ukraïny*, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 355.
- 32) According to R. Mlynovetskyi, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 196.
- 33) Lev Shankovskiy, *Ukraïns'ka armiiia v borot'bi za derzhavnist'*, Munich, "Dniprova Khvyliia", 1958, p. 11.
- 34) According to Viktor Andriievskiy, "Mykola Mikhnovskiy", *op. cit.*, p. 5.
- 35) Compare Dmytro Dontzov, *Rik 1918 — Kyïv*. Toronto, "Homin Ukraïny", 1954.
- 36) *Krakh germanskoy okkupatsii na Ukraine*, Moscow, 1936, p. 125-126.
- 37) His *Z mynuloho*, Berlin, Vyd. "Ukraïns'ke slovo", 1923, v. 2, part 2, p. 63-64.
- 38) "Meetings with M. Mikhnovskiy", *Homin Ukraïny*, weekly, Toronto, no. 47, Oct. 21, 1953.
- 39) Lecture delivered on May 28th, 1947, reproduced from type-written copy.



MYKOLA MIKHNOVSKYYI

UKRAINIAN CHURCHES IN AUSTRALIA



THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF SS. PETER AND PAUL IN MELBOURNE,
BUILT IN 1962-63.



THE CHURCH OF HOLY MOTHER OF GOD IN BRISBANE, BUILT IN 1960.

Theodore MACKIW
University of Akron, USA

MAZEPA'S ELECTION AS HETMAN IN ENGLISH PRESS OF 1687

On August 4, (n. s.), 1687 at the Kolomak River, Ivan Mazepa was elected as a new Hetman of the Ukrainian Cossack Military Republic, or better known as *Hetmanshchyna* (Hetman-State).

At the mention of Mazepa, most English-speaking persons think of Byron's mythical hero rather than of an historical person. The real life of Mazepa, however, was very different from the one depicted in literature.

Hetman Ivan Mazepa¹ was the Chief-Executive of the Ukrainian autonomous state, then a protectorate of Czarist Russia. It is true that Mazepa's rights were limited, but he exercised to the full his civil and military authority, and was regarded as the Chief-Executive by contemporary foreign diplomats in Moscow. For example, Jean de Baluse (1648-1718), the French envoy in Moscow, visited Mazepa in 1704 in Baturyn, the Ukrainian capital at that time, and remarked in his letter: "...from Muscovy I went to the Ukraine, the country of the Cossacks, where for a few days I was the guest of Prince Mazepa, who is the supreme authority in this country²..." Mazepa's

¹ Hetman literally translated means "Head Man", the official title of the Chief-Executive of the autonomous military republic, better known as the Hetman-State; for details, see: Hans Schumann, *Der Hetmanstaat 1654-1764*, a dissertation, (Breslau, 1936). Ivan Mazepa-Koledynsky was born of a noble Ukrainian family at his ancestral seat at Mazepyntsi on March 20, 1639; for details see: O. Ohloblyn, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa ta Yoho Doba, (Hetman Ivan Mazepa and His Era), Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka*, (thereafter "ZNTS") New York—Paris—Toronto, 1960, Vol. 170, p. 21. Mazepa died on October 2, 1709 in Varnytsia, a suburb of Bendery; for details see: B. Krupnycky, "Miscellanea Mazepiana", *Pratsi Ukrain's'koho Naukovoho Instytutu*, Warsaw, 1939, Vol. 47, pp. 90-92. More about Mazepa's life see my "Biographical Sketch of Prince Mazepa, 1639-1709", *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XII, No. 4, 1965, pp. 60-83. It is widely accepted that Mazepa's name is spelled with a double "pp", but he himself signed his name with one "p." Already James Millington had noted it in his *The True Story of Mazepa*, (London, 1884), pp. 95-96, stating: "I follow the orthography of Western Europe, but the name ought to be strictly written with one 'p' — Mazepa..." For details, see my article "Mazepa or Mazepa?", *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. X, No. 4, 1963, pp. 42-45.

² Baluse's letter was discovered by Elias Borschchak in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris under "Fonds Baluse", Vol. CCCLI, and was published in a Ukrainian translation as an appendix to his paper, "Mazepa — Liudyna i istorychnyi diiach" (Mazepa as a Man and as a Statesman), "ZNTS", Lviv, 1933, Vol. 152, pp. 28-30.

contemporary, the brilliant English journalist, Daniel Defoe (1661-1731), wrote in his book about Czar Peter the First that "...Mazepa was not a King in Title, he was Equal to a King in Power, and every way Equal if not Superior to King Augustus in the divided Circumstances in which his power stood, even at the best of it..."³ As a matter of fact, Mazepa was aware of his position and considered himself "a little less than the Polish King."⁴

Another French diplomat, Foy de la Neuville (1649-1706), who met Mazepa in person, remarked about him: "...this Prince is not comely in his person, but a very knowing Man, and speaks Latin in perfection. He is Cossack born..."⁵

Mazepa with his good education, rich experiences, and personal charm won not only the favour of the new Czar Peter I, but was highly respected. The Austrian envoy in Moscow, Otto Pleyer (1692-1718), in his report of February 8, 1702, remarked "Mazeppa is very much respected and honoured by the Czar."⁶

Undoubtedly, Mazepa was an unusual man, who is not only famous in the Ukraine and in Western-Europe, but also became a controversial figure in world history. The crux of the controversy is as much Mazepa's character (selfishness, desire for power, revenge, machiavellianism, etc.) as it is the question of whether or not he, as Chief-Executive of the Ukrainian Cossack autonomous state under the Russian protectorate (a condition which at that time was quite common, e.g. Holland under Spain, Prussia under Poland) should have remained faithful to the Czar and see the Ukraine invaded and plundered by the Swedes, since the Czar refused to defend it, or to accept the Swedish protection, and whether or not he invited Charles XII to enter the Ukraine and then failed to give the help he had promised. The subject of this controversy became the source of inspiration for several painters, composers, writers, and poets. Byron, for instance, became interested in Mazepa's romantic love affair, which he told to Charles XII during their flight after the battle

³ Daniel Defoe, *An Impartial History of the Life and Actions of Peter Alexowitz... Czar of Muscovy*, etc., London, 1729, p. 208.

⁴ N. Kostomarov, *Mazepa i mazepintsy (Mazepa and his Followers)*, *Polnoye Sobraniye Sochineniy*, St. Petersburg, 1905, Vol. VI, p. 422.

⁵ Foy de la Neuville, *Relation curieuse et nouvelle de Moscovie*, etc., (de la Haye, 1699); I used the English translation: *An Account of Muscovy as it was in the year 1689*, London, 1699, p. 43. Mazepa indeed was granted by the Emperor Joseph I the title of Prince, effective September 1, 1707. For details, see my article "Mazepas Fürstentitel im Lichte seines Briefes an Kaiser Josef I." (Mazepa's Title of Prince in the Light of His Letter to the Emperor Joseph I), *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 1962, Vol. XLIV, No. 3, pp. 350-356; also in my book review on Lubomir Wynar's *Andrii Voynarovskiyi*, (1689?-1740?), in the *Slavic Review*, 1964, Vol. XXIII, No. 3, pp. 586-587.

⁶ Austrian State Archives, *Russica* 1-20; c.f., N. Ustrialov, *Istoriya Tsarstvovaniya Petra Velikogo (History of the Reign of Peter the Great)*, St. Petersburg, 1858-1863, Vol. IV, Part 2, p. 573.

of Poltava, July 7, 1709, (Mazepa's love affair had been described earlier by Voltaire in his well-known *Histoire de Charles XII*, Rouen 1731). Pushkin in his poem *Poltava* (1828) described not only the battle itself, but also devoted his attention to Mazepa, emphasizing negative aspects of his character.

The name Mazepa became known in Western Europe in connection with the "Holy Anti-Turkish Alliance" which was organized by the Emperor Leopold I (1684), and to which belonged Austria, Venice, the Papal State, Poland, and Moscow. Because this war had international character, since the Cossack forces together with the Russian forces had participated in this war, and since Mazepa was elected on August 4, 1687, as the new Hetman during the campaign against Crimea, some European, and many German newspapers reported Mazepa's election.⁷

Furthermore, the election of August II of Saxony as King of the Polish Kingdom (1697), to which belonged a part of the Ukraine (the right bank of the Dnieper River), aroused such public interest about the Ukraine and the Cossacks in Germany that even the *History of Poland* (London 1698), written by an English physician in the service of the Polish King Jan III Sobieski, Dr. Bernard Connor, was translated into German, (1700).

Mazepa's participation during the Great Northern War on the side of August II aroused public opinion not only in Germany,⁸ but also in England and even across the Atlantic Ocean in America.⁹ Finally, Mazepa's alliance with the Swedish King Charles XII, and the defeat

⁷ *Leipziger Post- und Ordinar-Zeitung*, Part I, of the 39th week, 1687, (a correspondence from Moscow of August 13, 1687); *Berliner Sonntag-Postillion*, the 38th week, 1687, (also a correspondence from Moscow of August 13, 1687); *Berliner Dienstag Fama*, the 37th week, 1687, (a correspondence from Lemberg [Lviv] of August 28, 1687; *Berliner Dienstag-Mercurius*, the 38th week, 1687, (a correspondence from Jaslowiecz); *Theatrum Europeum...*, Frankfurt a. M., 1698, Vol. XIII, pp. 67-68; *Neu-eroeffneter Historischer Bilder-Saal*, Nuremberg 1710, Vol. V, p. 853. For details see: B. Krupnytskyi, *Hetman Mazepa v osvittlen-niu nimetskoï literatury yoho chasu* (*Hetman Mazepa in the Light of the German Literature of His Time*), Zhovkva 1932. Also *Gazette de France* of December 6, 1687, mentioned it.

⁸ Many German newspapers reported about Mazepa's military operations; just to mention only a few: the Hamburg weekly, *Historische Remarques*, No. 31, of July 20, 1704, and the Leipzig magazine, *The Europaeische Fama...*, of 1704, 1706, 1708, 1712, Vol. XXV, published Mazepa's biography and the latter also published his picture on the first page in the second edition. For details see my book: *Mazepa im Lichte der zeitgenossischen deutschen Quellen*, ZNTS, Munich 1963, Vol. 174.

⁹ In America, a weekly, *The Boston News-Letter*, No. 41, of January 22-29, 1705, copying the London semi-weekly, *The Post-Man*, of August 22, 1704, verbatim reported that "...the Cossacks Commanded by the famous Mazepa, consisting of 19,000 [40,000] choice men, with a Train of Artillery of 36 Pieces of Cannon, have join'd King Augustus near Jaworow..." (For details see my article "Reports on Mazepa in Colonial America", *The New Review*, Vol. VI, No. 1, 1966, pp. 14-21.

at Poltava again provided rich material for the press. Surprisingly enough there is a great deal of information about Mazepa and the Ukraine in the contemporary English sources.¹⁰

Mazepa was mentioned for the first time in the English press in connection with his election as a new Hetman during the military campaign under the command of the Russian Prince Vasilii Golitsyn against Crimea in 1687, as a part of war operation of the "Holy League" against Turkey. In this campaign 50,000 Ukrainian Cossacks participated under the command of their Hetman, Ivan Samiylovych, (also known as "Popovych", 1672-1687). When this campaign proved a failure, Golitsyn, in order to save his prestige at the Court in Moscow, persuaded the higher Cossack officers ("starshyna") to depose Samiylovych, accusing him of a connection with the Tartars. Although it was not true, the Tsarevna (princess) Sophia and Golitsyn, disregarding the valuable and honest services rendered by Samiylovych, decided to depose him. Moreover, Samiylovych was arrested and sent later on without any trial with his eldest son to Siberia, where he died in 1689.

The first English newspaper to mention Mazepa was the *London Gazette*, No. 2283, October 3-6, 1687. Using information from Hamburg dated September 30, 1687, *The London Gazette* reported:

"...They write from Kiovia that Gen. Galitzen carrying with him to Moscow Samuelouitz, the Chief Commander of the Cossacks with his Son, there to answer his Treachery, in holding a Secret Intelligence with the Enemy, and discovering to them all that passed in the Army, had in the meantime placed at the Head of those Troops the Sieur Mareppa, (sic) a Person of Great Reputation for his Valor and Conduct, who has Orders to continue on the Borysthenes, to hinder the Tartars, from passing the River to enter to Poland that way..."¹¹

Mazepa's election was also reported in the London magazine, *Modern History, or a Monethly Account of all Considerable Occurrences, Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Military with all Natural and Philosophical Productions and Transactions*, No. 3, December 1687, p. 19, as follows:

"...Certain it is that the Muscovites are returned home without doing more than threaten. General Galitzen, who commanded all that numerous Army having charged the fault of all the Miscarriages of the Campagne upon Samulowitz General of the Loyal Cossacks, and having accused him with keeping Correspondence with the Tartars; he took him and his Son into custody, confiscated their Estates, and had them convey'd to Moscow, conferring the Command of the Cossacks upon Mareppa, a

¹⁰) For details see my book: *Prince Mazepa: Hetman of Ukraine, in Contemporary English Publications, 1687-1709*, publ. by the Ukrainian Research and Information Institute, Chicago 1967.

¹¹) About "Mazeppa" also reported the Nuremberger magazine, *Neu-eroeffener Historischer Bilder-Saal*, Vol. V, p. 853.

soldier of fortune, and with whose Experience he is thoroughly acquainted. Some say the Russian Court has approved of what Prince Galitzen has done, others that this Precaution did not prevent his being Empeach'd and Accus'd of all the Miscarriages of the Campagne, and that he is in Disgrace. Understanding or at least Spiteful People believe all this to be Grimace, and imagine that if this Numerous Army of the Muscovites did nothing all this Summer, they had Orders to do nothing; and that notwithstanding the League which has made so much noise in Europe, and to intimate which, express Embassies have been sent to all Christian Potentates, the Muscovites had not any Design to break with the Tartars."

In connection with Mazepa's election, more details, such as: the opposition and even mutiny of some Cossacks,¹² especially in Kiev, where many rebels were jailed and executed, were later added in the edition of *Modern History* . . ., May 1688, No. 8, pp. 14-15:

"...Endeavours are used to prevail with the Muscovites to act more vigorously this Campagne; but there's no great Prospect of their doing so, considering the Internal Discords rais'd by the Cosaques, who disapprove of the Election made the Czarrs of Mareppo for their General, and pretend to the satisfaction of choosing themselves one of their own Nation according to Ancient Custom. These Disputes will render abortive the Designs of the Muscovites Operations against the Infidels, being rather intent upon reconciling and remedying their Domestique Differences, than without their Confines to venture upon the uncertainty of Acquisitions. And this the rather since our last Advices inform us, that new Conspiracies laid by the Cossacks had been discovered at Kiow, and that the Principal Authors were imprison'd and twelve condemned to the Gallows. That there was no less a ferment in Zaporovia, where there was brooding in the minds of that Nation no final bitterness upon the Innovation made of introducing National Muscovites into the Chief Posts among the Soldiery, contrary to their Privileges and Customs..."

It might be said that the mutiny among the Cossacks, especially at Fort Kodak and the city of Hadiach, broke out as soon as the news of the arrest of Samiylovych reached the Cossack Army. Although the mutiny was suppressed by the Russian troops and some mercenaries, tension and a general discontent existed among the Cossacks for a long time.

It also should be noted that after Hetman Samiylovych was deposed, many Cossacks left their camp and took this opportunity to wreak vengeance on some of their officers; however, it was not a rebellion against the election of Mazepa at that time. Later the Zaporozhian Cossacks opposed Mazepa when he at the order of the Czar built fortresses at the Samara River for the purpose of repulsing possible attacks from the Tartars.¹³

¹²) The German press also reported about this Cossack mutiny, e.g., *Der Leipziger Post und Ordinar-Zeitung* of August 28, 1687.

¹³) Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, pp. 392-394.

Yaroslav STETZKO

(Conclusion — 3)

Where Eternity Lives

(NOTES AND REFLECTIONS ON A JOURNEY)

Herder once said that Ukraine is the future Hellas. How meagre seem the views of the learned "occidentalists" for whom Europe ends at the Curzon line! It is when I think of Hitler's death factories and the tyrannical "occidental" rule of the Nazis in Ukraine or Poland that the truly European and Christian greatness of Ukraine comes into relief. Europe would not exist without ancient Hellas, nor without Christianity and ancient Rome.

It is not by chance that Ukraine adopted Christianity from Greece because it is the most essential integral part of "Europeanism." Ancient Greece and Christianity are inseparably joined together. Before coming to Rome, the apostles, and especially St. Paul, preached in Greece. Again it is not by chance that the modern teachings of Thomas of Aquinas or Fr. Pierre Teilhard de Chardin are based on the Greek Fathers of the Church. We must give special acknowledgment to those of our bishops, especially His Eminence Joseph Cardinal Slipyi and to those of our priests, like the Rev. Dr. Lypskyi, who are working towards maintaining a pure eastern rite in our religious practices which are so closely tied in with Greece. Both the Parthenon and the Hagia Sophia are, first and foremost, an emphasis on the spiritual and the mystical, a unique proof of the continuity of the creative expression of human genius inspired with the belief in the transcendental.

When one looks at the priceless ruins on the Acropolis of the marble temple to Athena Parthenos, the virgin patron of Athens, built during the reign of Pericles (448-432 B.C.) by the famous architects Iktinos and Callicrates under the artistic direction of the incomparable Phidias, or at Phidias' own Athena sculptured in gold and ivory, with that expression of classic Hellenic calm and depth of artistic expression, inspired by the idea of eternal faith in divinity, then one experiences a profound spiritual closeness, a kinship of the people of Herder's future Hellas with those of ancient Hellas. The truth of the unbroken unity of transcendental values —

symbolised by the Acropolis and the Parthenon (whose priceless sculptures were plundered in 1801 by the British Ambassador to Constantinople, Lord Elgin, for the British Museum in London) and the Hagia Sophia, a temple to the true God who had been discovered in principle by both Socrates and Plato inspired with God's grace — was learned by Ukraine directly from the primary source — not through the Roman prism, as was done by the Germanic peoples, the Anglo-Saxons, and other "occidental" nations.

To the degree that Ukraine is Europe, so to a greater degree the fountainhead of spiritual Europe is Ancient Hellas, with her Plato, Aristotle, Homer, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Herodotus, Thucydides, Myron, Phidias, Praxiteles, Lysippus — without Roman instrumentality, without the Roman Empire. Just as for Plato this world was merely a reflection of the transcendental world of ideas, so the spiritual life of Rome was in real life the reflection of the real cultural life of Hellas, an imitation of it.

Of course, one must not underestimate Roman civilisation, especially the valid, even to this day, legal norms and institutions of Rome which were based on Hellenic spiritual culture and their social and political order. The Roman legal code became an integral part of Europeanism; it also forms the basis of the Magdeburg Law, which was also abided by in Ukrainian cities. But without its Hellenic philosophical basis, Roman law would not have become the primary source of Europe's law-consciousness.

Ukraine lies closer to the sources of Europe, closer to the sources of fundamental Christianity, than so-called occidental Europe, including Germany. St. Sophia in Kyiv is closer to the Hagia Sophia in the city of Constantine. In Ukraine the cross over the trident of St. Volodymyr the Great symbolises the unity of spiritual greatness of ancient Hellas and Christianity, whose basis was laid by Plato, the creator of metaphysical and ethical idealism (427-347 B.C.) in his teachings about goodness, truth and beauty as the highest ideals; by the Stoics, the followers of Zenon (d. 264 B.C.) whose ethics were so close to those of Christianity; by monumental artists and dramatists; by unsurpassed Homeric epics; by historiographers; and by all the other creators of unattainable spiritual heights.

When we stand in the portals of the Hagia Sophia we know, or rather feel in our hearts and souls, that we are of the "Greek origin." The icons to the Mother of God, the crosses, not at all tri-armed (as for some reason some people try to convince us that these are typically Byzantine), are near to our spiritual mentality, there is greatness in the greatest modesty. This is a true temple to Christ...

Maybe most like it, among those Western churches known to me where a man can pray undisturbed by unnecessary clutter and glitter, is the cathedral in Toledo where there are priceless art

treasures . . . El Greco. Precisely — El Greco; not a Spaniard, not a Roman, but a Greek in essence with a Spanish name. It was the great El Greco who, in my opinion, was the only one capable of creating a painting of the Crucifixion which reaches the soul . . .

It would be a mistake to think that I am speaking of present-day Greeks . . . Not at all . . . I am speaking of *eternal Hellas*, from whom the present-day Greeks differ as much as the Italian carabinieri differ from the Roman legions. . . Intermingled with Arabs, Phoenicians, Vandals, all sorts of Africans, Near Easterners, they are the merry dwellers of Italy and not of the Imperium Romanum. They do not think at all about imperial greatness; they think only about their cafés, great operas, carefree "canzoni and canzonnetti"; not about Mucius Scaevola, not about Romulus and Remus who had fed on a she-wolf's milk, not about Caesar who already in those ancient times had crossed the Alps with his armies, not about Scipio — but about Capri, Caruso, Gigli, Mario Lanza, Sophia Loren, and other hedonistic passing things; they do not think about the proud and stern Cato. . . Old Rome is dead to them, both the Rome of the victors and the Forum Romanum, and the Rome of the catacombs. . .

But this is not our concern today; we are concerned with the assertion that Hellas' values came directly to Ukraine and into Georgia around which, and the Caucasus as a whole, great legends of ancient Greece, including the Iliad, the legend about the Golden Fleece of Jason, and various others were woven — proofs of a connection with the geographical complex of Hellas. . . Georgia, based on Hellenic and partly even Roman eternal values, is more "Europe" than Germany which first found ancient Greece and apperceived its eternal values through ancient Rome. Therefore it is ridiculous to look for our "Europeanism" among the Germans or the Romans, when we were closer to the source, to the beginning, than the so-called Occident of Latin culture.

We are proud of the fact that we are not of Latin but of Hellenic culture which is more spiritual and nearer to the divine than the pragmatic culture of Rome. There is nothing in this assertion which depreciates ancient Rome whose concept of legal institutions based on the spiritual values of the Greeks, is also native to us; we are only emphasizing how much more naïve are all those publishers of "Der Europäische Osten" and the "specialists" in Eastern-European history from the University of Munich and other such places with whom it has often been our luck to argue at international conferences, as for example in Bolzano, and who proved that they do not understand the Europeanism of Eastern Europe, that is, Ukraine, Georgia, and other countries, which have more affinity in their national cultures and philosophy of life to ancient Hellas, to fundamental Christianity, than the so-called Germanic or Romance peoples.

It is time to give the death blow to the legend about the identicalness of "Occidentalism" with "Romanism." The same should be done with the legend about "true" Christianity which is supposed to be identical with Roman, Protestant-Anglican, or Evangelical-Lutheran. One must destroy the legend propagated by Germanic or Romance thinkers (with whom I have often argued at conferences of intellectuals of Western Europe) that Europeanism is identical with Catholicism, and Roman at that, and with Protestantism... If the essential element of Europeanism, occidentalism, is ancient Hellenism, without which there is no Europe, then it is just out of this Hellenism that Ukrainian Orthodoxy and oriental Catholicism grew; they are nearer to the philosophical, artistic and cultural sources of Hellas than Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. St. Paul's most profound philosophical and religious thoughts on Christianity are addressed to people of Hellenic culture. The appearance of St. Andrew, Christ's Apostle, brother of St. Peter, on the hills of Kyïv, is of the same order of reality, profoundly metaphysical and messianistic, as any analogical occurrence of religious meaning anywhere else. It is ridiculous to try to prove the Europeanism of Ukraine to some conceited Germanic pseudo-intellectual "übermensch" when Ukraine is nearest to the fountainhead of Europe — ancient Hellas and the Hagia Sophia.

Especially profoundly symbolic facts are that the Hagia Sophia is now a museum and not a free temple of the Lord, that the holy places of the man-God, are found in those countries in which worldly power is in the hands of non-Christians... When will the Holy Land have a Christian government? Maybe it was Christ's plan that in ever re-newing suffering our faith in Him would be justified?! *Ceterum censeo*: it is better for the Church to be persecuted than protected. If the proof of true faith is endurance and preservation of faithfulness to Christ in suffering, then maybe this great trial which was placed on St. Sophia in Kyïv and on her people, is to be a proof of the fact that the first shall be the last and the last, first?! How odd that the Second Oecumenical Vatican Council forgot to remind the world that St. Sophia in Kyïv is the symbol of today's catacombs and that our age, as His Eminence Joseph Cardinal Slipyi said, is the age of a persecution of Christians without precedent in the history of the world.

I do not know Mount Athos, but we all know of the famous Ukrainian monks, Ivan Vyshenskyi and Theodosius Petcherskyi and it seems to me that to essentials of our Christianity belong not the glitter and the purple but the caves of Kyïv's Lavra, ascetism and the sword of Zaporozhian Cossacks — the only order of the Christian Orthodox East, the only national Christian military republic of its kind.

Later, in another set of circumstances, but with an identical goal arose the Ukrainian Insurgent Army — an army of warriors for Ukraine and Christ. General T. Chuprynka placed this army under the protection of the Mother of God, following in the traditions of Zaporozhska Sich. Let us remember a legion of martyrs-ascetics Lypkivskiyi, Boretskyi, the Servant of God, the Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytskyi, Bishop M. Charnetskyi, and numberless others. Let us remember 500 women in Kingir who with religious and nationalistic songs on their lips died under the caterpillars of Russian tanks. No, the Christianity of the future Hellas (according to Herder) is more profound than the occidental form... Christianity is in man's experience; not only in teachings — because God's teachings are the same to everyone.

Suddenly a thought came to my mind: are there people, that is creatures with eternal souls, on other planets as well?! Maybe they are happier in their ethical experiences and maybe more blessed as well, because lacking original sin, the man-God did not have to redeem them?! Did the Jews crucify Christ on another planet too? This is certainly a profound theological question. Recently the Vatican Council passed a decree which freed the Jews of the blame for Christ's death. This is a matter for the Council; but I could not help asking myself: how does one reconcile the consciousness of a chosen people with the consciousness of a cursed people?! We were taught that God chose a given people in order that from among them there would come, as a man, the man-God, and later He punished that people with Diaspora because they did not accept that man-God.

At the moment when the Jews became completely blameless in the eyes of the Council, remembering the Hellenic greatness which prepared the foundation for Christianity, another thought occurred to me: maybe the hypothesis proposed earlier is true — that the man-God was not of the Jewish people, that He was of non-Jewish tribe, and maybe because of this the end has come to both the "choseness" and the curse?! And maybe the time will come when at some future Council there will come a further conclusion from an already accepted scheme: that the Jews of that day also considered Christ to be an alien in the national sense? And that he was not born among them and that this nation was never chosen by God?! Nothing final has been said about this matter by the Council because for two thousand years the prescribed treatment of Jews was different from what has now been adopted by the Council.

And if seemingly undisputed texts were not correctly interpreted, including the obvious "His Blood on us and our children!", then can we categorically maintain that the human nature of the man-God is necessarily of Jewish origin? And then too, the world of ideas of the Old Testament with its hedonistic aspects is in such contrast with the New Testament that it seems to me that Plato's world of

ideas, a product of a great mind and an unsurpassed metaphysical and ethical idealist, is a hundred times nearer to the New Testament. Therefore, one could consider him as the idea-forerunner, philosopher-prophet of Christianity rather than the authors of certain sections of the Old Testament. There is proof of this — especially in the Gospel of St. John! In it the teachings of Christ are presented unsurpassably in all their divine greatness. There are a number of things in it that are close to Plato and the Stoics in the human sphere, in the sphere of people of Apollonian type — not of Dionysian, to whom the Old Testament is closer! In the teachings of the great minds of Hellas there is no revenge, no sensual passion, no sexual paeans, no extolments of that which Christ's faith and morality try to overcome. In my understanding, Plato is nearer to us Christians, than Jewish religious teachings.

*

We are approaching Rome, nearing the centre of what is called occidental Christianity. The monumental greatness of Rome, the metropolis of a bygone empire, overpowers Athens. The arch-cathedral, the Basilica of St. Peter, the largest and the most splendid in the world, puts Constantinople's St. Sophia in the shadow. But Constantinople's St. Sophia, in its originality, Christian mysticism, profound spiritualism, is nearer and dearer to us. It is less earthly, less glittering outwardly, and for some reason it seems closer to God... And how real is the parallel between ancient Hellas and ancient Rome! Completely analogical — as between occidental Roman and oriental Greek Christianity. But then, the manysidedness of integral Christianity come together into a harmonious whole. In its purest forms, the monastic spirit came to the West from the East and the Eastern Fathers greatly enriched theological thought while striving for a complete contemplation of Christian truths.

Our thoughts found live evidence when, while still enraptured by ancient Hellas and the Hagia Sophia, we unexpectedly found the "Studion" — the monastery of the Studite monks on the shores of Lake Albano. Here seven monks, under the direction of the Prime Archbishop, His Eminence Joseph, Cardinal Slipyi, began their monastic existence of penance, mortification, and sanctification, according to the precepts set forth by St. Theodore Studite. Here is laid the basis of our iconographical school. The monastery is also becoming the centre of spiritual practices.

The first monastery, "Studion" was built on the Bosphorus 1500 years ago. Its most famous abbot, St. Theodore Studite (759-826), revived monastic life in the East with his precepts (the "Typicon"). He encouraged all those who were being persecuted at the time, especially for honouring holy icons, to come to Ukraine. This was noted by His Eminence Joseph Cardinal Slipyi in his speech to the Pope.

Two hundred years later, in the famous Pecherska Lavra (Monastery of the Caves) in Kyïv, which had been founded by Metropolitan Ilarion and St. Anthony Petcherskyi, the abbot, St. Theodosius, introduced the Typicon of St. Theodore Studite. As a result of this, this monastery became the spiritual, intellectual, and ecclesiastical centre and had an important influence on the public life of the realm of Kyïv. According to the traditions of the Holy Cross Society monasteries, the Studite order is subject to the head of the archdiocese, and not directly to the Vatican.

The "Studion" is to become in Rome what it once was in Constantinople because the organisation of the Studite order has not changed; only at this time the most convenient place of settlement for the Studite fathers is Rome, as was stated by the Prime Archbishop in his epistle to the Studites on the feast of St. Anthony Petcherskyi (23/10 July, 1964) in the monastery of St. Theodore Studite on the shores of Lake Albano. In his attempt to draw nearer to Greek and ancient Kievan sources, church institutions, and traditions; in his plan for a patriarchy and the re-creation of the "Studion" from above the Bosphorus; and in his restoration of the "Typicon" of the monks of Kyïv's Pecherska Lavra and of St. Anthony and Theodosius Petcherskyi, the Prime Archbishop, quietly and without fanfare, proved himself a great catholic in the spiritually-religious sense.

A few more discussions with some of our bishops about the Patriarchy and the problems of the Vatican Council; some conversations about present political matters with some Italian politicians; a distribution of our declarations as to the problems of the Council to the international press accredited by the Council; a few more meetings with some foreign fathers of the Council and members of the representations of the ABN — and we are in Bonn, a large village of one of the economic powers of the world.

Spiritual claustrophobia, lack of the endless space which is so strongly felt on the Acropolis or on the mountainside of the "Studion" in Rome, an exclusively empirical point of view in political dealings, the absence of the elusive in politics which is more art than science — all this brought us down to earth, reminding us that people live more for the present than for the eternal. And it was sad to think that the proof of man's immortality and the striving of his soul towards the unknown were left somewhere beyond the horizon like a magic dream. Before us again the ordinary and the commonplace, so endlessly removed from the genius that built the pagodas of Bangkok, the Hagia Sophia, the Blue Mosque of Sultan Ahmad, the Parthenon, Athena Nike, the Pantheon, the Colosseum, the Basilica of St. Peter, our St. Sophia and Pecherska Lavra in Kyïv, and — reminiscences from the point of view of the eternal — the "Studion" on Lake Albano.

But still we are happy that there is someone who in this terrible era of hedonism and luxury on the one hand, and suffering and martyrdom on the other, did not forget people not of this world: SS. Anthony and Theodosius Petcherskyi, the great Metropolitan Ilarion, St. Theodore Studite, his followers of the last decades in Ukraine — the first Archimandrite of the revived Studite order, the Servant of God, Andrew, the Archimandrite Clement, brother of Metropolitan Andrew, both martyrs for Christ...

The Prime Archbishop stated in his above-mentioned epistle: "Maybe during these times it would be a good idea to begin our humble task with iconography which is forgotten and forbidden in the East... Showing Rome and the whole world the greatness of our icon, its piety, its heavenly anticipation, the Studites will find a sure way to their hearts and will regain for themselves their old respect and love..." And only someone who had been lucky enough to see hundreds of ancient icons in the Byzantine Museum in Athens, understands the profundity of this modest thought. But certainly each of us has seen the icon of the Mother of God of Vyshhorod, plundered from the Ukraine and renamed by the plunderers as "Vladimirska", and therefore each of us knows the delight taken in it by the Christian world. And we understand the importance of the task which, among many others, was given by the Prime Archbishop to the new Ukrainian "Studion" on the shores of Lake Albano — in Rome only for the time being.

It is a good thing that there is someone among the Ukrainians and people of this world who reminds men of things not of this world, not only in words, but by deeds. This could be done only by someone who suffered for 18 years in the empire of the anti-Christ, in prison and concentration camps — the Prime Archbishop, a Ukrainian, who, unbroken by tortures, is a great proof of the invincibility of the Ukrainian spirit, of strength of character, and of firmness of faith in God and Country.

Before us is a unique duty: to permeate the present with the eternal, to see the present in the mirror of eternity and in this sense to shape it.

IVAN FRANKO

(1856-1916)

Translated by VERA RICH

Prison Sonnets

I

This is the house of weeping, sighing, grieving,
The nest of woe, corruption, torment, anguish!
Who comes within must clench his teeth, and languish,
All thought, all speech, and all desiring leaving.

They weed the cockle from the wheat, yet sow there
At the same time new cockle at their pleasure;
The right and truth by paragraphs they measure,
Yet wrong and untruth without measure flow there.

They stand for principles, yet spurn, ignoring,
The principle of all principles, the speech pouring
From man's heart, will, thought, like rags torn and scanty.

You, fallen in this pit-fall, who are craving
To find here human sense, aim and behaving:
Lasciate ogni speranza, proclaimed Dante!

16. ix. 1889

II

“Hard is the road to righteousness, and narrow” —
Somewhere this text is found in Holy Scripture.
But, having known the entrance to this barren
Prison, with all my might I spurn this dictum.

Firstly, the lobby, like a foetid burrow,
And creaking door to passage cramped, constricted,
From there you pass along a narrow crypt, and
There lies the yard, an empty, muddy furrow.

And in the yard a soldier is patrolling,
And in the lobbies — guards and gloomy warders,
Like shades the prisoners tramp their weary circle.

The way is hard, but does it lead to holy
Right? Ask those who within these walls know torment!
Count up the tears that daily ever trickle.

16. ix. 1889

III

Well, they have listed us, as if dumb creatures,
Name and age, and height and every feature,
Hair, eyes, teeth, every detail, they remark it —
Now to Vienna they'll drive us to market.

Well, bandit-like they've stripped us down to starkness:
All pockets, clothing, our whole selves, completely,
Of knives, tobacco, valuables depleted,
As if a Turkish bath-house were our target!

Well, we have been picked clean. Fools! Fools! However,
With us our knives and valuables linger;
You cannot steal them with your bandits fingers!

And in the State Apartments they have placed us,
And with the choicest compliments have graced us!
Parlour, refectory and pri — together!

16. ix. 1889

IV

I sit in jail like hunter in a lair,
 And every beast across my view goes slinking,
 And does not fear, nor turn from me in shrinking,
 And each reveals his talents and his flair.

The fox, a chief, has shed his pious air,
 The wolf, no songster — murderer unblinking,
 The bear, a flayer, ruthless and blood-drinking,
 For jest and drums and dancing has no care.

Here all is naked, clear without dissemblance;
 It seems that, uniform or frock-coat shedding,
 They likewise laid aside their human semblance.

And in my lair I hope my slender arrows,
 And stretch my bowstring taut and poised and ready,
 So, beasts, beware! My aim will know no error.

9. ix. 1889

V

You want to know of prison life, how ever
 We pass the time. Most patriarchal customs!
 Like children of a thrifty house, together
 With chicken-roosting time, to bed we bustle,

But we can't sleep. Nothing to say whatever,
 So we keep quiet. Only a sudden rustle
 Of sighing. Eight o'clock and nine we weather...
 Then Herson* knocks the walls as if to bust 'em

And climbs up to the window. "Deacon, went 'ee
 To sleep?" "No." "Pass the sign, then, to the Knacker,
Mir wellen eppes machen düll den Mente!"**

Knock! Knock! upon the wall. They talk in mutters...
 The guard goes by, stops, turns to face the shutter —
 Then from the right a shout: "A pinch of baccy!"

17. ix. 1889

*) A horse-thief. (I. F.)

***) In criminal jargon, this means: "Let us annoy the soldiers a bit." (I. F.)

VI

"Won't you be quiet", the warder shouts, and rushes
With all his might to where the shout was ringing.
"Rachmil, Rachmil!" The left side's now beginning, —
Once more the guard runs, swears till heaven blushes.

"Just wait, I'll teach you how to shout. You'll rue it!"
But long before he's found the source of trouble,
Herson's become a cat and started mewling,
And someone on the right crows: "Cock-a-doodle!"

From every window shouts come thick as hail,
"Old goat-skins!" "Narky!" "*Rich da'n Tat'n aran.*"*
The warder stops short like a slaughtered ram,

And sudden all is silent as death's portals.
Who? What's the trouble? None can tell the tale!
Such are our evening musical recitals.

17. ix. 1889

VII

Night. In the cell all are asleep. They snore.
And dark has come. Only the peep-hole, blinking
Like a star with its one weak eye, is winking
As if to sneer: "Well, there you are, for sure!"

Somewhere a hatch creaks, hinges grinding, chinking;
The rain is plopping, great drops beat and roar
In the spout, and the spout is sadly clinking
The wall, as though to break the bonds it wore.

No, you will not break free! Iron hooks surrounds you
And grasp you firm; the warders all around you
Like dogs beneath the window prowl with stealth.

You'll not break free! Despair's cry fades to dumbness,
Hands fall as heavy weakness overcomes them...
To sleep, to sleep, even the sleep of death! . .

17. ix. 1889

*) Devil take your father.

VIII

But hardly has sleep overcome our eyelids
 Than straight the midnight watch will make it vanish;
 The corridor's a-thunder, locks are grinding
 On the doors — in mid-sleep, you think "They're clanging

The fire-alarm! You start awake — but no,
 Sir Turnkey enters with his lamp, he peers
 At the bars (are they sound and strong?), the stove,
 Slop-pail and bunks, and then he disappears.

The padlock grinds, the bandits go forth, able
 To plunder on, one cell after another,
 Like Lopotov's war in the old fable.

They've stolen sleep from weary eyes, affording
 No chance for gnawing care to drowse in slumber —
 But what of that? The bars are in good order!

IX

And, long before the clock strikes five next morning,
 Lopotov's glorious army comes rat-tatting;
 It's "slopping-out" time. If you know what that is —
 Good God, myself I don't know how to draw it.

"Tut-tut!" The aesthetes quickly shout their warning;
 "See how these poor benighted numbskills chatter!
 Wherever they find nasty, dirty matters
 They thrust them into sonnets, never scorning.

Petrarch, forsooth, will turn within his tomb!"
 Well, let him turn! He wore fine silks upon him,
 He bore his sword, he dwelt in palace rooms.

Hence there is beauty, splendour in his sonnets,
 And much of it. But we live in the sewer,
 So how can finer decor be assured.

X

Once we were in a fine Ukrainian mansion
In days of youth, in days of love and fortune,
Reading "What's to be done?", and soon our talking
Turned to the future, the unknown, unfathomed.

My burning dithyrambs could not endure
When ladies of the house with me disputed.
"Work for the common good! Why, that imputes that
You'd have to clean the privies and the sewer!"

The ladies could not know this world wide, pressing
Question would find from Austria its solution.
The jail commode — what a fine contribution!

Privy and furniture it is together!
You take it and you empty it with profit
Upon the field, or in the cess-pool toss it.

17. ix. 1889

XI

We get up early, wash our faces sweetly,
Get dressed and smooth the bedclothes into place,
An then we scour the cell with sand so neatly,
And then, there's just — — to pace, and pace, and pace...

Just six steps to, six fro before all space
Starts spinning; but for three — — too small completely;
Two walk, but one must sit down in that case,
If he stand, one of us must sit down meekly.

Once, back in Boryslav, there was a cave-in
Of earth, two oil-men underneath: three timbers
Above them formed a narrow roof as haven.

They had one pipe, and tears of water oozing:
One sucked the drips, one smoked a bit....
Seven days and nights! We've learned the same in prison.

(To be continued.)

PRIZE-WINNING POEMS IN THE IVAN FRANKO MEMORIAL COMPETITION*

NOTES ON THE AUTHORS

Vera Arlett has published nine volumes of poetry and sixty-four plays. She has won numerous awards, including the 1931 Lyric Poetry Medal from the University of Liverpool. She is a member of International P.E.N., the Society of Women Writers, the Religious Drama Society, etc. She lives in Sussex.

Anne Marx was born in Heidelberg where her father held a distinguished post at the University; studied medicine at the universities of Heidelberg and Berlin, and emigrated to the United States in the 1930s. She has published four books of poetry: one during her student days in Germany and three in English. In 1966 she won the Greenwood prize, the highest award of the (British) Poetry Society. She is a member of the Poetry Society of America (of which she is an officer of the Executive Board), the National Association of American Pen Women and of many other academic and literary societies.

Hugh McKinley describes himself as "farmer, opera singer, accountant, salesman, editor, writer and poet". He has recently retired to a remote island in the Greek archipelago to find the necessary solitude to complete his current major work on the life and works of the great Irish poet, W. B. Yates.

Edna Bartholomew was a teacher after taking an honours degree in English at the University of Leeds. She writes poetry and articles, is a member of the Middlesbrough 20-plus Poetry Group and the Middlesbrough Writers Circle. She lives in Yorkshire, partly in her cottage in the West Riding, partly on the coast, and has published in a number of journals.

Wallace Winchell is an American poet living in Connecticut and has been writing poetry for some time. He has published in many magazines in the United States and is also well known as a writer of children's hymns. He is a member of the Poetry Society of America.

*) See *The Ukrainian Review*, No. 1, 1967, pp. 58-62.

VERA ARLETT

(3rd place in over-all judging)

Captivity

While cramped limbs suffer in a prison cell,
And my mind wanders, hurt and uncontrolled,
A faint hope whispers, "All may yet be well",
Though thoughts turn bleakly to the final mould;
The dust and ashes of a wasted life;
The dust and ashes of its ugly end;
Better, far better, perish in the strife,
Or give sweet life a hostage for a friend.
And for a Cause, how many men have died,
For some Idea, far greater than they knew!
But by their dying, they have sanctified
What seemed to others only partly true.
But shut away from the strong heart of things
I have no song. My spirit has no wings.

Freedom

I waited for the light, and light has come.
I hungered for the earth, and earth is here.
I longed to live again in Man's true home
The world, — without the gnawing ghoul of fear.
The world, — without the loss of joy, Man's friend,
Who should companion him on life's hard way;
Once more I claim my right to work, and end
The half-life of the prisoner's darkened day.
But others wait. I dedicate my time
To break their bars, to shatter door and grill;
Caught in the halting cadence of a rhyme
Is my unshaken hope, my iron will.
All I can do, I must; and strive to free
Those who are lost to life and liberty.

MATCHED PAIR CLASS

(Judged by Vera Rich)

The first prize in this class went to Marjorie Baldwin, the over-all winner, whose poems appeared in *The Ukrainian Review*, No. 1, 1967. The second prize went to Anne Marx whose two poems appear below.

ANNE MARX

I

A Man Speaks: Captive in Freedom

Hear me, my neighbours, try to see my face
beneath these features you can recognize
like landmarks of your town. I watch your eyes
accept me as a fixture in its place,
slide over me, leaving without a trace
of real rapport; and though none would despise
me for myself, my kind would jeopardize
that last resort, a shell you call your race.

I plead for us, a world become so small
it needs all voices raised in brotherhood,
to heed each cry, to suffer every fate,
lest freedom die within. O may my call
summon your hearts to save our common good
before grim death makes us desegregate.

II

A Man Speaks: Free in Captivity

Through prison bars, you jailers, view my face
disfigured by your fists, and recognize
a spirit undestroyed! Gouge out my eyes;
wrench off this tongue: eloquent, in their place,
shed blood will speak. Free men shall trace
its source, and generations shall despise
the deed. No violence can jeopardize
freedom for all within the human race.

Brothers outside this cell, in space too small
for any force but love and brotherhood,
shake off your shackles soon, or seal your fate
by mute surrender. The last trumpet call
will summon each, the evil and the good
whom God alone will know and segregate.

FREEDOM CLASS

(Judged by Joan Murray Simpson)

The first prize in this class went to Marjorie Baldwin, the over-all winner. The second prize was awarded to Hugh McKinley whose "Freedom" poem appears below.

HUGH MCKINLEY

Freedom From

There is so little light can filter through the window,
High in the wall it barely would let through my hand.
I read the world while daylight lives; the moon at night,
If the moon shows. For this square cell is next the death block.
I in solitary — nor window ledge that I might feed
Birds with my crumbs; I leave but few, all foods are scarce;
One pound of bread per day, a can of beans, and water.
Exercise taken alone. It's then they search my cell,
Looking for hidden letters, messages, mirror-fragments —
Imagining I'd flash outside my thoughts of justice
They've judged me guilty of. Programme of justice and peace
Strangely comparable to their issued and their public aims —
So different from the practice, that I'm here immured;
To keep discrepancy hidden away, I'm in for life.
Popular condemnation being ultimate, there's no appeal;
Damned by my equals here I atrophy, denied society,
Public expression and professional life. Yet free my thoughts —
My spirit mounts the walls, quits window with the owls,
The dawning larks, and space-demanding all that soar.
No books nor papers; reading and all writing craft refused,
I grow a tiny seed of sesame, plucked off my bread,
Growing its roots in pease pulse mixed with dust. A bounty —
One rainy day the guards left tracks, and I could save
That earth to feed my garden plant. They laugh and ask me
What has been my worth; from university and school forbid;
My writings banned, my books destroyed, and party writers
Set to counter-tomes of verbose refutation.
I say — speaking is lately granted me — that I
Have sown a living seed outside, as have I here;
And leave the rain and sun to foster it; powerless
To change. Making my unrecorded thought my kingdom
And subject, I begin to see vaster systems
Than the one I drew, here on floor, the stone,
Bed-board of the cell; in between the bricks
Making sloped wall of my exercise-pit. Colour —
The sky —, scudding clouds, sun wind and stars.

Thinking of these, my part of life lived out so well:
 Two children, lovely wife, and family widely spread,
 My human family all around the world embraced
 Each day, each hour I compass them. Content with now,
 By being, to refute their charges; stay their threats.
 I negate philosophy of nothingness — I live.

FRANKIANA CLASS

(Judged by Volodymyr Bohdaniuk)

The first prize was awarded to Edna Bartholomew for her two poems, "By Nature Captive" and "By Nature Free". The second prize was won by Wallace Winchell for his poem "Out of the Dayless Pit".

Edna Bartholomew

By Nature Captive

Life broods within the bud's confining sheath,
 imprisoned by harsh inherent nature; embryo
 leaves impotent to breathe
 free air in green melody.

But within protecting bonds, the ceaseless
 delicate pattern of growth
 responds to the ultimate,
 waiting, working, infinitesimally moving, until
 sheath and bud in unison break
 into the canticle of completion,
 harmonised with the elements.

Foliage now free to mature
 is captive yet to the fine mosaic of community,
 one with the tree, a larger symmetry, a vaster being.
 Tendril-edged, the leaves
 recede or spread, exert no tyranny, yield
 to the vital surging sweep of pattern, grow
 with the design ordained.

Born of the human tree, no man escapes
from fetters which refine, mould, gather
into greatness here, yet there, form an iron vice,
crippling the soul, quenching the light,
killing the urge for growth.
So freedom thrusts on man the hard compulsion
of breaking bonds
when bonds no longer shield, but hamper.

All nature's manifold forms struggle for freedom —
the struggle is the life-blood.
Dark months the chrysalis lies mute, awaiting,
as dead, the miracle of life —
dead, without the forceful
shattering of the loved warm shell,
the dear, accustomed habitat.

Man too may spread undreamed-of wings,
when courage breaks the outworn shell; breathe
keen air of other levels,
and venture, thrall to life's compelling vision,
into lands of joy. For they are blest who,
accepting chains that liberty may live,
in true freedom, are captive to the highest.

By Nature Free

To be free — like a mountain stream,
flowing in rugged delight, a symphony
with air, rock, flower and dipping tree,
hastening in rapture to the sea, home.

Ah yes, to the beholding eye, epitome of freedom; but only
as it accepts the form allotted, obeying willingly
the urge of gravity's poise, the ceaseless
fretting needs of hard frustrating earth; only
as it gives of its essence freely,
baptising the flowers, feeding the ferns, the trees,
lingering where it must, loving the bank that impedes,
lapping the pebbles, rippling chords of smooth music,
showering beauty where rock compels
into instant rush, devastating leap into liberty.

Brook and man, in the universal stream, each grasp
at a given course, seize on impediments,
and transform —
so reaching the apex of freedom, wresting sustenance
for the unseen inner core, eloquent dissimilitude;
freedom to be what we shall be,
forbidden to roam on other paths
than that of our own free choosing.
Ever in freedom's hard slavery, to fight
against slavery, the cankering worm within,
duel with the infinite,
the dumb clamour of custom without, the vile residue
of the dregs of tradition;
only so, in the endless striving, comes
the peace that pervades the free.

WALLACE WINCHELL

Captivity and Freedom

I. Out of the Dayless Pit

I go down and the deep is bottomless.
Corruption gnaws and ulcerates my skin.
The bars have closed around me and the weeds
Wrap themselves all in thorns around my forehead.
Life meant to be more free than sea-gulls crying,
White gulls with underwings pinked in the sunrise
Sliding upwind and circling out to sea,
Has turned to windowless and doorless iron.
Hands leprous with contagion claw at me
And voiceless one with none to plead their cause
In strangled accents gibbering out in pain
Sigh for my lungs and lips, my teeth, my tongue
To make articulate the unspoken crimes
Against the people — and to be a voice
For the defeated, dying and disfranchised.

But I am here inside this murky hell:
The dead, the living are penned here and those
Who languish in between the dead and living,
Half-men, half-shadow in one living tomb.

We are the living dead who have no hope.
Out of the dayless pit we call. We die here
Slow-gasping, whimpering. Decades or days back
We breathed good air alive with wind and sun,
Felt the flower softness on a woman's cheek
Or watched the light dance in our children's eyes.

I rot with these in irons and afflictions
And what do I have now but unheard words?
For words are all a human being has
To stand up to inhuman hells like this one
When they have taken daughter, son, wife, friend,
Taken away warbler and woodland song,
My daybreak and my purpling hills at sundown
All for my political opposition!

Bend wide this iron grate with these poor words!
Bring down the eaves of puppet parliaments
Where human forms — spreadeagle — hang out dying
With these pale seeding words! Let words go out
Like winged seeds along the broken earth,
Like sea-gulls crying in the mist and morning
Forever to the frothing and hoarse breakers,
Forever free among the skies and seas:
But who is there to hear such words as these?

CAPTIVITY CLASS

(Judged by Robert Armstrong)

The first and second prize in this class were won, respectively, by Marjorie Baldwin and Sheila Dalton-Cybulnyk, who won the 1st and 2nd prizes in the over-all placing and whose poems appeared in *The Ukrainian Review*, No. 1, 1967.

Book Review

A CLEAR VISION OF COLD WAR

NO VISION HERE, Non-Military Warfare in Britain, by D. G. Stewart-Smith
(Foreign Affairs Publishing Co. Ltd., Petersham, Surrey, England).

When it is agreed that a Cold-War exists, all parties are waging "cold-warfare." It is an undeniable truth that the world today is divided into a Free World and a Communist-Russian dominated world. The non-free world is characterized by totalitarian Communism and Russian imperialism. Both of these movements are expansionist and aggressive. But, today, because the major powers possess nuclear weapons, Russians know well that they will not achieve much in a direct military confrontation. Therefore, they employ the widest range of means to advance their imperialistic aims, which they call Cold War, or 'peaceful coexistence.'

D. G. Stewart-Smith, in his latest book, surveys the non-military warfare in Britain as directed against Russian imperialism and Communism. In the Introduction he declares that the alternative to Communism is human solidarity of the free and independent peoples, and because of the nuclear stalemate the contemporary world conflict should be resolved by other than "hot-warfare" means. The author's view of the conflict is lucid: "The greatest ideological struggle the world has ever seen." His whole survey is expressed in the title, NO VISION HERE and in the sentence: "The internal challenge in Britain is not primarily Communism, but an appalling apathy about the subject." And then, "The resulting paralyzing lack of interest has produced a widespread ignorance on the subject... This failure to pull over weight is the breeding ground for defeatism and Munich-mindedness."

The book is comprehensive. It deals with British public opinion, political parties, the Labour Government, Parliament, institutions like B.B.C. and the British Council and the

various private groups. The concluding chapter is entitled: *A Return to Morality*. Mr. Stewart-Smith makes some excellent observations. British "foreign policy makers", he says, "are suffering from a contemporary form of Maginot Line-mindedness. They must be made to realize that the best way to defend the long-term British national interest is to assist foreign nationals in overthrowing expansionist and imperialist regimes in their own countries", and further: "those who seek and strive for freedom in Iron Curtain countries are engaged in a war on two fronts; at home against compromisers and appeasers, and abroad against International Communism itself." Mr. Stewart-Smith understands well that Russian imperialism and Communism can be destroyed by national revolutions of all the enslaved peoples, e.g. Ukrainians, Turkestanians, Georgians, Azerbaijanians, Byelorussians, the Baltic peoples, East-Germans, Slovaks, Hungarians and many others. He says: "...political warfare is only a preliminary phase to an eventual internal resort to arms..." Finally, he proposes several defensive and offensive measures necessary to implement a proper national liberation policy, among which are: "to carry out political warfare from abroad in liaison with democratic, anti-Communist opposition movements in Communist countries with a view to fostering the elimination of Communism and the establishment of democracy. To finance the work of responsible anti-Communist opposition movements operating in Communist countries."

The ABN has been advocating similar views for 25 years, namely that the nations enslaved by the Russian empire and Communism are

their Achilles' heel. The 110 million of the non-Russian peoples within the U.S.S.R. and the other tens of millions in other Communist dominated

countries are the greatest potential enemy of Communism in the centre of which lies Ukraine with 45 million people. A. W. BEDRIY

ACROSS TIME AND DISTANCE

Marjorie Baldwin, *THE SLAIN UNICORN*, Outposts Publications, 28 pp., 6/-, 1965; *POEMS AND TRANSLATIONS*, The Fortune Press, 48 pp., 10/6, 1964.

It is not usual, as readers of *The Ukrainian Review* will know, for English poetry to be reviewed in these pages; an exception, however must be made for these, the two most recent books from the pen of Marjorie Baldwin, winner of the Ivan Franko Memorial Competition.

Although, until recently, when she began to read Franko's works in English translation to prepare herself for the composing of her competition entry, Miss Baldwin had no contact with or knowledge of Ukrainian literature, her work has much in it that will be of immediate appeal to Ukrainians. In her long poem, *The Village*, a description of peasant life in the Ardennes, we see the same insight and understanding of those who live close to the soil, that Franko shows in *The Hired Hand* and *The Lord's Jest*s. Her poetry is rooted in the Sussex countryside where she was born and grew up; from it she draws her inspiration, often with an almost folk-song simplicity, rare indeed in modern English poetry:

Three geese flying
Close to the sea
Rhyme and rhyme
Inevitably.

Three geese flying,
Pulsing day
Red cliffs bind
A striding bay.

Three geese flying
Into the past,
Gone without striking
Words to last.

Yet her poems are at the same time pervaded with a deep awareness of philosophical and religious truth... linked with an awareness of the

beauty and truth of the simplicity of life, the simplicity of the child and the peasant. In *A Children's Hymn For Trinity Tide*, in the lovely fragment of *Jacques and Emilie*, and in *A Bird in the Garden*, the truth of the philosopher and the truth of the child are beautifully balanced and counterpointed.

If Miss Baldwin's poetry has not in the past received the recognition it undoubtedly deserves, the fault is surely that of the current fashions in poetry, that would discard truth, sincerity and artistic skill in favour of the "gimmick", the "way-out" or the "uninhibited and shocking." It seems incredible, to the true lover of poetry, that work of Miss Baldwin's standard should not have won prize after prize; yet, except for minor competitions run by the Nottingham Poetry Society, Miss Baldwin's most outstanding success so far has been an award of "Magna Cum Laude" in the *North American Mentor Contest for Poetry* in 1965. It has been left to the Ukrainian people, with their well-known love for and appreciation of the poets of their own land, to honour a poet whose work is so akin in spirit to their own great masters. Since winning the Franko Competition, Miss Baldwin has continued her study of Ukrainian poetry (in English translation); we look forward, therefore, to her next book, whenever it may appear, for a poet who already seems so akin to the traditions of Ukrainian poetry, inspired by the true poetic insight which transcends time and distance, will surely, as her knowledge of Ukrainian literature and traditions increases, bring new and valuable additions to the already growing corpus of *Ukrainica* in English belles-lettres.

Vera RICH

ENGLISH REFLECTION OF PRINCE MAZEPA

Theodore Mackiw, Prof. of the University of Akron; *PRINCE MAZEPA, HETMAN OF UKRAINE, IN CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH PUBLICATIONS*. Chicago, Ukrainian Research and Information Institute, 1967. 126 p., illustr. List of bibliography, appendices.

Prof. George W. Knepper's statement to the effect that Dr. Mackiw has performed a major feat of historical research in the preparation of the book under review is as poignant as it is accurate. The author certainly deserves the credit for his remarkable job. It is my belief that those who happen to read the finished product of his labours that took many years of meticulous research of variety of materials, widely and casually scattered in European and American Libraries, will agree with the opinion expressed above. The work now presented in a book form cannot fail in what it actually offers — a fine, well grounded as well as verified result of a minute, painstaking scholarly effort. As a matter of fact, it constitutes an organized selection of pertinent data according to the multitude of source material, served to the reader in due coherence with as little interpretation as possible.

Dr Mackiw, Prof. of the Univ. of Akron, a noted historian of Ukrainian descent, modestly refers to his substantial work as just an essay made possible by a post-doctoral research at Yale University. Its sole purpose, he says, is the presentation of contemporary English sources concerning Mazepa (which includes diaries, memoirs, diplomatic reports of English eyewitnesses, numerous articles in magazines and newspapers) and an analysis of the same as far as historical facts are concerned. Although press reports (*The Daily Courant*, *The London Gazette*, *Monthly Register*, *The Boston News-Letter*, etc.) of the investigated period (1687-1709) in particular, Mackiw further specifies, cannot be considered prime historical sources, they nevertheless may serve as a barometer of English public opinion of the time and help to explain various facts and circumstances of this crucial phase. The reader should be reminded that this

was significant era in history of Ukraine when her Chief of State, Ivan Mazepa, courageously fighting the Muscovite imperialism, had been again catapulted into the international focus, as was the case a few decades earlier with Hetman of Ukraine, Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, who met with success in the struggle of his country for independence from Poland.

The author undertook no easy task of objectively depicting Mazepa, the Chief Executive of Ukraine in early 18th cent., considering many conflicting attitudes toward such a prominent political figure of the time. He felt a keen need to dismantle all kinds of notorious versions of Mazepa, as e. g. "love affair's beau" (mainly forged by Hetman's adversaries), in order to arrive at a true image of the great historical personality based upon well established evidence. No lesser figure than that of a prudent, noble and determined freedom fighter against Peter's Muscovite despotism and Tsar's ruthless rule over Ukraine could have actually emerged. The overwhelming testimony of English eyewitnesses (e.g., diaries of General Patrick Gordon, statements by civil engineer John Perry, or opinions of English envoy Lord Charles Whitworth) counterbalances such malicious fabrications as those of Mazepa's personal enemy, Polish writer Jan C. Pasek, called "an incredible liar" by A. Brueckner, historian of Polish literature. Tsar Peter's brand of "traitor" affixed to Mazepa, his staunch political antagonist and subsequently ally of Swedish King Charles XII, does not stand a test of history either.

Besides showing Hetman of Ukraine in proper perspective, especially in his encounter with Tsar Peter in the battle of Poltava (July 7, 1709) on the Swedish side, Mackiw contributed in several other ways to that ever actual Mazepa study. So far one of the best works on this subject is the extensive

monography in Ukrainian, "Hetman Ivan Mazepa and His Era" by Prof. Alexander Ohloblyn under auspices of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, published in New York by the Organization for Defence of Four Freedoms of Ukraine and the Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation, in 1960. The name of Mazepa, it must be added, attained a symbolical meaning for the Ukrainians, identical with their national aims in the centuries long struggles of many generations for Ukraine's freedom and independence from Russia.

Mackiw's contribution to the subject includes the new detail to the biography of Mazepa, namely the fact that he was granted the title of Prince by the Austrian Emperor Joseph I on September 1, 1707. Mackiw also supplied evidence as to the correct spelling of the name Mazepa with only one "p" instead of double "p", as has been widely accepted. Numerous photostats showing the front pages of contemporary press dealing with Mazepa, maps and other illustrations, particularly an authentic portrait of Mazepa from the German monthly magazine "Die Europäische Fama" (1706), add considerably to the value of his work. Prof. Mackiw also establishes beyond any reasonable doubt that the date 1639 should be accepted as the year of Mazepa's birth, the circumstance which, as we know, caused much academic discussion. Mazepa died on October 2, 1709, reaching 70 years of age.

After all is said, there are but few critical remarks that one may have about the book, in retrospect. Let us point out some of them for author's possible consideration in the event of a future edition of his work. We think that the brief outline of the history of the English press, as not necessarily integral part of the book, could be easily omitted or brought to essentials, to the advantage of the whole. Other remarks concern the terminology somehow indiscriminately used in the book. The term "Russia", to avoid the confusion, should be replaced by "Muscovy" wherever it belongs. There is also no need for the researcher to use occasionally the

title "Great" in connection with Tsar Peter. Muscovy (comp. "Muscovitica", J. B. Homan's "Neuer Atlas über die ganze Welt", Nuremberg, 1714) became officially the empire of Russia after Nystad Treaty of 1721. And it was only during the subsequent session of the Russian Senate that Tsar Peter was conferred upon the title of "Great" by his Russian subordinates. The fact of being merely conqueror of a number of non-Russian territories and destroyer of traditional ways of life within Muscovy, whereby contributing nothing in the sense of universal values, certainly does not justify his title to greatness. Attila, Genghis Khan or Hitler deserve the title as well. It would be much more proper to say that, on the basis of all the burdensome evidence against him, Tsar Peter, along with his earlier predecessor Ivan the Terrible, placed himself among the greatest barbarians in the history of the world. His cruelty remains a well known fact (Peter is responsible for murdering thousands of Ukrainian inhabitants of Mazepa's capital Baturyn for their resistance to Russian siege; there also circulated in his days the popular saying that "Petersburg was built on the bones of innumerable Ukrainian Cosacks").

A more appropriate use of the term "Ukraine" goes without the article "the" whenever "the state" as national unit, independent or autonomous, rather than the geographical unit is in question. It is high time to do away once and for all with the faulty misrepresentation of the nation by its geographical ersatz that "the Ukraine" implies. Let it be known absolutely clear to the world that Ukraine constitutes a nation and not just an administrative or geographical entity, in case the world is still not cognizant of the fact.

Even with those few imperfections, insignificant in relation to the subject matter, Dr. Mackiw's work deserves commendation for its thorough, impeccable, scholarly presentation.

Dr. Roman V. Kuchar

EUROPEAN FREEDOM COUNCIL FORMED

Representatives of free and subjugated European nations met in Munich during the week-end June 30 — July 2, and resolved to establish the European Freedom Council, a coordinating body for the organizations fighting Communism.

The Conference elected an Executive Board with the following members: President — Mr. Ole Björn Kraft; Chairmen — Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko and Mr. Ivan Matteo Lombardo; two members — Mr. Theodor Oberländer and Mr. John Graham.

Mr. Kraft is a former Foreign Minister of Denmark, former Vice-President of the European Council and of the Danish Parliament.

Mr. Stetzko is former Prime Minister of Ukraine and President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

Mr. Lombardo is former Minister of Foreign Trade, and former General-Secretary of the Italian Socialist Party, and Vice-President of the Atlantic Treaty Association.

Mr. Oberländer is a member of the Christian Democratic Party and a former member of the German Federal Government with special responsibilities for refugee matters.

Mr. Graham is editor of *Anglo-Ukrainian News* and a member of the British Labour Party.

The Conference also elected a Committee of Information under the Chairmanship of Suzanne Labin, an internationally-known author and journalist, holder of Prix de la Liberté and expert on East European affairs. The other members of the Committee are the Marquis de Valdeiglesias of Madrid and Prof. Ferdinand Durčansky, former Foreign Minister of the Slovak Republic.

The main aims of the European Freedom Council are to coordinate and intensify anti-Communist activity in Europe and to give support to the cause of the subjugated peoples in the Soviet Russian empire.

RESOLUTIONS

of a meeting of Ukrainians from Southern Sweden and Denmark in Malmö, on 20th May, 1967, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

After listening to speeches about the situation in Ukraine, about the international political situation, the rôle and significance of the fight of UPA and ABN, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of their foundation during the fight against the Moscow-Bolshevik counter-revolution, about the crimes of genocide and inhumanity, Ukrainians from Southern Sweden and Denmark assembled in Malmö on the 20th May 1967, have resolved to:

1. Send expression of solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Ukrainian nation and of enslaved nations incorporated in ABN for independence;

2. To greet from the bottom of their hearts the Ukrainian clandestine Christian Churches in their heroic, martyrlike fight against the belligerent atheism forcibly spread by Moscow in Ukraine and in other countries;

3. To express their complete support of and solidarity with the liberation movement of ABN and pride of the success of its efforts in foreign policy, particularly in Copenhagen and Stockholm, the climax of which was the honouring of Hetman I. Mazepa, who, in alliance with King Charles XII fought a liberation war against the Muscovite tyranny and the unlawful occupation perpetrated by Peter I, the murderer of nations. The impetus towards unification of the new chivalrous combatant spirit of revolutionary action of the West with the militant forces of OUN and ABN in the spirit of re-born unity of the two previously mentioned heroic figures — the great hetman and the great king — indicates the way for the organisation of the new world movement of unity of heroic, patriotic and nationalistic forces of Christianity, represented by Kiev against anti-Christian and anti-national misanthropic forces of Moscow;

4. The clash between Kiev and Moscow through the armed revolt of the three regiments consisting of Ukrainian soldiers in March 1917 in Petrograd led to the abolition of the tsarist rule and the Muscovite empire in general, and is a historic merit of the Ukrainian national ideal and arms, thanks to their initiative rôle in the forming of a united front of nations;

5. After the appalling genocide, terror unknown to the history of mankind, extermination by mass hunger of fighters for freedom and independence, the destruction of Churches and, in general, the attempts to impose Moscow's herd-like way of life, and the trampling upon the dignity and rights of man by Moscow with the help of Hitler's criminal policy during the 2nd World War as well as the support of Allies against the two-front war in Ukraine, which had been conducted by UPA 25 years ago and from 1943 in the joint front with other revolutionary liberation formations of other nations, organised

by ABN, Moscow succeeded in putting new nations of Europe, Asia, America and Africa under its yoke. In such an international situation the present struggle of the enslaved countries for independence saves the still free world from the criminal Russian invaders, unrivalled in history;

6. Ukraine, and other enslaved nations, particularly our younger generation, has began the mass political and ideological attack on the Muscovite Bolshevik tyranny in the 1960's and we bow our heads before the new successful fight of Ukraine, which still on 30th June, 1941, once more documented its desire for an independent way of life. We give our full support to that fight and we urge the entire free world to render an all-round support in its own interest, to organise a joint anti-Muscovite and anti-communist front. We are appealing to the Christian Churches of the free world to avoid co-existence with the militant atheism and to initiate a crusade of spirit, ideals and morality against Anti-Christ. We are condemning most sharply the Muscovite crimes in Ukraine, Russification, collectivisation, intimidating group trials and sentencing of the creators of literary and artistic values and we demand that the free world condemn all these crimes and insist that every effort be made to put an end to the Russian empire so that the Muscovites be forced to remove their armies of occupation from Ukraine;

7. After listening to the speeches by the head of the Central Committee of ABN, Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko, the editor of *ABN Correspondence*, Mme. S. Stetzko, the representative of the Supporters of ABN in America, Mr. A. Bedrij, and Mr. O. Demkiv, the assembly pledged its all-round support for the fighting Ukraine and ABN, and also decided to mobilise the public in the countries of our present settlement under the most revolutionary slogan: "Kiev against Moscow!"



The
**UKRAINIAN
REVIEW**



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Anatol W. BEDRIY

WEST EUROPEAN ANTI-COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AND A.B.N.

Our enemy

The necessity to coordinate activities between West-European anti-Communist organizations and the liberation movements of the people subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism is founded in the nature of the common enemy and in common aims of both groups of organizations.

Broadly speaking, the freedom-loving peoples all-over the world are confronted today by a dynamic force, called the Communist bloc, composed of the aggressive Russian Communist imperial power and several smaller power centres which depend upon this major power for their own existence. This "camp" has one basic objective in common, namely, to spread, under the cloak of Communist ideas, their dictatorial genocidal imperialism with the eventual aim to dominate the whole world.

The Russian-Communist imperialism, as we know, has already subjugated scores of nations, all of which were previously free and independent. This subjugation always came as the result of subversion directed from Moscow and always terminating with the invasion of the victim nations by the Russian army. In all cases of national enslavement the conquered peoples fought defending their sovereignty and independence and never resigned to the fate of eventual genocide. These subjugated peoples formed their national liberation movements. Because basically the enemy is one, all these liberation movements recognized the necessity of coordinating their efforts against the common enemy and established the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

Goal of Communist Russian imperialism: to conquer the world

However, the expanding Communist-Russian empire endangers the as yet sovereign existence of other nations in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. The enemy is building up its fifth columns inside these

nations, trying to weaken and decompose these nations internally before using the external force for final conquest. We notice that, for example, the Communist fifth column in France recently gained new positions of strength by cleverly manœuvring the constitutional techniques of a free nation. In South America under leadership of Che Guevara, the Cuban Communist, the forces of enslavement and despotism are mobilizing underdeveloped and disorganized groups using skillfully social-economic ideas of progress and well-being. In Tokyo Communist militants captured the city government. In Iran Russia is promising large-scale economic and technical assistance in order to neutralize this strategically located country and to split it from the Western nations. The same tactics is used towards Turkey. Russia even tries, with some successes, to undermine and weaken Christianity — the main spiritual anti-Communist force in the West.

These few examples can be multiplied many times. All of them prove that the Russian-Communist bloc does not satisfy itself with enslavement of the scores of peoples conquered till now, but persistently endeavours to expand its colonial domination. The aggression proceeds as it did during the last fifty years by all means at the disposal of the Leninists, namely, by nuclear blackmail, guerrilla warfare, economic domination, propaganda, subversion, ideological decomposition of the free societies, diplomatic means of isolating and neutralizing the victim nations, etc.

Regional anti-Communism insufficient

The free nations must constantly put defences against Communist-Russian aggression, if they do not want to follow the road to national slavery. We can constantly produce fresh examples showing that these defences were and are insufficient. The most recent ones from France, where President de Gaulle tried to outmanœuvre Russia, but was himself outmanœuvred, as proved by the gains of the Communists there. Or in Viet Nam, where the United States pours twenty milliard dollars of military goods annually in order to barely balance the Communist aggression, supported primarily by one milliard dollars of arms sent there annually by Russia. The ratio shows tragic insufficiencies of the U. S. policy.

For anti-Communism — a global movement

In the face of the global offensive by the Communist-Russian imperialists the free world and the freedom-loving enslaved peoples need a response on a global scale. There are various regional groupings, like NATO, SEATO, ANZUS, coordination among American nations, and others. However, these groupings prove to be insufficient. What is needed is a world anti-Communist coordination

centre. The need for such a world movement was forecast by the late British strategist, Gen. J. F. C. Fuller, who wrote: "Because in the Atlantic Pact — however defective it may be — is to be found the only potential first front against the Soviet Union, so in the ABN — however lacking in organization it still is — is to be found the only potential second front. Together the two should constitute the grand strategical instrument of the Western Powers, the one being as essential as the other, for neither without the other can achieve what should be the Western aim, not the containment of Communism, but the complete elimination of Bolshevism, without which there can be no peace in the world."

What Gen. Fuller said can be interpreted as the request to form a world movement which would encompass all the forces of the free nations and all the forces of the liberation movements of the subjugated nations.

One vital aspect of cooperation between the liberation movements and the anti-Communist organizations of the free nations is such cooperation in Europe.

European anti-Communism: part of a world movement

Regional cooperation cannot be a substitute for but only a supplement of world coordination, the primary reason being the global nature of the enemy. Communism and Russian imperialism to be defeated in Europe cannot be defeated when attacked solely in Europe, but must be attacked globally. No response to the problem on a regional scale will be effective if planned on a regional scale only. For example, whatever the Germans might do in order to liberate Eastern Germany on a regional scale will come to naught because no regional policy will remove Russian troops from German soil, will remove the German Communists from power, will bring any assistance from surrounding European nations. Cuban people likewise, even with some assistance from the USA, are unable to liberate their homeland on a local scale. Neither, the Viet Nam war can or will be solved according to regional terms. Therefore, any European coordination of anti-Communist activities must be conducted in line with global coordination of such activities.

Why Western cooperation with liberation movements?

The question arises, why West European anti-Communist organizations should cooperate with liberation movements of nations enslaved by Communism and Russian colonialism? The primary reason for it is the necessity to destroy the enemy, because only complete destruction of the Russian empire and of Communism can solve problems of security, peace, and independence of all European

nations. However, this objective can be achieved without provoking a nuclear war only through the national liberation of the subjugated peoples — the enemy's Achilles heel, or the process of decomposition of the Russian empire into independent states of the nations in the USSR and in the other "Communist" countries. These anti-imperialistic, anti-Communist, and anti-Moscow upheavals and uprisings must be coordinated — but should not explode alone like the Hungarian national revolution or the Ukrainian uprisings in Russian concentration camps. Such liberation processes, although they are natural and constant processes, to be successful must receive effective support from the free nations in the form of ideological-propaganda means, diplomatic moves, and coordinated moves by free nations in various spheres.

Such support is by no means one-sided. In the support given to the liberation movements is manifested the fundamental nature of real anti-Communism in the West, for it means aiming at liquidation of Communism and Russian imperial state. Any other meanings of anti-Communism are wrong. If limited to self-defence it is not anti-Communism, because it is not directed toward the liquidation of Communism. Coexistence with Communism cannot be considered anti-Communism. Limiting anti-Communist activities to theoretical refutations of Communism might prove useful in theoretical discussions but would not by any means remove Communism whose main existence rests upon the power of Russia. Any propaganda activities turned against Communism if not founded on anti-Communist ideas will not be successful, because anti-Communism must mean the attempt to replace the Communist system by a good and really different system.

Anti-Communism means establishment of independent national states, pluralistic societies with ample civil rights, patriotism, free worship of God, just legal systems, etc. To establish such societies it is necessary to fight actively on their behalf, because Communism actively combats free national societies. To secure free pluralistic societies in West Europe requires the liquidation of Communism in areas conquered by it, where Communism secured its beachheads and bases. Communism should be attacked, therefore, not only from outside but also from within — by means of the liberation struggle of the enslaved nations. In other words, the support of the subjugated peoples is the support by the Western nations of themselves. It is strictly an effort in their own national interests.

For realistic coordination of anti-Communism

Next, may I ponder on the question of why coordination? Why not a new centralistic European organization? Why coordination at all?

The liberation movements of the enslaved peoples exist for decades. They evolved very typical forms and methods inherent to the peculiar conditions of struggle under dictatorship, totalitarianism, and terror. No organization established by people in the free nations could match the methods and organizational forms of the enslaved peoples, to be really effective. Furthermore, the major strength of these movements lies in their sovereign will to liberate their respective peoples. And any influence or domination over these movements by outside forces, even friendly, would tremendously weaken these movements morally, because they would lose the natural reason for fighting on behalf of the enslaved peoples. Then, again, the liberation fighters are extremely anxious not to narrow their claim to be fighting for full independence, sovereignty, and integrity of their peoples in any way. Any outside interference with the exercise of these rights would limit and decrease the effectiveness of the liberation struggle. The basis of anti-Communism must consist in upholding the principles of national independence, uncompromising struggle, national integrity, and internal sovereignty, for Communism is the main enemy of these necessities of life.

The strongest form of anti-Communist work is harmonious cooperation among the various groups and organizations. Our strength must consist not in any tight international organizational structure but in unity of purpose and of common ideas.

Practical tasks and objectives

Now I wish to turn to various practical aspects of cooperation between West European and liberation organizations.

It is presently popular to talk about establishing diplomatic relations between free governments and every Communist government as if such acts were wise anti-Communist policy leading toward broadening of the sphere of national, social, and personal freedoms. But such policy gives rather legal-moral recognition and strength to the Communist regimes imposed by force. It weakens the distinction between the imperialistic regimes and the enslaved peoples, it obscures the fact of the existence of enslaved peoples, it weakens the hope of liberation and the will to resist in the people. A true anti-Communist diplomacy should outlaw and disfranchise Communist regimes. It would press toward re-establishment of legal lawful governments, elected or selected by the sovereign will of each people. It would induce the formation of underground free governments in each subjugated country.

Another facet of current Western policy toward Communist regimes is to endeavour to expand trade with them. Communist regimes regard trade from the point of their power expansion. Therefore, trade is basically a pro-Communist policy. Anti-Communists

should deny to the Communists the means of their survival and aggrandizement, thereby indirectly giving assistance to the enslaved peoples, through weakening the oppressors-despots and drawing closer the day of their downfall.

Some anti-Communists believe that through cooperation of Christian churches with atheistic Communist regimes Communism will be weakened and persecuted churches under Communism will be helped. However, it turns out to be the opposite. Communists feel morally stronger, being recognized by Christians as morally their equals and as a constructive social movement; Christians are loosening their faith and missionary zeal while dealing in compromise and opportunism. Uppermost, the enslaved peoples will receive blows to their beliefs seeing the Western church leaders cooperating with persecutors, oppressors, murderers, and militant atheists. What anti-Communists should do is to put into effect an uncompromising crusade against Communism on grounds of theistic religions, should assist the underground churches in any possible way, and should work toward the establishment of such systems in the enslaved countries in which every religion would be permitted to exercise all its religious practices freely.

A favoured subject of coexistentialists is the so-called cultural exchange or building cultural bridges to the Communist regimes. These trends induce toleration of Communism, cooperation with Communists, recognition of them as West's equals, while simultaneously these Communist regimes persecute non-conformist cultural trends in lands under their rule, conduct brutal Russification of non-Russian cultures in the USSR, exterminate national cultures of the non-Russian peoples. Anti-Communists in the West should rather conduct campaigns in defence of the persecuted cultural life in the enslaved nations. They should give wide publicity to the heroic voices of artists and cultural workers in these nations. Through communication media assistance should be given to efforts by enslaved peoples to create freely. And the primary task should be combating the atheistic anti-European cultural products of Russian-Communist imperialistic culture.

Summing up, a cooperation of the anti-Communist organisations in West European nations with national liberation movements of the peoples enslaved by Russia and Communism is vitally needed and timely.

Wolfgang KRAHL

THE UKRAINIAN REVOLUTION FIFTY YEARS AGO

Non-Communist Democratic National Republics

Following the outbreak of the Revolution in Petrograd in March of 1917, many of the subjugated peoples of the former tsarist empire made use of their right of self-determination. In the years 1917-1918, the Finns, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Poles, Byelorussians, Ukrainians, Don Cossacks, Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Turkestanis as well as the peoples of North Caucasia and the Ural mountain area, proclaimed independent national republics. This proclamation of national sovereignty by the peoples of East Europe and Asia was a natural development. In most cases it was the reestablishment of the states of peoples having a long historical tradition. Yet, by 1922, the Russian-Bolshevik government had succeeded in forcing all these peoples of the former tsarist empire (with the exception of the Finns, the Poles and the Baltic countries once more into a new, Russian-dominated, communistically oriented empire, the so-called Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). In this Union the individual national republics were conceded a sham sovereignty, that is to say, the most important state organs were centralized under Russian predominance in Moscow (Union organs), and the subordinate republic organs were more or less subject to centralization; moreover, the "Union" (in practice, Russia) exerted a far-reaching influence on them. The largest and most important non-Russian and non-Communist national state that was re-established was the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR), which was proclaimed during the Ukrainian Revolution in 1917, independent of the Russian Revolution. At that time its territory was larger than that of any other European state except Russia, and with a population of 35 million Ukrainians (today ca. 50 million), it constituted one of Europe's largest nations, whose independence, however, had been suppressed for centuries.

Ukraine — an economic world power

The Ukrainian ethnographic territory comprises 748,000 sq. kilometres, an area which is three times as large as that of the Federal Republic of Germany. Potentially, Ukraine is one of the richest countries of the world. Today, the largest part of ethnographic Ukraine constitutes the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Ukraine is not only one of the most important agrarian states, but also one of the most important industrial states of the world. In the production of iron ore (1966 — 86.9 million tons), it holds first place; in the production of pig-iron (35.2 million tons), it holds second place (after the United States); it is third in the production of steel (40.5 million tons) after the United States and Russia; in the production of pit coal (196 million tons), it holds fourth place (after China, the United States and Russia); in the production of petroleum (10 million tons), it holds (after Rumania) second place in Europe. Ukraine is the fourth largest wheat producer of the world (after the United States, Russia and China) (18 million tons), and the second largest maize producer (15 million tons) after the United States; she is the largest sugar producer (6.9 million tons) and the third largest potato producer (after Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany) (20 million tons); in cotton production Ukraine is sixth after the United States, China, Russia, India and Brazil (450,000 tons).

The Ukrainian Nation

Despite centuries-long suppression by foreign peoples, despite the most arbitrary partition and domination of the Ukrainian territory by other states which held power in East Europe at one time or another — Hungary in the 13th century, Tartar empire in the 13th and 14th century, the Great Lithuanian Principality in 14th and 15th century, Turk (Osman) empire and the Polish Kingdom from the 15th to the 18th century, the Russian Muscovite tsarist empire from the 17th to the 20th century; moreover, apart from Russia and Poland, by Rumania, Hungary, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia and Germany — despite the abuse and threat to the Ukrainian nation which these dominations entailed and despite the foreign occupiers' attempts to assimilate them (Russification, Polonization), the Ukrainians preserved and developed a strong national consciousness, which has its roots in the 10th century when they first established a Ukrainian state, the Kyïv kingdom. Today, the 50 million strong Ukrainian nation constitutes one of the great historical European nations, having its own national character, its own national traditions, and strongly developed national customs. It has its own Ukrainian language (which is just as different from the language of their neighbours — for

instance, Russian and Polish — as German is from English or Danish); it has its own history which is marked by an almost constant national liberation fight; it possesses a strong Western-oriented and strongly individualistic and idealistic Ukrainian culture (perhaps the greatest European collection of folk songs, magnificent architecture and paintings, outstanding literature, particularly poetry, and advanced theology, philosophy and science with famous academies), and last but not least it has its own Orthodox national church, the Autocephalous Kyiv Metropolis, which was established in the 11th century and belonged to the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople (the Western part of which united with Rome in 1596 owing to the threat of subordination to the Moscow Patriarchate, while the other part was incorporated into the Moscow Patriarchate in 1685 and did not regain its autonomy until the Ukrainian Revolution).

Here it must be particularly emphasized that the Ukrainian nation differs in its character from Russia just as much as other European nations belonging to a related racial group (as, for example, the German and English peoples); it is a sign of inexcusable ignorance to regard the Ukrainians and Russians one Russian people. Unfortunately, this is the case only too often.

Ukrainian History

The first state of historical importance on the territory of the Ukrainian national tribes was established around 900 A.D., when the so-called Kyiv empire with its centre Kyiv (which is still today the capital of Ukraine) came into being. Soon this empire was to comprise all East Slavic tribes as well as part of the Baltic and Finnish population in the north or northeast of East Europe. A gradual advance of the East Slavic tribes to the area of the Dvina in the North and the upper Oka and Volga in the North-East resulted in the subjection or expulsion of the Baltic and Finnish tribes. Through an intermingling of the East Slavs with the Balts or Finns, the national characteristics of the Byelorussian and the Russian people were shaped in this area, whereas the East Slavic population which settled in the main territory of the Kyiv empire, preserved its character and continued to develop its social, legal and cultural traditions.

From the 14th century onward a new centre of power began to consolidate on the territory of the Russian people in the Moscow state (Muscovy, later called Russia). This new centre was characterized by a powerful policy of expansion, and by the end of the 18th century, it had succeeded in incorporating into its state structure all of East Europe.

Owing to the Mongolian invasions in the 13th century (Kyiv was conquered in 1240), the fulcrum of Ukrainian statehood was shifted to the West, and a new state-political centre was established in the

Ukrainian principality of Galicia-Volhynia. From the 14th to the 16th century most of the Ukrainian territory was united with Lithuanian-Ruthenian state (Ruthenians is another name for the Ukrainians), in which the Ukrainians had extensive national and cultural autonomy. Towards the end of the 16th century, the Ukrainian territories fell under Polish rule. A Cossack insurrection brought about liberation in 1648; this led to the establishment of an independent Ukrainian Cossack state. Battles with the Poles and Russians resulted in the Ukrainian Cossack state falling into dependency on Russia, which finally dissolved the last Ukrainian autonomous statehood in 1764. After the partition of Poland at the end of the 18th century the Ukrainian territories which were still part of Poland were taken by Russia; Galicia was given to Austria in 1772. From that time on the Ukrainians were subjected to a severe national, cultural and political subjugation in the Russian Tsarist empire, a subjugation from which they could not free themselves until the Revolution in 1917, when the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) was established. After a three-year war of independence (1917-1920), however, the Ukrainian National Republic once more became the victim of Russian aggression, this time in a Communist guise. Since then, the Ukrainians have had to content themselves with the sham sovereignty of the so-called Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic (Ukr. SSR), which was established by force by the Bolsheviks, and which today does not comprise all Ukrainian territories. Today about 2 million Ukrainians are living in emigration in Western states and are fighting to realize the idea of a free Ukrainian national state. Since 1945, Ukraine is recognized as an independent member-state of the United Nations (UNO). This means, in short, that the national sovereignty of the Ukrainian people (quite apart from the existing system of government) has been recognized by international law.

As early as March 17, 1917, the Ukrainian Central Rada (a kind of parliamentary council) was formed in Kyiv on the initiative of the Union of Ukrainian Progressive which included delegates from the Ukrainian political parties, and from the economic, cultural and professional organizations.

On March 22, 1917, the Central Rada issued a proclamation to the Ukrainian people, in which we read, among other things, the following: "Ukrainian people! The chains which have held you in slavery for centuries, have been broken. Freedom has come to the suppressed and subjugated nations of Russia! This is the glorious hour of your freedom and of your entry into a new, free and fruitful life after more than 200 years of sleep. To you, 30 million Ukrainians, the most precious gift of all is the opportunity to speak for yourselves. You yourselves can now proclaim and determine the way in which you want to live as a people of an independent nation!"

Peoples's Congress in Kyïv

On April 1st, 1917, the Ukrainian Central Rada organized a mass demonstration in Kyïv, in which about 110,000 Ukrainians from all over the country participated. Armed Ukrainian military units, students, citizens and workers, also delegates from various parties and organizations, marched with 320 Ukrainian flags and banners through the city. At the St. Sophia's Cathedral, the monumental shrine of Ukraine from the period of the Kyïv Kingdom (built in the 11th century), the train was met by a solemn procession of the Orthodox clergy; all the bells of the city tolled. On the square before the St. Sophia's Cathedral a memorial service was held. The President of the Ukrainian Central Rada, Prof. Hrushevskyi, spoke a prayer in which he asked God's blessing for the restitution of Ukraine's autonomy. In resolutions adopted by the people's congress the Russian Provisional Government was asked to recognize the Ukrainian people's right of self-determination.

Ukrainian National Assembly (All-Ukrainian Congress)

To give a broad democratic basis to the Ukrainian Central Rada, the latter convoked an All-Ukrainian Congress (national assembly) in Kyïv from April 17 — April 21, 1917. 1,500 delegates, representing all Ukrainian parties and organizations, the army as well as towns and communities of entire Ukraine, participated. The Ukrainian national assembly elected the new members of the Central Rada, which was to represent the Ukrainian people. The Central Rada finally numbered 822 deputies. In addition to the political parties, the economic, cultural and professional organizations represented in the Central Rada, representatives of the large towns and the provinces, as well as of the peasants, soldiers and workers of Ukraine, were admitted; the latter were elected at all-Ukrainian soldier's, peasants' and workers' congresses, which were convoked by the national assembly in May, June and July of 1917. These congresses were attended by thousands of delegates. The distribution of seats in the Central Rada was such that two thirds of the seats were given to the immediate representatives of the people, (towns, provinces, peasants, soldiers and workers) and one third to the parties and other organizations, depending on the number of members. The strongest fraction in the Central Rada was the All-Ukrainian Council of Peasant Deputies with 212 seats; at that time the peasants constituted 86% of the Ukrainian population. The Communists (Bolsheviks) had only 50 seats (6%) in the Ukrainian Central Rada, mostly occupied by Russians. The national minorities, as well as the Orthodox clergy, were also represented in the Central Rada.

As permanent President of the Central Rada, the national assembly elected the famous Ukrainian historian, Prof. Mykhailo Hrushevskyyi. Inasmuch as the Central Rada embraced all segments of the population and was approved by an all-Ukrainian congress, it became the actual Ukrainian parliament possessing supreme state power. The vast majority of the deputies were of Socialist orientation.

Ukrainian National Government

On June 28, 1917, the Ukrainian Central Rada, in its capacity of supreme executive, created the so-called General Secretariat (later called Council of Ministers), the first Ukrainian national government, which was composed chiefly of Socialists — but also of National Liberals. The writer Volodymyr Vynnychenko, a Social Democrat, became Ukraine's first Prime Minister.

The political platform of the Ukrainian Central Rada and of the Ukrainian government was essentially determined by the parliamentary democracy of evolutionary socialism and the idea of liberal bourgeois progressivism. The change of the existing conditions was to be effected in a peaceful way. Thus the Ukrainian Revolution adopted the same policy which was shortly afterwards pursued by the German Revolution, which led to the formation of the Weimar Republic. It stood, however, in sharp contrast to Communism, which through the Bolshevik Revolution was soon to assume sole control in Russia. Under the guise of proletarian dictatorship it effected a forceful overthrow of all existing conditions on the basis of radical socialism.

Declaration of the Ukrainian People's Right of Self-Determination (Ist Universal)

In its first official proclamation on June 23rd, 1917, the new Ukrainian parliament, the Ukrainian Central Rada, issued the declaration of the Ukrainian people's right of self-determination. This declaration (called Ist universal) of the elected parliament of Ukraine possessed — just as the following Universals — the validity of a state fundamental law.

The proclamation of the Universals was always a solemn occasion: all the Kyïv bells were rung and the Orthodox clergy celebrated a thanksgiving service (*Moleben*) on the large square before the St Sophia's Cathedral in Kyïv in the presence of the Central Rada, the government, congregated people and Ukrainian military units. The ceremony is significant of the character of the Ukrainian Revolution.

In the Ist Universal we read as follows: "Ukrainians! Peasants, workers or whatever task you are fulfilling! By your will and grace, the Ukrainian Central Rada assumed the responsibility for the rights

and freedoms of our Ukrainian country... Those whom you have elected, declared their will as follows: Ukraine is to be free!... In general, equal, direct and secret elections the people themselves are to elect a legislative assembly... Authorized by you, the people, the Ukrainian Central Rada will represent your interests, will defend your rights and establish a new, free and autonomous order in Ukraine... We declare that from now on our destiny shall be in our own hands!... We ask you by firmness and strength of mind, to proclaim the will of a people of workers and peasants, a people which desires to take its rightful place as one among equals in the community of well-organized nations!"

Ukraine's willingness to co-operate with Russia in an alliance on the basis of national-state autonomy is explicitly expressed. After some hesitancy, the Russian Provisional Government under Kerensky fully recognized the national autonomy of Ukraine and acknowledged the Central Rada and the Ukrainian government in Kyïv as the official organ of the Ukrainian people. On July 16, 1917, by a proclamation in Petrograd and by the IIInd Universal in Kyïv, the Russian and Ukrainian people were simultaneously informed of the Russian government's official recognition of Ukraine's autonomy and of the intention of both governments to co-operate in a free alliance.

Proclamation of the Ukrainian National Republic (IIIrd Universal)

On November 6th and 7th, 1917, the Bolshevik revolution ("October-Revolution" according to the Julian calendar) took place, and instead of the Russian Provisional Government, a radical Communist Soviet Government, the so-called Soviet (Council) of People's Commissars (later Council of Ministers) was established with Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin at the top. Several days later, the Ukrainian Central Rada in Kyïv adopted a resolution which condemned the Bolshevik subversion as undemocratic, and refused to recognize the new Soviet Russian government.

In view of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, which threatened to spread to Ukraine also, the Ukrainian parliament, the Ukrainian Central Rada, resolved to create the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR), which was proclaimed in its IIIrd Universal on Nov. 20, 1917. In this Universal the Central Rada also published the principles and general direction of future Ukrainian politics. Literally, we read in the IIIrd Universal:

"To the Ukrainian people and all peoples of Ukraine!... We, the Ukrainian Central Rada, proclaim, by your will,... that henceforth Ukraine will be the Ukrainian National Republic... Until the meeting of the Ukrainian constituent assembly, we, the Ukrainian Central Rada and our government, the General Secretariat of Ukraine, will

exercise full power — both legislative and executive — to create order in our lands... We proclaim: All regions in which the majority of the population is Ukrainian. belong to the territory of the Ukrainian National Republic... We proclaim; henceforth the death penalty will be abolished in the regions of the Ukrainian Republic... All freedoms won by the Revolution will be guaranteed in the Ukrainian National Republic, namely, freedom of press, speech, religion and public meeting; the right to shelter and the inviolability of the individual and the right to use different languages in the intercourse with authorities..."

Furthermore, the Universal decrees the expropriation of the entire landed property, without recompensation, and its transference to the common property of the people, who were to administer the soil in self-elected agricultural committees. This was one of the most incisive measures, since 86% of the Ukrainian people were peasants at that time. The economically important production of Ukraine was to be placed under state control.

On April 28, 1918, the parliament elected the President of the Ukrainian Central Rada, Prof. Hrushevskyi, first President of the Ukrainian National Republic; in 1919, the army minister of the first government and Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian National Army, Symon Petliura, became second President of State of the Ukrainian National Republic. Hrushevskyi died in 1934, after a return to the USSR and a period of virtual banishment; Petliura was assassinated in Paris in 1926, on Soviet-Russian orders.

Ukrainian Declaration of Independence (IVth Universal)

To remove any doubts as to the nature of the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) and, particularly, to preclude further intervention on the part of Russia in the internal affairs, the Ukrainian Central Rada proclaimed Ukraine's declaration of independence (IVth Universal) on January 22, 1918:

"People of Ukraine! By your own power, by your will and your word, a free Ukrainian Republic has been established in your country. The dream of your fore-fathers, who fought for the freedom and the rights of the working people, has been made a reality. In this difficult hour a free Ukraine has been reborn... From this day on the Ukrainian National Republic will be the independent, free and sovereign state of the Ukrainian people. It is our desire to live at peace and in friendship with our neighbours, Russia, Poland, Austria, Rumania, Turkey and the other states; it is also our desire that none of them should interfere with the life of the independent Ukrainian Republic."

Exactly one year later, on January 22nd, 1919, another Universal in Kyiv proclaimed the re-annexation of the Western territories of

Ukraine, which had belonged to a number of other states: "From this day on all regions of Ukraine which have been divided for many centuries past, namely Galicia, Bukovina, Carpatho-Ukraine and Dnieper-Ukraine shall be united in one Great Ukraine. The dream, for which the best sons of Ukraine have lived and died, has become a reality. From now on there shall be one independent Ukrainian National Republic."

Still in 1918, a total of 22 European and Asian states had recognized the Ukrainian national state and established diplomatic relations with Kyiv. France and Great Britain were among the first, Soviet Russia, Germany and the other central powers followed suit.

Ukrainian War of Independence

On December 17, 1917, the Communist Russian government, the so-called Soviet of People's Commissars, issued an ultimatum to the Ukrainian Central Rada in which Soviet Russia threatened to make war on the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) if the Ukrainian Central Rada was not willing to fulfill certain Russian Bolshevik demands. Strangely enough, the ultimatum opens with an official Soviet Russian recognition of the full national sovereignty of the Ukrainian National Republic:

"The Russian Socialist government — the Soviet of People's Commissars — once again acknowledges the independent national rights of all nationalities which were suppressed by the Tsarist Russian bourgeoisie, even to the point of recognizing the right of these nationalities to separation from Russia. We, the Soviet of People's Commissars, therefore recognize the Ukrainian National Republic, as well as its right to complete separation from Russia, or to make agreements with the Russian Republic towards the establishment of federative or other mutual relations between the two republics. We, the People's Commissars, recognize everything which pertains to the national rights and the national independence of the Ukrainian people, freely, without restrictions and reservations."

At the same time, however, the Russian government accuses the Ukrainian Central Rada of "having become the victim of a systematic bourgeois policy" and of "not wanting to recognize the activities of our Soviets in Ukraine", as well as of supporting "counter-revolutionary" movements. It called upon the Ukrainian Central Rada to act more in concert with Russian-Bolshevik policies in the future: "In the event that a satisfactory answer is not received within 48 hours, the Soviet of People's Commissars will consider the Central Rada at war with the interests of the Soviets in Russia and in Ukraine."

The Ukrainian Central Rada refused to comply with the demands of the ultimatum on the grounds of intervention with the internal affairs of a sovereign national state, and on December 18th, 1917,

Soviet Russia started its war of aggression against the Ukrainian National Republic with simultaneous offensives on four fronts.

In Ukraine proper the Russian Communists were supported only by a small minority of Russian and Russified Ukrainian Bolsheviks. In the elections to the all-Russian legislative assembly, which were still held on Nov. 28, 1917, the Bolsheviks received only 11% of the votes in Ukraine; in the Ukrainian parliament they occupied only 6% of the seats. At an all-Ukrainian Congress — held on the initiative of the Communists — of the peasants', workers' and soldiers' councils, for which more than 2,000 delegates appeared in Kyiv on Dec. 17, 1917 (the very same day of the Russian ultimatum), less than 5% voted in favour of the Bolshevik course, whereas 95% adopted a resolution in which they expressed their "full confidence" in and their "absolute support" of the Ukrainian Central Rada's policies. These 127 Bolshevistically-minded delegates went to Kharkiv (40% of the population of which were Russians at that time), and under Soviet-Russian protection, established a Soviet-Ukrainian Bolshevik puppet government, the members of which, however, were mostly Russians.

For three years (1917-1920), the Ukrainian war of independence raged, devastated the land and finally destroyed the free Ukrainian National Republic, which was replaced by the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (Ukr. SSR). The weak Ukrainian troops had not only to fight against the Soviet Russians, but also against Tsarist forces which attacked from the southwest, Polish forces from the west and Rumanian forces from the south. For a brief period only (from March until December, 1918) peace reigned in Ukraine, after the Ukrainian National Republic had concluded a separate peace treaty with Germany and the other central powers in Brest-Litovsk on February 9th, 1918; with the military help of German troops, Ukraine could be cleared of the Russian aggressors.

After the downfall of the Ukrainian National Republic, the Ukrainian people experienced a terrible fate. Some 15 million Ukrainians fell victims to Bolshevik terror; several millions were deported to Siberia, and, as Khrushchov made known in his secret speech delivered at the 20th Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on Feb. 24th, 1956, Stalin had wanted to deport the entire Ukrainian population to Siberia, a project which failed only on account of the large number of Ukrainians.

Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA)

Once more the Ukrainian people's national will to independence and resistance was passionately stirred when Germany led her campaign against the Soviet Union during World War II. Everywhere in the Ukrainian towns and villages the German troops were enthusiastically greeted by the Ukrainian population as the liberators

from Bolshevik rule; the Ukrainian soldiers in the Red Army deserted to the German army by the hundred thousands often without firing a single shot.

Several days after the outbreak of the Eastern campaign in the West Ukrainian city of Lviv, the "re-establishment of the sovereign Ukrainian state" was proclaimed at a Ukrainian national assembly, which had been quickly summoned on the initiative of the revolutionary group, the "Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists" (OUN). "The OUN," it says further, "summons the Ukrainian people not to lay down their arms until the sovereign power on the entire Ukrainian territory has been returned to Ukrainians' hands." The heads of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church gave their blessing in pastoral letters. Hitler, however, refused the recognition and had the members of the established provisional government of Ukraine arrested. He considered Ukraine a new German colony.

These circumstances led to the formation of Ukrainian partisan units, which on October 14th, 1942, exactly 25 years ago united in the "Ukrainian Insurgent Army" (UPA). Gradually the UPA developed into a Ukrainian national army, the soldiers wore uniforms and were strictly organized under a Commander-in-Chief. In 1944, the UPA numbered 200,000 men, who controlled a large area of Ukraine and also exercised civic administration. In June 1944, on the initiative of the OUN leadership and the UPA supreme command, the "Ukrainian Central Liberation Council" (UHVR) was formed. It represented a kind of revolutionary parliament, and its general secretariat, a revolutionary government. True to its proclamation of 1941, the UPA fought against the German occupiers first, and after Ukraine's re-occupation by the Red Army against the Soviet Russian occupiers. At the end of the war Moscow moved entire divisions against the UPA; on March 12th, 1947, the Soviet Union even concluded a military pact of joint action against the UPA with Poland and Czecho-Slovakia. But it was not before March 5th, 1950 that they succeeded in destroying the UPA headquarters near Lviv and in killing the UPA Commander-on-Chief, Lt.-General Roman Shukhevych — Taras Chuprynka. This essentially marked the cessation of open hostilities on the part of the UPA.

The president of the revolutionary Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) Stepan Bandera was assassinated on the staircase of his Munich residence on October 15, 1959 on the order of the Soviet Russian KGB.

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Valentyna WOROPAY, M.A.(London)

THE STRUGGLE FOR UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE IN 1917-1918

INTRODUCTION

When in March 1917 the revolution broke out in Petrograd the Ukrainians, like many other nations comprising the Russian Empire, saw a possibility for their dreams to come true. These dreams consisted of getting rights of cultural and political autonomy and independence.

As an instrument to such an aim was organized in Kiev a Ukrainian government which took the name of the Ukrain's'ka Tsentral'na Rada (Ukrainian Central Council) which will be hereafter referred to as the Central Rada, and initially it was a temporary Constituent Assembly.

The leadership in the Ukrainian national movement was taken by the democratically inclined middle classes, the intelligentsia with nationalistic sympathies, and the middle strata of the peasants.

The Central Rada was first organized on March 17 by the Society of Ukrainian Progressives (Tovarystvo Ukrain's'kykh Postupovtsiv) which was led by the noted Professor of Ukrainian history Mykhailo Hrushevskyyi. This group on March 27 issued a statement of objectives: they called the Ukrainian people to obtain by peaceful means the rights which belonged to them. These objectives were cultural and included the establishment of Ukrainian schools and cultural-educational societies and the wider dissemination of Ukrainian books and newspapers.¹

*) These are excerpts from the unpublished M. A. thesis, "The Hetmanate of P. P. Skoropadsky in the Ukraine in 1918" completed in 1959 for the University of London.

¹) P. Khrystiuk, *Zamitky i materialy do istorii ukrains'koï revoliutsii 1917-1920*. Wien, 1922. I, p. 13.

On April 8, the Society held a congress during which they extended their objectives from cultural to political matters. They did not demand independence but declared that the role of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly should be confined to a simple ratification of Ukrainian autonomy. At this time the Society changed its name to the Union of Ukrainian Autonomists-Federalists. Shortly after it adopted the name Socialist-Federalist.

The very small Rada which this society had organized included teachers, clergymen, students and representatives from newly re-organized Prosvita (Enlightenment) societies. The Rada called an All-Ukrainian National Congress which met in Kiev on April 17-21, 1917. Nine hundred delegates with mandates, which they received from peasant cooperatives, professional and cultural organizations, municipalities, and zemstvos, were present, and another six hundred participated in the proceedings.

M. Hrushevskiyi presided. This congress adopted a resolution declaring the need of the Ukrainian people for national-territorial autonomy. They were willing to guarantee the rights of national minorities, and constitute a component part of federal Russia.²

After the National Congress the Rada contained about one hundred and fifty members from the professional and intellectual classes and M. Hrushevskiyi was unanimously re-elected its president.

After this National Congress a series of congresses took place in Kiev during the spring of 1917. They included the Congress of Cooperatives of the Kiev Region, the First All-Ukrainian Pedagogical Congress, the First Ukrainian Military Congress, the First Ukrainian Peasants' Congress, the Congress of the Social-Democratic and the Social Revolutionary parties (the two main parties in the Ukraine at that time), the First Ukrainian Workers' Congress, etc. The resolutions of these congresses were more or less of the same pattern: they were in favour of a democratic federal Russian republic with national-territorial autonomy for the Ukraine, introduction of the Ukrainian language in the schools, courts, political institutions and the Church, the establishment of Ukrainian military units within the Russian army, etc.

The Rada's membership increased from one hundred and fifty to approximately six hundred as a result of its acceptance of representatives from each of these functional national congresses. The Peasants' Congress sent more than two hundred delegates while the Soldiers' and Workers' Congresses sent approximately one hundred and fifty and a hundred respectively.³

On May 6 the Rada adopted its rules of procedure and defined itself as "the representative body for the whole organized Ukrainian

²) P. Khrystiuk, I, pp. 39.

³) P. Khrystiuk, I, p. 134.

population." The Rada did not meet in continuous session and its rules of procedure provided for a regular plenary session to be held at least once every month and extraordinary sessions whenever necessary. An interim committee, usually referred to as Mala Rada (Little Rada) composed of a Presidium and over twenty other members, sat in continuous session. It made a number of important decisions while the Rada was not in plenary session. The executive head of the Rada Government became Volodymyr Vynnychenko, the well known author and novelist.

At this time there were three principal Ukrainian political parties in the country. The largest of these numerically, was the Social Revolutionary party, which enjoyed considerable peasant support. It regarded the agrarian problem as being of primary importance and advocated the expropriation of large estates without compensation for the owners. Its leaders included P. Khrystiuk and M. Hrushevskiyi.

The second largest party were the Social Democrats. They were Marxists and were more concerned with the fate of the urban worker. Its leader was V. Vynnychenko.

The Socialist-Federalists, whose group was numerically small but consisted of the influential liberal bourgeoisie, had emerged as we have seen from the Society of Ukrainian Progressives. It disapproved of revolutionary experiments or any intensification of the class struggle. It advocated compensation to landowners as an essential part of any programme of agrarian reform but was not opposed to evolutionary socialism. It also advocated federal ties with Russia as long as that was possible. The leaders of this party were such eminent national figures as Dmytro Doroshenko, Oleksander Shul'hyn and Oleksander Lotots'kyi. Professor M. Hrushevs'kyi originally had been the leader of this society but shortly after the March revolution he had become convinced that the future lay with the Social Revolutionaries and had left it for the latter.

At the beginning of April, 1917, mass meetings took place in Kiev. Calling themselves the voice of the people, they empowered the Rada to come to an understanding with the Russian Provisional Government and to demand the convocation of an All-Russian Constituent Assembly for the purpose of ratifying Ukrainian autonomy. By the end of May a ten-man delegation headed by V. Vynnychenko arrived in Petrograd to present a declaration of the Rada to the Provisional Government as well as to the Petrograd Soviet which shared authority with the Government in the capital.

The Rada's requests were: acceptance of autonomy for the Ukraine in principle, participation of Ukrainian representatives in the peace conference in connection with the disposition of Eastern Galicia, the establishment of a post in the Provisional Government for the purpose of keeping it informed of Ukrainian opinion and the needs

of the Ukrainian people, the appointment of a special commissioner for the Ukraine with whom the Rada would deal, the establishment of separate Ukrainian military units in the rear and at the front whenever possible, the Ukrainization of primary schools and the broadening of Ukrainian studies in secondary and higher schools, etc.

This Ukrainian delegation had met a very cool reception in Petrograd. At first no one would even talk to them. And after they were listened to, they were refused any help. All their demands were declined.

Early in April the Provisional Government had formed a special commission of juridical and legal experts to which it deferred constitutional questions. The Ukrainian question was now also passed over to this Commission. The Ukrainians regarded it as supercilious in its attitude. Thus the Ukrainian Delegation returned to Kiev without accomplishing their task.

The result was the First Universal, issued on June 23, in which were recapitulated all the requests of the Rada. It ended with a declaration: "... From this day forth we shall direct our own lives".⁴

The Provisional Government was taken aback by the First Universal. On July 12 the Russian War Minister, Al. Kerensky, the Foreign Minister M. Tereshchenko and L. Tsereteli arrived in Kiev to negotiate with the Rada's Government, V. Vynnychenko and the Ukrainian General Secretariat. The result of these negotiations was the Second Universal, issued by the Rada on July 16 and acceded to by the three representatives of the Provisional Government. It declared that the Provisional Government recognized the right of the Ukrainian people to self-determination but there was also expressed support for "the unity of all of Russia's democratic forces." By this Universal in the Rada were to be included also the representatives of the non-Ukrainian nationalities living in the Ukraine to whom were given over twenty-five per cent of the seats increasing the total to more than eight hundred, as well as a number of posts in the Secretariat. But officially the autonomy of the Ukraine had to be discussed and approved or disapproved by the All-Russian Constituent Assembly when it met.⁵

Then the Mala Rada was to draft a statute for the autonomous administration of the Ukraine in collaboration with the national minorities. This statute was to be approved by the All-Russian Constituent Assembly. The Second Universal also contained a provision for the reorganization of the General Secretariat, subject to confirmation by the Provisional Government.⁶

4) P. Khrystiuk, I, p. 72.

5) P. Khrystiuk, I, pp. 92; V. Vynnychenko, I, pp. 284.

6) P. Khrystiuk, I, p. 96.

The Statute was taken to Petrograd by V. Vynnychenko, by the secretary of Finance Ch. Baranovsky, and the controller-general M. Rafes, the last named of whom represented the Jewish Social Democratic "Bund". On August 17 the Provisional Government contradicted the statute with a "Provisional Instruction to the General Secretariat" which, instead of recognising the Secretariat as a supreme organ of the Rada, defined it as "the supreme organ of the (Russian) Provisional Government in Ukraine".⁷

The "Instruction" caused a storm in Rada circles and there was a heated discussion whether to reject, to ignore or to accept it. Then on August 22 the Rada adopted a resolution embodying a reluctant and qualified acceptance of the "Instruction". The resolution stated that the "Instruction" failed to meet the needs and desires of the Ukrainians and the national minorities, etc.⁸ Then on September 9 a new Secretariat, headed again by V. Vynnychenko, was formally organized and was reluctantly confirmed by the Provisional Government on September 14.

This Ukrainian Government was composed largely of the Social Democrats and Socialist-Federalists. The Social Revolutionaries and the Left Social Democrats refused to participate in it.

On the surface it appeared that an agreement had been reached between the Rada and the Provisional Government. But, in Vynnychenko's words, the "Instruction" was a truce rather than a peace settlement and the hostility which Ukrainian nationalists still felt towards Petrograd was manifested during the third All-Ukrainian Military Congress which met in Kiev on November 2-12.⁹

Then in November the uprising of the Bolsheviks took place in Petrograd. In Kiev the struggle was between the supporters of the Provisional Government and the Bolsheviks. The Rada, which held the balance, threw its limited military forces on the side of the Bolsheviks and forced the units of the Provisional Government to withdraw from Kiev.

The ill-fated and brief marriage between the Rada and the Bolsheviks was terminated when the Military Congress called upon the Rada and the General Secretariat to assume full civil and military authority in the Ukraine and to oppose the efforts of the Bolsheviks to transfer power to the Kiev Soviet. The Rada, accepting the power granted by the Congress, on November 12 decided to expand the General Secretariat to include the six following secretariats: supply, trade and industry, labour, justice, military affairs, transport and post and telegraph.

⁷) P. Khrystiuk, I, p. 114.

⁸) P. Khrystiuk, I, p. 118.

⁹) *Ib.*, p. 41.

The fall of the Kerensky Provisional Government had thus temporarily restored the Rada's freedom of action which on November 20, 1917 issued the Third Universal for the purpose of clarifying its position. In it the Central Rada pointed out that in the course of the struggle in the north "the Central Government had disappeared and anarchy, disorder, and ruin are spreading throughout the country". The Central Rada, in order to preserve order in the Ukraine, proclaimed the Ukrainian People's Republic but with the following qualification: "Without separating ourselves from the Russian Republic and respecting its unity, we shall firmly establish ourselves in our land in order to aid with all our strength Russia as a whole so that all of the Russian Republic shall become a federation of equal and free peoples".¹⁰

The Central Rada declared itself to be the repository of all authority until the convocation of the Constituent Assembly of the Ukraine on January 22, 1918. Its jurisdiction was to embrace the nine Ukrainian provinces excluding the Crimea and portions of the ethnically mixed regions of Kholm, Voronezh and Kursk. The Kuban was not included because of its desire to constitute a separate republic.

The Rada also announced that lands belonging to the Church, to the Crown, to monasteries, and private landowners and not worked directly by the proprietors were to become "the property of all of the toiling people" without compensation being made to the former owners. The eight-hour day for all factories was proclaimed, together with "state control over production in the interests of the Ukraine as well as of all Russia". By the Third Universal capital punishment was abolished, freedom of speech, press, religion, assembly, association, strikes, person and domicile and the right to employ local dialects and languages were declared to be achievements of the revolution which must be safeguarded. The principle of "national-personal autonomy" was also proclaimed for all national minorities living in the Ukraine.¹¹

Meanwhile the relations between the Central Rada and the Bolsheviks in Petrograd were becoming worse and worse and the tension mounted when S. Petliura, the Rada's War Minister, ordered all Ukrainian troops not to obey the orders of the Bolshevik Government and censured the Petrograd commissars for entering into peace negotiations with Germany in the name of all Russia.

On December 13 the Secretariat issued a notice denying that the Council of People's Commissars represented the peoples of the former Russian empire as a whole. Further complications developed on December 17, when the Council of the People's Commissars sent the Rada an Ultimatum.¹²

¹⁰) V. Vynnychenko, II, p. 74.

¹¹) V. Vynnychenko, II, p. 74.

¹²) J. Reshetar, *The Ukrainian Revolution 1917-1920. A study in Nationalism*. 1955, p. 93.

THE SITUATION IN THE UKRAINE AT THE END OF 1917

On December 17th, 1917, the Council of the People's Commissars (Soviet Narodnykh Komissarov) sent an Ultimatum to the Ukrainian Central Rada. The message was dispatched by the Bolshevik Commander-in-Chief Krylenko and it bore the signatures of V. Lenin and L. Trotsky. By that Ultimatum the Bolsheviks unconditionally recognized the Ukraine as an independent and sovereign state "... with reference to the recognition of these principles (the right to independence) by the many resolutions of the organs of the revolutionary democracy of Soviet and chiefly those of the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviet",¹ but at the same time accused the Ukrainian Central Rada of: 1. Non-recognition of "Soviets" in the Ukraine; 2. Unwillingness to call a congress of the Ukrainian Soviets immediately. The Bolsheviks also charged the Central Rada with: 1. The disorganization of the front, caused, as they alleged, by the Central Rada's recalling of the Ukrainian units from the front: 2. The disarming of Soviet and Red guard units on Ukrainian soil; 5. The support given to Kaledin's rising on the Don.

By this Ultimatum the Russians demanded that the Rada should: 1. Discontinue its policy of disorganizing the front and cease disarmign Soviet and Red Guard units on Ukrainian soil immediately; 2. That it should allow the Soviet forces to pass through the Ukraine in order to form a front against "the Whites"; 3. That it should forbid Cossack formations, which were on their way to join Kaledin on the Don, the right of passage through the Ukraine.

The Ultimatum included also the direct demand that the Rada should "*render assistance to the revolutionary armies in their struggle against the counter-revolutionary kadet-Kaledin rising*". Should those questions not be answered satisfactorily within forty-eight hours the Rada would be considered to be in a state of open warfare with the Soviet power in Russia and in Ukraine.²

1) D. Doroshenko, *Istoria Ukraïny 1917-1923*, Vol. I. Uzhorod, 1930, p. 2. For the Soviet point of view on this Ultimatum see Stalin, "Chto takoye Ukrainskaya Rada" ("What is it the Ukrainian Rada") *Sochineniya*, Vol. 4, pp. 19-20.

2) See: V. Vynnychenko, *Vidrodzhennia Natsii: Istoria Ukraïns'koï revoliutsii Kiev-Wien, 1920*; V. Lenin, *Sochineniya*, XII, pp. 121-125; I. Stalin, *Sochineniya*, IV, pp. 6-14; E. H. Carr, *A History of Soviet Russia. Bolshevik Revolution 1917-1923*. 2 vols. London, 1950. Vol. I, p. 295.

However, the Rada answered immediately on December 18th. In its reply it pointed out "the insincerity or the contradiction of the Russian statement". It is impossible, Rada said, to recognize *a country's right of self-determination even to the point of separation* and then within the same breath to violate this right and to impose their own political system on Ukraine. But that is just what the Council of People's Commissars of Great Russia had done. The General Secretariat reject all the attempts of the People's Commissars to interfere in the internal affairs of the Ukrainian People's Republic. The claims of the People's Commissars to the guidance of the Ukrainian Democracy, Rada alleged, can be still less justified since the political system, which they try to impose on Ukraine, had produced on the territory of Russia results which do not call for envy. "As long as anarchy, economic and political devastation are developing in Great Russia, as long as lawlessness rules there and the liberty, which was won over from the Tsar by the revolution, is being abolished — the General Secretariat does not consider it necessary to repeat that sad experiment on the territory of the Ukrainian people... Keeping these facts in mind the Ukrainian soldiers disarmed the demoralized soldiers of Great Russia who plotted against the Government of the Ukrainian people, thereby increasing the danger of a fratricidal war, anarchy, and unruliness similar to those prevailing on the territory of the People's Commissars". The Communication says further: "...The General Secretariat of the Ukrainian People's Republic recognized the unity of the front. But since the Soviet People's Republic destroyed and disorganized the front, since the Bolshevik units are leaving the front-line, thereby exposing it, the General Secretariat does not consider it possible to defend the vast front line with the help of the Ukrainian units only. That is why the General Secretariat called the Ukrainian Units off the Northern and the North-Western fronts and sent them to the Ukrainian, former South-Western and Rumanian, front..."³

The note ended with a declaration that the General Secretariat considered "the state of war between two of the Russian Republics a mortal blow to the cause of revolution and to the victory of the workers' and peasants' interests. The General Secretariat wishes to avoid at all costs the solution of political and national questions by the means of bloody battles. But if the People's Commissars of Great Russia, taking upon themselves all the consequences of a fratricidal war, will force it on the General Secretariat, the General Secretariat is sure that in that case the Ukrainian soldiers, workers and peasants, in defending their right and their country, will give to the People's Commissars who lift hand of the Russian soldier against his brothers — the Ukrainians — the answer they deserve".

³) See Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 214-215.

The note was signed by the Premier, V. Vynnychenko, and the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, O. Shulhyn.⁴

On the day the Ultimatum from the Council of the People's Commissars was received an order was issued in Kiev "To the Ukrainian units of the South-Western and Rumanian fronts and in the rear," which was signed by V. Vynnychenko and S. Petliura. In this order it was pointed out that the Government of the People's Republic at Petrograd "shows its inability to lead the Army of the Russian Republic to peace and is incapable of building anew the life of the tired nations of Russia!" Thanks to that Bolshevik Government "the soldiers are on the point of starvation and are short of garments and the horses are perishing for lack of fodder." The order declared that "the General Secretariat takes in its own hands the cause of peace and will provide the forces with food supplies." The General Secretariat promised "in the near future a decree on the reorganization of the army on new democratic principles." At the end of this order it was emphasized once more that "peace should be concluded immediately" and that "the Central Rada knows how to fight the enemy of democracy."

Simultaneously an order was issued to the Ukrainian Commissar of the Northern front forbidding him to carry out any orders given by the Bolshevik Commander-in-Chief. That document was signed by Symon Petliura.⁵

In the evening of the 18th December the Secretary of Foreign Affairs OI. Shulhyn reported to the Small Rada on the Ultimatum and on the answer given by the General Secretariat. The Small Rada passed a resolution in which it approved the answer of the Ukrainian Government to the Bolshevik Ultimatum. During that session the General Secretary, M. Kovalevsky announced that the Ukrainian Government decided not to send any grain to the north any more.

Although the Bolshevik Ultimatum had grave consequences later on it did not receive much public attention at the time. Everybody's interest in Kiev was centered upon the session of "The Congress of the peasants', workers', and soldiers' deputies of Ukraine" which was opened in Kiev on the 17th of December, 1917, on the very day the Ukrainian Government received the Bolsheviks' Ultimatum. That event preoccupied the Capital so much that the newspapers published nothing but reports of that Congress disregarding even the assemblies of the Small Rada.⁶

4) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 216-217; V. Vynnychenko, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 145-146.

5) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 216-217; V. Vynnychenko, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 145-146.

6) See P. Khrystiuk: *Zamitky i materialy do istorii Ukrainskoï revoliutsii 1917-1920. Wien, 1921-1922*, Vol. 2, p. 69.

The Congress of the peasants' workers' and soldiers' deputies of Ukraine was called by the Regional Executive Committee of the workers' deputies, by the Council of the workers' and the soldiers' deputies of Kiev, and by the Chief Committee of the Bolsheviks in Ukraine — all of them organizations which supported the Bolsheviks. The aim of the Congress was to gain the Power for the Soviets in Ukraine and to demand a re-election of the Central Rada. Generally speaking the Congress had been planned to strengthen the position of the Bolsheviks in Ukraine. But the Congress went wrong from the very beginning, from the Bolsheviks' point of view. From over 2000 delegates only 150 were Bolsheviks. These numbers are given by D. Doroshenko; V. Ivanys in his work "Symon Petliura — President of Ukraine," Toronto, Canada, 1952, gives the number of Bolsheviks as 60, and I. Cherikover in his work "Anti-Semitism and the Jewish pogroms in Ukraine in 1917-1919," Berlin, 1923, gives the number of the delegates as 2500 and the Bolsheviks' delegates as 60. The leadership of the Congress fell to the members of the Ukrainian socialist-revolutionary party, the member of which Arkadiy Stepanenko was a chairman of that Congress. That party supported the Rada. That is why the Congress instead of being pro-Bolshevik supported the Rada. And even more than that. The Congress took clearly anti-Bolshevik position. When that attitude of the Congress became clear the Bolsheviks' delegates and with them some of the social revolutionaries (left wing), social-democrats (left wing), 124 persons in all, left it and after a short meeting — where they passed a resolution about an uncompromising struggle against the Rada — left Kiev for Kharkiv. In Kharkiv they joined the Congress of Soviets of the Donets-Kryvyi Rih region which they proclaimed to be "The First All-Ukrainian Congress of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies."⁷

On December 27th, 1917, the Kharkiv wireless transmitted a message "to all concerned" informing them that the Central Executive Committee which had been elected at "The First All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets of workers', soldiers', and partly peasants' deputies took upon itself all powers of government in Ukraine... The newly-organized People's Government of Soviets in Ukraine send its greetings to the All-Russian Government of Soviets."⁹

In that way the Bolsheviks began to conquer the Ukraine from the inside. The new Soviet Ukrainian Government in Kharkiv inundated Ukraine with various leaflets: "To the Ukrainian peasants,"

⁷) See *The Resolutions of the All-Ukrainian Congresses of Workers', Peasants', and Soldiers' Deputies*, 1932, p. 14.

⁸) See P. Khrystiuk, II, pp. 70-74.

⁹) *Tsentral'na Arkhivna Uprava U.S.S.R.; Rezoliutsii Vseukraïns'kykh Z'yizdiv Rad...*, Partvydav "Proletar", 1932.

"To the Ukrainian soldiers," etc. Stalin published his address "Answer to the Ukrainians at the rear and at the front" (25. XII. 1917), in which he stated that the Bolsheviks had nothing against the separation of Ukraine from Russia but they could not allow the Central Rada to organize and to support the Russian anti-Bolshevik Government.¹⁰

The Bolsheviks thereupon proceeded to do their best to start a civil war in the Ukraine. It was a time when the conclusion of the armistice with the Central Powers at Brest-Litovsk, December 15th, 1917, relieved the strain on the military resources of the Soviet Government and made it possible for the Russians to attend to the Ukrainian question.

The reason for this political move was the growing hunger in Petrograd and Moscow and the urgent need for the Ukrainian grain. "If you want food, cry death to the Rada" — wrote Radek in *Pravda*.¹¹ It was exactly the reason which forced the Central Powers to acknowledge Ukraine as an independent state and to conclude the treaty at Brest-Litovsk with it.¹²

As early as the first half of December, 1917, V. Antonov-Ovseyenko had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Bolshevik Armies operating on the Don and in Ukraine. On the 16th of December he arrived in the General Headquarters at Mohyliv (Mogilev) in Byelorussia and at once set to work to organize the struggle against the Central Rada. He caused the dissolution of the Ukrainian Revolutionary Headquarters in Petrograd and worked out the operations according to which the occupation of such Ukrainian towns as Kharkiv, Poltava, Katerynoslav and Kiev should take place. *Kiev he planned to attack from two sides: from the north with the Bolshevik regular army, and from the west with the help of yet undemobilized units from the front which turned Bolshevik, mainly the Second Guard Corps situated in Podolia.*

The Bolsheviks occupied Kharkiv on the 26th of December and fortified the town. In Kharkiv — the industrial centre of the East Ukraine — *the majority of the workers were Russians and the Russian element dominated over the Ukrainian.* When Kharkiv was occupied by the Bolsheviks the units of sailors and Red Army soldiers arrived there and the sailor Kanonnikov was appointed commandant of the town.¹³

After Kharkiv came Poltava, Katerynoslav, and Chernyhiw which at the end of December were in the hands of the Bolsheviks. The iron ring around Kiev tightened.¹⁴

10) See I. Stalin, *Sochineniya*, Vol. 4, p. 11.

11) *Pravda*, January 15, 1918.

12) See Wheeler-Bennett, *Brest-Litovsk: the Forgotten Peace, March 1918*. London, 1938, p. 220.

13) See D. Doroshenko, Vol. I, pp. 224-225.

14) *Ib.*, p. 225.

The Ukrainian national leadership faced with superior Russian power, got in touch with the French military mission under General Tabouis which had been in Kiev for some time. General Tabouis announced his appointment as commissioner of the French Republic to the Government of the Ukrainian Republic and on January 11th, 1918, informed V. Vynnychenko, Premier of the Secretariat of the Ukrainian Republic at that time that France would support the Ukrainian Republic with all its moral and material forces.¹⁵ A similar declaration was made by the British representative Picton Bagge at Kiev about the same time.¹⁶

At that point the Central Rada decided to confirm the fact that Ukraine was an independent State by an official act. This act was the Fourth Universal, which was also necessary because without it the conclusion of the treaty with the Central Powers at Brest-Litovsk would be impossible.

The Fourth Universal was issued on January 22nd, 1918. "On this day the Ukrainian People's Republic becomes independent, dependent on no one, a free sovereign state of the Ukrainian People."¹⁷

According to the Ukrainian authorities the Fourth Universal was intended to strengthen inner national resistance and to give the authorities freedom to carry on negotiations with the Central Powers concerning a separate peace treaty.

One of the practical results of the Fourth Universal was a conversion of the General Secretariat into the Council of People's Ministers and the General Secretaries into People's Ministers.

On the very day of the proclamation of Ukraine's independence the Small Rada issued "the Law of national-personal autonomy." Although that law applied to all national minorities living in Ukraine the Jews were the ones most concerned. How important that law was for them we can see from their press of that period. "The law (of the national-personal autonomy) that can be compared only with the decrees of the French Revolution of 1789, when the rights of the individual were declared, as today, the rights of nations are proclaimed," said the Chief Secretary (later Minister) of the Jewish Affairs in the Rada, M. Zelberfarb.¹⁸ The representative of the "Bund," M. Rafes, appraised it as "a law of great importance, unprecedented in Europe."²⁰ The leader of "Zionism", N. Syrkin, wrote about it: "The old dream came true." The leaders of the Jews in

¹⁵ Margolin (Arnold), *Ukraina i politika Antanty. Zapiski yevreya i grazhdanina*. Berlin (1921), p. 366.

¹⁶ *Ib.* p. 368.

¹⁷ See V. Vynnychenko, *op. cit.* pp. 241-243. For the text of the Fourth Universal in Ukrainian, see pp. 244-252.

¹⁸ See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, I, p. 269.

¹⁹ See P. Cherikover, "Antisemitizm i pogromy na Ukraine, 1917-1920" (*Anti-Semitism and pogroms in Ukraine*), Berlin, 1923, p. 73.

²⁰ *Ib.* p. 73.

Ukraine sent messages of good news to many countries in Europe and in America. As P. Cherikover says: "in the question of the rights of national minorities the Ukrainian leaders went very far indeed."²¹

At that time the Ukrainians found themselves in an unpleasant and difficult situation: the Bolsheviks had concluded an armistice with the Central Powers on December 15th, in the name of the whole of Russia, including Ukraine. In addition the Ukrainians were confronted with a dilemma: if they refused to conclude their own peace with the Central Powers the armies of the latter would invade Ukraine. If they did conclude a separate peace treaty they would antagonize the Entente Powers who, although not in a position to render any effective aid, were insisting upon continued Ukrainian participation in the war.²²

And then the Bolsheviks started their military campaign against Ukraine and on the 9th of January, 1918, they seized Katerynoslav. The trouble started in the industrial works when its workers took possession of the armoured car belonging to the unit of the Ukrainian army. The unit demanded that it should be returned and when the workers refused to do so the Ukrainian forces began to shell the plant. The workers of the plant received help from Moscow — units of Red Army soldiers, under the command of Yegorov — who arrived at Katerynoslav by armoured train and succeeded in capturing the town from the Ukrainians.

But the position of the Ukraine Government, the Central Rada, became much more grave when the Bolshevik forces began to approach the capital of Ukraine, Kiev. Still on their way to Kiev the Bolsheviks occupied Poltava on the 19th of January. This town was taken by Muraviov's²³ forces which consisted of 500 Red Army soldiers and Red Cossaks who came from Kharkiv, and those of Yegorov with his 200 Red Army soldiers who approached the town from the railway junction of Lozova. The Ukrainian forces had to retreat and on the 19th of January Muraviov entered Poltava in which he "gave orders to slaughter all the defenders of the local bourgeoisie without mercy" as he himself informed Antonov in the telegram he dispatched on that occasion.²⁴ Antonov-Ovseyenko ordered Muraviov to collect all the grain he could find in the district of Poltava and to send it to the northern provinces which had been starving.²⁵

While the forces of Muraviov and Yegorov were advancing towards Kiev the units of Berezin were also moving from Russia up to the

²¹) *Ib.* p. 73.

²²) See Reshetar, (John Stephan), *The Ukrainian Revolution, 1917-1920. A Study in Nationalism.* p. 103.

²³) See Antonov-Ovseenko: *Zapiski o grazhdanskoj voine, Moskva, 1924, p. 136.*

²⁴) *Ib.*, p. 136.

²⁵) See Antonov-Ovseyenko, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

Ukraine. Berezin's forces consisted of two columns: one column was moving from Homel towards Bakhmach, and another — via Novozybkov and Novhorod-Siverskyi to Konotop.

Bakhmach was defended by the small unit of the Ukrainian cadets who fought very bravely but being left without any help and being exhausted by battle were forced to withdraw to the railway station of Kruty. There they were reinforced by the Students' unit. The Ukrainian forces at Kruty railway station consisted of 250 cadets, students and schoolboys, 100 haidamaks and Free Cossacks, 12 mounted cossacks and three guns under the command of captain Loshchenko. Altogether the Ukrainian forces at Kruty numbered about 400 men the majority of which had never handled a rifle. The forces of the Bolsheviks counted about 6000 men including the sailors of the Baltic Navy, men who have been through the First World War and for whom the young Ukrainian students were no match. Being outnumbered by the enemy and in addition apparently deserted by their commanding officers (for, when the battle started, the train with the headquarters of the unit, including officers Tymchenko and Bohayevsky, disgraced themselves by running away and leaving their soldiers to fight the battle by themselves) the young soldiers of Ukraine were beaten by the Bolsheviks. Some of the soldiers who were fighting on the right wing of the front succeeded in retreating in the direction of Kiev but those on the left wing — i. e. the students and the schoolboys, did not retreat and although they fought very bravely the majority of them died on the battlefield. Twenty-seven of them however had the ill luck to be captured by the Bolsheviks and on the next day to be shot by them after having been cruelly tortured. The peasants were forbidden to bury the bodies of the young Ukrainians. By mistake seven of those captured in battle were sent to Kharkiv, had a miraculous escape and later told the sad story of the battle of Kruty.²⁶ In March, 1918, when Kiev was liberated from the Bolsheviks and the Ukrainian Government returned to it the disfigured bodies of the young soldiers killed at Kruty were recovered, brought to Kiev and buried in a common grave in Askold cemetery. M. Hrushevskiy the President of Ukraine, said in his funeral oration: "Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori... The Battle at Kruty was one of the heroic episodes in the struggle led by a small number of nationally-minded Ukrainians for the independence of Ukraine and against a background of general indifference, anarchy, and lawlessness."²⁷

The remnants of the Ukrainian forces from Kruty blew up the bridges and the railways on the route of their retreat and by that action kept the enemy off Kiev for a few more days.

²⁶) See B. Monkevych, *Bytva pid Krutamy (Battle at Kruty)*, "Postup", 1929, part 2, p. 64, A. Figol, "Litopys Chervona Kalyna", 1931, II, pp. 2-6.

²⁷) See M. Hrushevskiy, *The Illustrated History of Ukraine*, Kiev-Vien, 1921, pp. 262-263; D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, I, p. 284.

Meanwhile, in Kiev, the Ukrainian forces fought the pro-Bolshevik workers of the Arsenal — the engineering works in Kiev which had been producing all kinds of guns and ammunition and the premises of which were well protected. About 4,000 workers were employed there on priority work for which the Army had sent them there, mostly from Moscow and Petrograd.²⁸ They started to revolt against the Ukrainian Government in the capital during the night of 28-29 January, 1918. The direct cause of that armed rising was an unsuccessful attempt of the Rada to take away from the Arsenal ammunition, arms and coal.²⁹ The pro-Bolsheviks, concentrated on the Pechersk district of Kiev, seized the Arsenal. So began the revolt.

At that time, according to Antonov-Ovseyenko, the Ukrainian Government had about 20,000 men in Kiev.³⁰ But it wasn't quite so because many of the Ukrainian regiments (often named after the famous men of the Ukrainian history — there was a regiment named after the poet Shevchenko, after Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, Doroshenko, etc.) were demoralized by Bolshevik propaganda and by the not altogether expedient policy of the Ukrainian military authorities. As the Minister of War Porsh stated at the time, the only reliable forces were the voluntary ones such as "The Free Cossacks."³¹ The Commanding Officer of the Free Cossacks was engineer M. Kovenko who was appointed commandant of Kiev. The other voluntary formation was "The Ukrainian Regiment (kish) of Haidamaks of Slobidska Ukraïna" (the Eastern part of the country). This last was composed of two detachments: "red" and "black." The "red" consisted of well disciplined soldiers from the front and the "black" — of the cadets from the officers' school where morale was also good. The whole regiment had approximately 500 men.³² Symon Petliura was appointed Commanding Officer of that regiment. He was given the task of fighting the Bolsheviks on the left bank of the Dnipro and of preventing them from entering Kiev. But the task proved too heavy for the Slobidsky regiment and Petliura received as reinforcement the First Company of the Sich Riflemen (Sichovi Striltsi) from Galicia consisting of 200 men commanded by R. Sushko. This company was a part of the well-known battalion of Sich Riflemen (Kurin' Sichovykh Stril'tsiv) which was formed of three companies, i. e. about 500 men.³³

²⁸) See A. V. Likhohat, "Razgrom natsionalisticheskoi kontrrevolutsii na Ukraine 1917-1920", Moscow, 1954, p. 80-83.

²⁹) See D. Doroshenko, I, p. 279.

³⁰) See Antonov-Ovseyenko, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-150.

³¹) Litopys Revolutsii, v. VI, 1926, p. 26.

³²) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.* I, p. 280.

³³) *Ib.*, p. 280.

Petliura at first had to defend Kiev along the railway lines Kiev-Poltava and Kiev-Kursk. But soon he was recalled to Kiev to fight the revolt of the pro-Bolshevik workers there.³⁴ The Slobidsky regiment and Sich Riflemen fought their way through the suburbs of Mykol'ska and Peredmistna occupied by the Bolsheviks and on the 2nd of February the Sich Riflemen entered Kiev. During the night of 3-4 February the Free Cossacks and Slobidsky Regiment freed the very centre of the rebels — the Arsenal. At the same time the Sich Riflemen liberated the Podol — the lower part of the town. The urban water-supply and the electric power station which had also been captured by the rebels were now recaptured from them. To help the defenders of the city there arrived at Kiev the regiment of Kost Hordienko, 300 men under the command of colonel Vsevolod Petriv who came from the Western front. These Ukrainian forces engaged the Bolsheviks for more than 10 days.

The "P. Doroshenko," Bohdan Khmel'nytskyi," "Shevchenko" and "Free Ukraïna" regiments which were corrupted by the Bolshevik propaganda, proclaimed themselves "neutral." But in fact their sympathies lay with the Bolsheviks.³⁵ A large section of the inhabitants of Kiev were pro-Bolshevik as well: some for social and some for national reasons. And at that time in Kiev there were thousands of Russian "white" officers who proclaimed themselves "neutral" in the same way as the fore-mentioned Ukrainian regiments. The national minorities were also on the side of the Bolsheviks and only the Poles helped the Rada in their fight against the Bolsheviks.

The Central Rada was still in Kiev despite the fact that shells of the Bolsheviks guns were bursting over the building of Pedahohichny Museum where it held its sessions. During one of these sessions the Rada passed the land law, so important to an agricultural country like Ukraine. According to this law all land of Ukraine was to become property of the State; the right of the land distribution passes to the Land Committees and the village community: the peasant would receive as much land as he could cultivate with the help of his own family only; the peasants were to receive and make use of the land free of charge.³⁶

By passing this law the Rada thought to paralyse Bolshevik propaganda in Ukraine. Later, when the Germans came to the country the existence of this law was one of the chief causes why well-to-do peasants turned against the Rada and elected Skoropadsky Hetman of the Ukraine. The peasants wished to receive the land free but would have preferred it to be their private property and not the

³⁴) *Ib.*, p. 280.

³⁵) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.* I, p. 281.

³⁶) See P. Khrystiuk, *op. cit.* II, pp. 129-131.

property of the state. At that time also was passed the 8-hour working day law.³⁷

The endeavour of the Rada to take a leftist course led to a Cabinet crisis. The Social Revolutionary faction demanded the resignation of Vynnychenko's Cabinet regarding it as too moderate in the circumstances. On the 30th January Vynnychenko's Cabinet resigned and the Social Revolutionary Holubovych was entrusted with the formation of the new Cabinet. It was a rapid political reshuffle hastened by the shells of Muraviov's forces. Vsevolod Holubovych became Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs. Eight posts were occupied by the Ukrainian Social Revolutionaries and only two by the Ukrainian Social-Democrats. The new Government tried to pursue a more radical policy such as the issuing of the decree on the organization of Soviets as the Government's administrative units. But it was too late, on February 9th the Bolsheviks occupied Kiev and the Rada had to flee to Zhytomyr.

(To be continued)

³⁷) See M. Hrushevskyi, *op. cit.* p. 563.

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MYKHAILO HRUSHEVSKYI — PILLAR OF A NATION

Introduction*

Michael Hrushevskyyi's antagonists considered him "an author of the Ukrainian movement and inventor of the Ukrainian language,"¹ though facts contradict this highly honourable charge without harming Hrushevskyyi's reputation as a scholar or as a Ukrainian patriot. It is clear that neither a nation nor its language can be the product of one person alone, even if this person should be a Hrushevskyyi.

Being devoted to understatement rather than overstatement, I must nevertheless insist that Hrushevskyyi's personality was unique in the life of the Ukrainian people at the turn of the century. If symbolic comparisons are tolerated in historiography, I shall sketch him as a pillar. Having characterized him with this architectural term, I should now elaborate on the nature and quality of this human pillar without whom the modern history of the Ukraine would certainly have been poorer; perhaps less successful; and certainly less dramatic.

Hrushevskyyi's life and role were predetermined by the time of his birth (1866) and the condition his career was subjected to. By 1866 little was left of Ukrainian political life. It had ceased to exist

*) This paper was read at the Second national convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies in Washington, D.C., on April 1, 1967.

1) M. Hrushevskyyi's autobiography, 1914-1919, *Ukraïns'kyi istoryk*, Vol. 3, No. 1-2, New York, 1966, pp. 98-101.

within its autonomous limitations in 1780-83 because of the abolition of the Hetmanate and the introduction of centralized Russian administration. Further, serfdom was enforced in the Ukrainian territories. The Zaporozhian Host, a continuous symbol of Cossack freedom, had been virtually extinguished by 1775. The series of decrees which followed were aimed at total elimination of Ukrainian political, national and cultural life within Tsarist Russia.² Independent thought was under attack throughout the Russian empire. The Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius of 1847, with its modest programme aimed at creating a Slavic federation, was suppressed and its leading members, Taras Shevchenko, Mykola Kostomarov, and Panko Kulish, severely punished.³

Ukrainian historiography, which acted as a means of national identity, invited the scrutinizing eye of Tsarist censorship and the interest of the police. At a time when Russian historiography, apart of certain political limitations, flourished in universities and at the Imperial Academy of Sciences, Ukrainian historiography struggled in agony. Thus, while Russian historiography thrived, its Ukrainian counterpart barely existed with only a few names on its roster: Mykhailo Maksymovych, Mykola Kostomarov, Oleksander Lazarevskyi, Volodymyr Antonovych, Mykhailo Drahomanov were among those who achieved international reputation.⁴ Not until M. Kostomarov (1817-1885) developed a nimble approach could Ukrainian historiography be deemed justifiable.⁵ Hrushevskyi's predecessors, and in particular his teacher Antonovych, quite thoroughly completed the first stage of this massive project.

²) The policy of Russification in the Ukrainian territories was initiated by an ordinance in 1720 which introduced Russian as the language of instruction at the Kiev Academy. Intensified censorship, as an expression of such a policy, was the most obvious intention, as stated in Valuyev's circular of 1863: "There was not, is not, and cannot be" (a Ukrainian language and or a nation). This decree and future application of censorship regulations prohibited the publishing of books in Ukrainian. The so-called Ems Ukase of 1876 went a step further, denying the existence of the Ukrainian nation so that total assimilation with the Great Russian element could be achieved. These restrictions were, at least partly, lifted in 1906.

³) Programme and history of the SS. Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood in: M. Kostomarov, *Knyhy bytiia ukrains'koho narodu*. Ukrains'ka vilna akademiia nauk; Seria: Pamiatky i materialy, No. 1 (Augsburg, 1947).

⁴) On Ukrainian historiography prior to 1917 two titles are of special value: Dmytro Doroshenko, *Ohliad ukrains'koï istoriohrafii* (Prague, 1923). Published in English in *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U. S.*, Vol. 5-6 (1957) No. 18-20; M. I. Marchenko, *Ukrains'ka istoriohrafiiia z davnikh chasiv do seredyiny XIX st.* (Kiev, 1959).

⁵) Antonovych, "Kostomarov kak istorik," *Kievskaya starina*, Vol. 5 (1885), pp. 27, 30-31.

Life and Work

Despite the fact that there still is no exhaustive Hrushevskiy biography available,⁶ it is possible to trace his life and work at least in a general outline. Born in Kholm on September 29, 1866 into the family of an educator. His father, Serhii, the author of a popular textbook of Church Slavonic was well familiar with Ukrainian history. His son Michael, who spent his boyhood in far away Caucasus, never forgot his early training or lost a sentimental attachment to the country of his origin. Young Hrushevskiy went to the classical gymnasium in Tbilisi (Georgia). Frequent visits to Ukraine by the family kindled Michael's curiosity in Ukrainian folklore, literature, and history.⁷ Once back in school this led to his intensive reading of Ukrainian history. During his teenage years he read he works of Kostomarov, Maksymovych, Metlynskiy, Skalkovskiy, Kulish, Pypin, Spasovich, and the journal *Kievskaya starina*.⁸

In Tbilisi Hrushevskiy tried his hand at literary writing. Some of it saw light in the pages of the Ukrainian newspaper *Dilo*.⁹ At this point he felt he might aid the Ukrainian national cause with his pen.¹⁰ But soon afterwards he lost interest in writing and fervidly resumed his studies, which were generalized in nature. In 1886 he enrolled in the Department of History and Philosophy at the University of Kiev. He thus arrived at the gate of his dreams, "the centre of Ukrainian knowledge and literature."¹¹

⁶ Hrushevskiy himself left two short biographical sketches: *Avtobiohrafii* (1), (Lviv, 1906) 16 pp: *Avtobiohrafii* (2), (Kiev, 1926) were published in several Ukrainian journals and lately in *Ukraïns'kyi istoryk*, Vol. 3, No. 1-2, (New York, 1966), pp. 98-102. An extensive bibliography on Hrushevskiy's life and work is provided by Liubomyr Vynar, "Zhyttia i naukova diialnist' Mykhaila Hrushevs'koho," *Ukraïns'kyi istoryk*, Vol. 3, No. 1-2, pp. 15-31. Furthermore: Borys Krupnytskyi, "M. Hrushevs'kyi i yoho istorychna pratsia," in: M. Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia-Ukraïny-Rusy* (New York, 1954), Vol. 1, pp. I-XXIX; Dmytro Doroshenko, "A Survey of Ukrainian Historiography," *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, Vol. 5-6, No. 18-20, pp. 248-275. Hans Koch, "Mychailo Hrushevskiy (1866-1966) Zum 100-jährigen Geburtstag," *Ukraine in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Vol. 13, No. 37 (1966), pp. 151-158. *Literaturnaya entsiklopedia* (Moscow, 1930), Vol. 3, col. 71-74. This Soviet version of Hrushevskiy's biography, attitudes accepted after his death to the contrary, is surprisingly tolerant and objective. There, Hrushevskiy's scholarship is acknowledged without serious disagreement and the furious attack that is evident in *Bolshaya sovetskaya entsiklopediya*, 2nd ed. (Moscow, 1952), Vol. 13, pp. 145-146, and *Ukraïns'ka radians'ka entsyklopedia* (Kiev, 1960), Vol. 3, pp. 509-510.

⁷ *Avtobiohrafii* (1), p. 1.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁹ Bibliography of his belle lettres in *Yuvileinyi Zbirnyk na poshanu akademaka M. S. Hrushevs'koho*, Vol. 3 (Kiev, 1929), pp. 49-51.

¹⁰ M. Hrushevs'kyi, "Yak ya buv kolys' beletrystom," *Pid zoriamy* (Kiev, 1928), p. 6.

Only in Hrushevskiy's imaginative mind could the Kiev of that time have appeared as "the Ukrainian centre." Certainly not much of the "Ukrainian spirit" was left in that city. Thoroughly Russified in language and way of life, few Ukrainian islands of thought remained. Among them were a few institutions and some discernible names such as Hrushevskiy's teacher of Ukrainian-Lithuanian historiography, Volodymyr Antonovych.

The 1840's saw the establishment of the Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius. This was followed during the 1870-80's by the establishment of *Kyïvs'ka Hromada* which served to group the Ukrainian intellectual elite. The *Ukase* of 1863, prohibited all publication in Ukrainian, discouraging political activity, but at the same time indirectly stimulating cultural and literary production.

In 1883, *Kievskaya starina*, a periodical in Russian devoted to *Ukrainica*, began to appear. For the next quarter of a century it fostered serious study of the Ukrainian past and culture. By way of contrast the university of St. Vladimir at Kiev steered shy of all Ukrainian studies. New regulation restricted the university's curriculum in 1884, which served to demote the political and social sciences to secondary place while lending greater emphasis to classical philology. A police regime sifted the university's academic freedom and as a result both the faculty and a majority of the students sought refuge in scholarship and avoided political activities. Perhaps it was for this reason that Hrushevskiy rejected any association with politically active Ukrainian students during the first two years at the university.

He soon became personally acquainted with Professor Antonovych whom he initially accused of being too reserved.¹² However, it is clear that the profound nature of Hrushevskiy's research may be traced to his influence.¹³

This great master found a responsive, eager student in Hrushevskiy, who was in his early twenties, and by now an advanced student. Hrushevskiy now brought forward the first of his penetrating studies; initially as seminar papers and later in published form.¹⁴ *The History of the Province of Kiev*, earned him a golden medal and a "professors' stipend" in the Department of Russian history.¹⁵ By 1890 Hrushevskiy

¹¹) *Avtobiohrafiiia* (1), p. 2.

¹²) *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹³) D. I. Bahalii, *Narys istorii Ukraïny na sotsialno-ekonomichnomu grunti*, (Kiev, 1928), Vol. 1, p. 74; Hans Koch, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

¹⁴) "Yuzhnorusskiye gosподarskiye zamki v polovine XVI veka; Istoriko-statisticheskii ocherk," *Universitetskaya Izvestiya*, (Kiev, 1890), No. 2, pp. 1-33; *Volynskiy vopros 1097-1112* (Kiev, 1891) and the most notable one: *Istoriya Kievskoy zemli ot smerti Yaroslava do kontsa XIV veka* (Kiev, 1891).

¹⁵) *Avtobiohrafiiia* (1), p. 3.

had completed his formal education and planned to specialize in Ukrainian history. He spent the following three years in the archives of Moscow and Warsaw doing research for his dissertation of *A Historical Outline of the Bar District*,¹⁶ which earned him the title of "magister of history" in 1894.

When V. Antonovych, probably for reason of age, declined to accept chair of East European history at the University of Lviv (Lemberg) in 1894, he put forward the name of his star pupil. Antonovych's recommendation of Hrushevskiyi provided him with a momentous springboard. At the age of 28 he went to a city which was to play a central role in the Ukrainian national renaissance of the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

The chair of "European history with special emphasis on Eastern Europe," was the result of a Polish-Ukrainian reconciliation in Galicia and of Vienna's sympathetic attitude toward the demands of Ukrainian representatives in the *Reichsrat*. With the appointment of Hrushevskiyi it became obvious that the history of the Ukraine was going to be an unofficial subject in the university's curriculum.¹⁷

As his first order of business at Lviv in 1894, Hrushevskiyi organized a special standing seminar for Ukrainian history which soon developed into a place for the first generation of Ukrainian historians to serve their apprenticeship. Living in Lviv where the Shevchenko Scientific Society (*Naukove Tovarystvo im. Shevchenka*) served to focus expressions of the Ukrainian intellectual drive inspired new undertaking on his part.¹⁸ During the following years Hrushevskiyi worked with almost feverish excitement, writing on history, culture, and literature. The result was approximately two thousand titles, which included monographs, articles, documents, and reviews.¹⁹

In addition to his duties at the University, Hrushevskiyi assumed editorship of *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka* in 1895. Two years later he was elected president of this unofficial Ukrainian academy. In 1898, at his initiative, *Literaturno-naukovyi visnyk* came into existence. For decades this journal helped influence Ukrainian political and cultural thought.

Twenty years of Hrushevskiyi's energetic involvement made Lviv the locus of Ukrainian scholarship, at least until Kiev regained its position after 1905. Hrushevskiyi's seminars produced such students of Ukrainian history and literature as S. Tomashivs'kyi, Myron

¹⁶ *Barskoye starostvo; Istoricheskiye ocherki*.

¹⁷ O. Barvins'kyi, "Zasnovannia katedry istorii Ukraïny u L'vivs'komu Universyteti," *Zapysky N. T. Sh.*, Vol. 141-143, pp. 3-4.

¹⁸ Koch, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

¹⁹ There is no complete bibliography of Hrushevskiyi's writings available and it is presently impossible to produce one; however, close to completion is Liubomyr Vynar's "Bibliohrafiia prats' pro Mykhaila Hrushevs'koho," *Ukraïns'kyi istoryk*, Vol. 3, no. 1-2, pp. 122-29.

Korduba, J. Krevetskyi, Ivan Krypiakevych, K. Studyns'kyi, V. Hnatiuk, V. Shchurat, M. Vozniak and last, but hardly least, Ivan Franko. Many others followed these distinguished men. This obvious success was accompanied by a constantly growing number of publications dealing with the culture of Ukraine.

In the first years of his Lviv period Hrushevskyi was aware of the manifold difficulties which confronted him. "I originally intended to write a popular history for a broader circle of our readers," he confessed in his autobiography. But he clearly saw the obstacles to a normal development of Ukrainian historiography, namely the lack of documents needed for research and writing, hence he concentrated on this vital area. In 1896 he began editing a series of documents which were published in five volumes.²⁰ By 1898 the first of his ten volume *History of the Ukraine-Rus'* went to press announcing a new historiography.²¹ For the first time a complete and comprehensive history of the Ukrainian people was available spanning the period from its early history up to the Treaty of Hadiach (1658).

Hrushevskyi devoted over 36 years of his life to this monumental task with aroused the admiration and appreciation of Ukrainians and the indignation of their opponents. The importance of this work to Ukrainians may be measured not only in terms of the academic achievements, which were to follow, but also in terms of the growth of national political aspirations and self-awareness.

While working on his history, Hrushevskyi produced a great number of lesser works and articles which were printed in *Zapysky* and *Visnyk*. Further in order to intensify the Ukrainian question and to win friends for this cause Hrushevskyi, in 1904, published in Russian *An Outline of the History of the Ukrainian People*,²² which originally had been a series of lectures delivered in Paris in 1903. Encouraged by the positive response this study received, popular histories appeared in Ukrainian, German, French and Bulgarian.

Aware of his "historical mission" Hrushevskyi, like many other comparable personalities among submerged people such as Francis Palacky and Thomas Masaryk, carefully watched political developments in Russia and on occasion addressed himself to the political issues of the day. Hrushevskyi, as a historian, felt that Kiev was the real centre of the Ukraine and he knew he belonged there. The revolution of 1905 and the consequent liberalization of the Tsarist regime seemed to stimulate thoughts of returning "home." While still associated with the University of Lviv he applied for a position at the University of Kiev whose negative response indicated no

²⁰ *Rozvidky i materialy do istorii Ukraïny-Rusy* (Lviv, 1896-1904).

²¹ *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusy*, 10 vols. in 11, Vols. 1-7 (Lviv, 1898-1909); Vols 8-10 (Kiev, 1913-1936). Reprinted by "Knyhospilka" in New York, 1954-58.

²² *Ocherk istorii ukrainskago naroda* (SPB, 1904).

material change of policy. "Russian professors of the Black Hundred attitude"²³ refused to admit a Ukrainian scholar to their closed ranks. Years of fruitful labour were suddenly interrupted by the guns of 1914. In this hour of history Hrushevskyyi felt he had to be closer to his countrymen. He returned via Italy to Russia. This attests to the fact that he was neither an Austrophile nor a Germanophile as some sources insist.²⁴ One chapter in his life had been completed. The next opened dramatically with his arrest in 1914 by the Russian administration soon after his arrival in Kiev.²⁵ Despite the absence of any legal charges against him, he was exiled to Simbirsk and later permitted to take up restricted residency in Moscow.

The March Revolution of 1917 made his return to Kiev possible. Here he had been elected in absentia to head the newly emerged *Central Rada*, a body which claimed to represent Ukrainians in this eventful time. This elevation to the highest national office Ukrainians had to offer demonstrates Hrushevskyyi's emergence as a national hero. There appeared little disagreement among the people as to his place and role. Nevertheless, his achievements in scholarship were not matched in politics. Humanitarian by nature, populist in his historical attitude and as precise as an archivist, he failed to bring to politics the necessary prerequisites.

Certainly, the Ukrainian issue was extremely complex in itself. Yet Hrushevskyyi, while presiding over sessions of the *Rada*, would turn his attention from the proceedings in order to make notes for his *History of Ukrainian Literature*.²⁶ Time and conditions required a completely different man, who could firmly lead the young and insufficiently prepared nation across her "Red Sea." Despite his election as first president of the Ukrainian National Republic on the eve of Pavlo Skoropadsky's *coup d'etat* of April 29, 1918,²⁷ Hrushevskyyi supported up to that time a federative plan upon which a modern and progressive Russian state would be re-organized. By December, 1905, he had formulated his programme which expressed his feeling that "Ukrainians of all political trends and views should

²³) *Literaturnaya entsiklopediya*, Vol. 3, col. 71.

²⁴) *Sovetskaya istoricheskaya entsiklopediya*. (Moscow, 1963), Vol. 4, p. 858. Hrushevskyyi himself clearly stated that he did not want to be identified as an Austrophile ("Avtobiografiia" (2), *Ukraïnskyi istoryk*, Vol. 3, No. 1-2, p. 99).

²⁵) It is not true that Hrushevskyyi was deported by the Russians from Galicia in 1915 as is mistakenly reported by M. T. Florinsky in his *Russia: A History and Interpretation* (New York, 1963), Vol. 2, p. 1327.

²⁶) During the time of his exile in Russia, Hrushevskyyi began writing his history of Ukrainian literature which he ultimately completed during the twenties: *Istoriia Ukraïns'koi literatury*. 5 vols., (Kiev — L'viv, 1923-26).

²⁷) Dmytro Doroshenko, *Istoriia Ukraïny, 1917-1923* rr. 2 vols. (Uzhhorod, 1930-32). Vol. 2, p. 35.

accept the following plan: territorial-national autonomy for the Ukraine within a federated Russia; introduction of Ukrainian language for all administrative institutions on Ukrainian territory; security of conditions and means for a free development of Ukrainian culture; an end to economic exploitation of material resources.²⁸

Since these ideas were not acceptable to either the Soviet who held power in Russia or the Germans who controlled Kiev, Hrushevskyyi decided to take another course. Abandoning political arguments he held that Ukrainians are, historically speaking, an independent people whose origin can be traced to the Kievan state. All this proved to be of little value. He abandoned his political career and in short order he slipped into obscurity during the regime of Hetman Skoropadskyyi. He was ignored during the short period of the Directory and finally chose voluntary exile in Vienna and Prague where he remained until 1924. There, however, he lacked the materials for serious research. When the new Soviet regime granted him assurances of unhampered work in Kiev, he returned once again to his beloved city.²⁹

Back in Kiev he was welcomed by many of his supporters and also tolerated by the regime, for his presence became an important asset to it. After all, his return could be construed not only as a reconciliation with the Soviet power but, and even more importantly, it meant

²⁸ M. Hrushevs'kyi, *Z bizhuchoi khvyli; statti i zamitky na temu dnia 1905-1906 r.* (Kiev, 1906), p. 42.

²⁹ His return to the Soviet Ukraine puzzled many Ukrainians and is still today a disputable subject. There is a certain desire to justify his move with his accomplishments in Kiev and afterwards in Moscow as a member of the Academy of Sciences. But as of late a former member of the Ukrainian Social-Revolutionary Party, V. Dubrovskyyi, disclosed that Hrushevskyyi returned to the Soviet Ukraine "by order of this party to continue political activity toward an uprising against the Bolshevik regime." (*Ukrains'kyi istoryk*, Vol. 3, No. 1-2, p. 109). Under present conditions, however, it appears improbable that sufficient evidence can substantiate this original thesis, for Hrushevskyyi's activity was far removed from any political engagement. It is also impossible, in view of present political conditions, to prove the Soviet version of Hrushevskyyi's return. They claim that Hrushevskyyi requested to return to the Ukraine. (*Visti Vse-ukrains'koï akademii nauk*, No. 6-7, Kiev, 1934, pp. 35-36). Recently the Soviet version concerning Hrushevskyyi's decision was presented by F. P. Shevchenko in his well documented article "Why did Mykhailo Hrushevskyyi return to the Soviet Ukraine", *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* (1966) No. 11, pp. 13-30. While the article sufficiently explains the background for Hrushevskyyi's decision, it still does not answer the question why the Soviet regime has rebuffed the scholar for over two decades and why none of his works had been printed since 1936, while works of many Russian "bourgeois" historians deserved new editions. Leaving motives and circumstances aside, it is conditionally reasonable to agree with H. Seton-Watson that "such a distinguished Ukrainian as the historian Hrushevskyyi has for a time at least given support to the Soviet regime". (*Eastern Europe between the Wars, 1918-1941*. Cambridge U-P, 1946, p. 333).

official recognition of the *status quo* by this popular figure who still held the respect of all regardless of political affiliation or class loyalties. The newly initiated programme of Ukrainization seemed to please both Hrushevskyyi and the old Ukrainian Communists such as M. Skrypnyk, V. Zatons'kyi and even A. Liubchenko and Yurii Kotsiubyns'kyi. The recently inaugurated programme of NEP helped to create a more relaxed atmosphere throughout the country and enabled Hrushevskyyi to pursue his scholarly endeavours. His presence rallied national forces to the regime which at first had merely tolerated Ukrainian national sentiments. Yet it remained hostile to the very ideas which Hrushevskyyi championed: national democracy and humanitarianism. The University of Kiev and the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences experienced renewed vitality which expressed itself in new series of publications.³⁰ Several volumes of studies on the history of Ukraine were published by the university. The Historical Section of the Academy issued *Zapysky, Naukovyi zbirnyk Istorychnoi sektsii* (since 1925, 6 vols.), *Za sto lit* (since 1927, 6 vols.) which dealt mainly with the social and cultural life of Ukraine during the nineteenth century.

The historical journal *Ukraina* reappeared and was made the official organ of the Kiev scientific society, and until 1930 all leading historians contributed to it. Among Hrushevskyyi's closest collaborators during this period were Ol. Hrushevskyyi, V. Danylyevych, P. Klymenko, I. Hermaize, V. Shcherbyna, and L. Dobrovols'kyi. Furthermore, volumes IX, in two parts, and volume X were added to his *History of Ukraine-Rus'* covering the period of Khmelnyts'kyi and Vyhovs'kyi, including the Union of Hadiach.

Until 1930, Ukrainian intellectuals enjoyed relative freedom and Hrushevskyyi's prestige was not seriously challenged. This happy situation ended in that year with the crushing of the "Union for the Liberation of Ukraine." Hrushevskyyi was officially "invited" to Moscow to work in the Academy of Sciences of the USSR; with his absence from Kiev it was easier to subordinate the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences to the Communist party. Many of the old non-Marxist Ukrainian historians were exiled to Siberia or executed.

Hrushevskyyi died in 1934. His body was brought from the Caucasus and the Soviet regime paid its last formal homage by granting a state funeral in Kiev.³¹ Thereafter, the academician Hrushevskyyi was

³⁰) A complete bibliography of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences publications in: D. M. Shtohryn (ed.), *Kataloh vydan' Ukraïns'koi akademii nauk, 1918-1930* (Chicago, 1966). On the history of the Academy: N. Polons'ka-Vasylenko, *Ukraïns'ka akademiia nauk*. 2 vols. (Munich, 1955-58).

³¹) To this end the Council of the Peoples' Commissars of the Ukr. SSR issued the following statement: "Considering the unusual scientific achievements for the Soviet Socialist Ukraine by academician M. S. Hrushevskyyi, the Council decrees the following: to bury the academician Hrushevskyyi in the

declared an "enemy of the Soviet system, bourgeois-nationalist and falsifier of Ukrainian history."³² This same "anti-scientific" Hrushevskiy, together with V. P. Volgin and M. Pokrovskiy, was just four years earlier appointed official Soviet delegate to the International Committee of Historians in charge of organizing congresses.³³

Hrushevskiy the Historian

Thirty-three years after Hrushevskiy's death, any assessor of his unique intellectual accomplishments, his manifold writing, and his exceptionally thorough knowledge of his subject must arrive at one conclusion: Had Hrushevskiy been born in Russia or in any other nation state, he would by now be one of the most recognized and celebrated of historians. His great handicap was his Ukrainian origin from which he refused to divorce himself. On the contrary, he intentionally indentified himself with his submerged people and while he succeeded so brilliantly in becoming the *primus inter pares*, he was refused his place by many who saw in him an obstacle on their way to the platform of exclusive authority and unmatched popularity. The nationally conscious Hrushevskiy could hardly be tolerated by those Russians³⁴ who denied the existence of a Ukrainian nation and not always by Russian Marxists who for different reasons rejected the idea of Ukrainian nationalism. A further consequence of this attitude was the effect it had upon some historians in Europe and America.

capital of the Ukraine — Kiev. Funeral expenses to be paid by the state... To grant Hrushevskiy's family a personal pension of five hundred roubles monthly." (*Visti Vseukraïns'koï akademii nauk*, No. 6-7 (1934), pp. 39-40).

³² A typical Soviet view on Hrushevskiy is found in *Istoriografiya istorii SSSR z drevneishikh vremen do kontsa Velikoy Oktiabr'skoy sotsialisticheskoy revolyutsii* (Moscow, 1961), p. 488. "Hrushevskiy advocated a bourgeois-nationalistic anti-scientific approach to the conflict between Ukrainians and Russians in their historical past. He attempted to substantiate the completely false and politically harmful idea about the full 'sovereignty' of the Ukrainian people in the past as in the present... He constantly contrasted Ukrainians to Great Russians by associating the former with the peoples of Western Europe. Hrushevskiy's works are falsifications of history."

³³ V. P. Volgin, "Mezhdunarodnyi Kongress istorikov v Varshave," *Istori-cheskiy sbornik AN SSSR*. (Moscow, 1934), Vol. 1, p. 6.

³⁴ A notable exception among Russian intellectuals were the liberals grouped around *Vestnik Yevropy*. There (Vol. 48, No. 1 (1913), p. 447) a short review of Hrushevskiy's *Istoriya Ukraïnskago Kazachestva do vozsoyedeniyni s Moskovskim gosudarstvom* (SPB, 1913) appeared. The reviewer emphasized Hrushevskiy's scholarship, "All his scientific apparatus, always complex, well composed and instructive... The book is of great value and provides a new perspective... It is to be recommended for experts."

The academician Hrushevskiy was branded "romanticist, nationalist, anti-scientific" without being given a chance to defend himself or be defended. His followers and supporters, defeated by war and revolution, and left without financial resources, were denied appointment at the very places where scholarship was supposed to dominate minds and decisions and felt bitter and deceived. Thus today Hrushevskiy still remains basically unknown in the United States where the study of Eastern European history is progressing very rapidly.³⁵

Referring to Hrushevskiy as a "romanticist of the nineteenth century" is an obvious over-simplification bent on minimizing his reputation. The creative heritage of Hrushevskiy is complex. It includes works on the history of the Ukraine, its literature, ethnography, folklore, and sociology. In short, a wealth of collected, processed and systematized factual material which enriches historical and cultural lore.

As a historian, M. Hrushevskiy developed under the influence of those idealistic concepts of Ukrainian history proposed by M. Kostomarov and V. Antonovych. It is the latter from whom he inherited the theory of classlessness of the Ukrainian nation. He expressed his credo in his first lecture delivered at the University of Lviv in 1894: "The people, the popular masses, are and must be the Alpha and Omega of any historical treatise. The people, with their ideals and struggles, successes and mistakes are the sole hero of history."

³⁵ The only work of Hrushevskiy in English is a translation of his popular *Iliustrovana istoria Ukraïny* (Kiev, 1912). (*A History of Ukraine*, Ed. by O. J. Frederiksen, Yale U. P., 1941). Until 1954 only two libraries in this country had a complete set of *History of Ukraine-Rus'*. The situation improved in 1954 when "Knyhospilka" printed a new edition. *The American Historical Association's Guide to Historical Literature* (N. Y., 1961) reports of only two titles and in a passing reference refers to Hrushevskiy as a "romanticist" of the 19th century.

Anatole G. Mazour in his *Modern Russian Historiography* (New York, 1958) devotes a special chapter to Hrushevskiy (pp. 158-163) and credits him with scholarship and important contributions to the history of East Europe. It is surprising though to discover that the *Slavic Review* in its twenty-five volumes published not one single article concerning Hrushevskiy. A review of fifteen lines in length by Prof. A. Armstrong merely announced Hrushevskiy's 10 volumes of *History* and urged Libraries to include these into their collections. Two other reviews in *American Historical Review* (Vol. 48, No. 2, p. 316) by Sheldon Curtiss, and in *Journal of Modern History* (1942) (Vol. 14, No. 1) by A. A. Skerpan demonstrate that the reviewers lacked sufficient information to objectively evaluate Hrushevskiy as a historian.

In various textbooks of the history of Russia references to Hrushevskiy are limited to one or two sentences. M. C. Wren in *The Course of Russian History* does not even mention him. John Reshetar treats Hrushevskiy's political activities in *The Ukrainian Revolution* (Princeton U. P., 1952). More material on Hrushevskiy is available in books dealing with the history of Ukraine.

In Hrushevskyyi's works prime importance is placed on development of national ideas as the decisive force in the evolutionary development of the Ukrainian nation. Hence, a belief in the continuity and organic unity of historical process in the economic, political, cultural, and ethnic development of the western and southwestern lands of Rus' (i.e.), the territory of Ukraine from the time of Kievan Rus' down to the conquest by the Duchy of Lithuania and Poland.

Hrushevskyyi was the first Ukrainian historian to adopt an analytical approach based on pluralistic methods such as those practised chiefly by the so-called Durkheim school in Western Europe: a combination of empirical research and sociological awareness. As a strong believer in democracy, Hrushevskyyi felt much safer on populist ground. This is an idea ubiquitous to all his historical writings and political activities. His political credo prior to 1917 developed along federalist lines.³⁶ As a leader of the Ukrainian Republic he actively contributed to the formation of political democracy, this heritage was nevertheless of great value. Obviously the Ukrainian National Republic was short-lived, but even in failure Hrushevskyyi's ideals left their mark.

To Hrushevskyyi it was obvious that the history of the Ukrainian people, in absence of an uninterrupted statehood, could not be fitted into Leopold von Ranke's or N. Karamzin's outlines. In an introductory chapter to the first volume of his *History*, Hrushevskyyi apologized: "Since the Ukrainian people during its history did not enjoy continuous national independent life... its uninterrupted history can only be traced in its socio-economic and cultural aspects. If political history would be considered only, its organic unity would be incomplete... Ongoing socio-economic and cultural processes provide the sole foundation, which only gradually underwent changes."³⁷ Once he had committed himself to breaking with the historical limit of so-called "written history" in order to delve into pre-history he was forced to depend upon archeology, ethnology, anthropology, comparative sociology and even comparative linguistics.

³⁶) Hrushevskyyi's concept of federalism was not limited to Russian-Ukrainian relations. To this topic he wrote: "Having in mind a world federation as the final stage, I shall approach it first as a federation of states bound by geographic, economic, and cultural conditions and not as something forced upon us by certain events and forcefully limited to one prison." He visualized the "Black Sea Federation" as a first step toward this broader structure. Political Pan-slavism was not his programme. (M. Hrushevskyyi, *Na porozhi Novoi Ukraïny* (Kiev, 1918), pp. 24-25.

His return in 1924 to the USSR must not be construed as a reconciliation of his federalistic ideas with the Soviet version of federalism. Only two years later he reminded his audience that the federation of all of Eastern Europe would represent an entity "united by common problems and unified by future responsibilities." (*Yuvilei akad. M. S. Hrushevskoho, 1886-1926* (Kiev, 1927), p. 27).

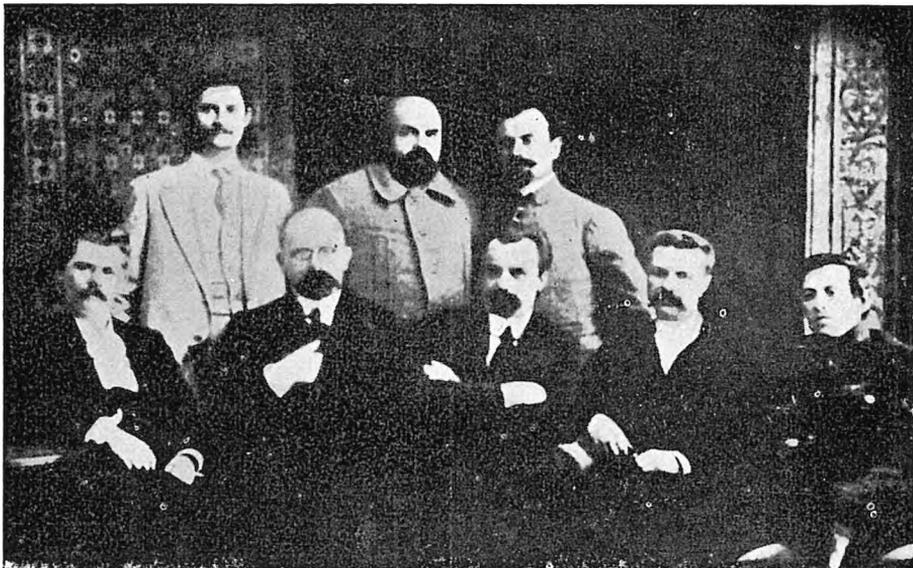
³⁷) *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusy* 3rd ed. (Kiev, 1913), Vol. 1, pp. 16-20.



MYKHAILO HRUSHEVSKYI



MYKHAILO HRUSHEVSKYI AMONG MEMBERS OF THE UKRAINIAN ACADEMY OF ARTS (1917)
Sitting (from the left): Manevych (emigrated), O. Murashko (shot by the Russian Bolsheviks in 1920),
F. Krychevskiy (emigrated, forcibly repatriated from Germany in 1945 and reputedly liquidated by the
Bolsheviks in 1947), M. Hrushevskiy, I. Steshenko, M. Burachek. Standing: Yu. Narbut, V. Krychevskiy
(emigrated), V. Boichuk (died in Russian concentration camp in 1939).



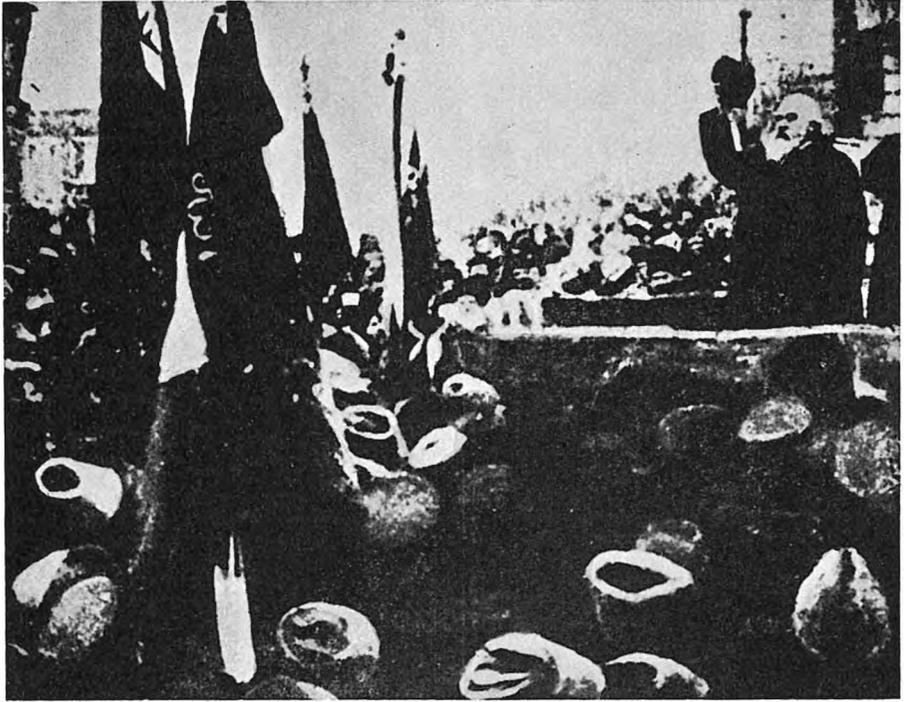
THE FIRST GENERAL SECRETARIAT (GOVERNMENT)
OF THE UKRAINIAN CENTRAL RADA IN 1917.

Sitting (from the right): S. Petliura, S. Yefremov, V. Vynnychenko,
Kh. Baranovskyi, I. Steshenko. Standing: B. Martos, M. Stasiuk, P. Khrystiuk.



THE THIRD ALL-UKRAINIAN MILITARY CONGRESS IN KYIV
(November 2-12, 1917).

A demonstration in St. Sophia's Square. The Congress demanded proclamation
of Ukraine's independence. In the centre: S. Petliura and M. Hrushevskyi.



THE THIRD ALL-UKRAINIAN MILITARY CONGRESS.
M. Hrushevskiy addresses the demonstrators in St. Sophia's Square in Kyiv.

The organization of the Ukrainian Sociological Institute in Vienna in 1919 by Hrushevskyyi may be taken as a mark of his valuation of sociology. He continued this institute under the auspices of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences after his return to Kiev. Perhaps because of his active interest in so many areas and fields, Hrushevskyyi in his first four volumes refused to subscribe to one or another universal historical scheme.³⁸ He rejected the practice of the Marxists on the one hand and scholars of the Hegelian school on the other. A rejection of schematisation seems to be characteristic of Hrushevskyyi.³⁹ In volumes five and six of his *History* he demonstrates this in his treatment of the socio-economic aspects of the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries.

Now for the first time, Hrushevskyyi felt he had enough source material to employ positivistic analysis successfully. But even here he unnecessarily, and to a point of neglect, avoided a synthetic approach. He left readers with well organized material on a chronological-territorial base. True, occasionally he admitted his preference for political events over economic forces, and at the same time spiritual forces are recognized as important factors in the formation of the modern Ukrainian nation.⁴⁰

Hrushevskyyi cannot be viewed as an example of romanticism of the nineteenth century. Granted, he came from a school of middle nineteenth century thought, but his positivistic methodology is obviously different from that subscribed to by V. Kostomarov and his generation. Hrushevskyyi, like his teacher Antonovych, emphasized a multi-causal approach in any analysis of the formation of a dominant national idea. He rejected monism and instead posited a pluralistic understanding of historical factors which move history forward. Thus this concept of a "national idea," in Hrushevskyyi's hands, became an omnipresent factor in his *History*.⁴¹ As a result of his dedication to an organic theory of history, Hrushevskyyi searched for a compromise between the external and internal elements of the socio-political process. The idea of class society remained foreign to his reasoning because of his rejection of the concept of atomization of a submerged people. Of course, he was well aware of the development of certain elements of class structure in the Cossack Ukraine, however, participation in numerous wars by the population as a whole reduced the importance of this situation.

He had been critical of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, willingly defended the people, as in the past, he sympathized with the so-called "Tatar

³⁸) Hrushevskyyi, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 359-360; Vol. 3, pp. 343-44.

³⁹) Illia Vytanovych, "Uvahy do metodolohii istoriosofii Mykhaila Hrushevskoho," *Ukrains'kyi istoryk*, Vol. 3, No. 1-2, p. 35.

⁴⁰) Hrushevskyyi, *op. cit.*, Vol. 5, p. 385.

⁴¹) Vytanovych, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

men," yet he found a different criteria with which to judge Ivan Mazepa. The "national idea" became synonymous with Mazepa's "state idea." This treatment of Mazepa shows Hrushevskiy's willingness to compromise and to change in his methodological ideas. Moreover, it also reflects the influence of other Ukrainian historical thought developed by M. Vladymirskiy-Budanov, V. Luchitskiy, and, a decade later, Stepan Tomashiv'skiy and V. Lypyn'skiy. Several foreign writers and philosophers contributed to Hrushevskiy's development and changing outlook. Among them were Wilhelm Wundt, Wilhelm Dilthey, and Emile Durkheim. Hrushevskiy freely admitted these influences in his ninth volume: "To Historians, after all, it is sometimes extremely important to know not only how the events took place, but also how those events were accepted by contemporaries, and how they affected them." This suggests that not only objective but also subjective elements could affect sociological developments.

To measure Hrushevskiy's historicism and contribution in a restricted amount of time is beyond the possible, therefore I must limit myself to specific, selected issues for which this notable scholar may be primarily remembered. Besides his "anti-Norse theory" and concept of the "classlessness of the Ukrainian people," he also dealt with the "Traditional scheme of 'Russian' history and the problem of a rational systematisation of the history of the Eastern Slavs."⁴² It was Hrushevskiy's intention to deal with the origins of

⁴² *Sbornik statey po slavianovedeniyu*, Imp. akademiya nauk (SPB, 1904). Vol. 1, English text in: *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U. S.*, (New York, 1952), No. 4, pp. 355-364.

At this point a short excursion on the subject of "the scheme" is necessary in order to clarify some points in this paper. The basis of the traditional scheme of "Russian" history lies in the genealogical idea: the genealogy of the Moscow dynasty. Russian historiography adopted it as the basis for the national history of the Great Russians as well as for the history of Russian law. Having never been challenged since its inception, this scheme became "traditional."

As for the Kievan State and its laws and culture, Hrushevskiy maintains that they were the creation of the southwestern Slavs, the Ukrainians (Ruthenians, Rusyns). The Vladimir-Moscow state was on the other hand the creation of another nationality, the Great Russian. The Kievan Period did not pass into the Vladimir-Moscow Period, but into the Galician-Volynian Period of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and, later, to the Lithuanian-Polish Period of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries.

The "traditional scheme" is not capable of furnishing a sound explanation of the origin of Ukrainians and, even less so, of Belorussians in its confusing presentation of the history of the Great Russians. The term Russian history contains a combination of several conflicting concepts:

- (1) The history of the Russian state; its formation and growth.
- (2) The history of Russia; the history of events which took place in its territory.
- (3) The history of the "Rus' nationalities."
- (4) The history of the (Great) Russian people (in terms of state organization and cultural life).

the three Eastern Slavic peoples by dividing them according to national sentiments. For the first time the Russian scheme constructed by V. N. Tatishchev,⁴³ and popularized by N. M. Karamzin,⁴⁴ was seriously challenged by a non-Russian scholar. However, Hrushevskiy was not the only one to express doubt. Several Russian historians had expressed reservation as to the accuracy of Tatishchev's reasoning, who had begun the history of Muscovy-Russia with the Kievan State.⁴⁵ Hrushevskiy's innovation in Russian history will doubtlessly divide historians for a long time to come. Recently published studies by H. Paszkiewicz⁴⁶ reveal the complexity of this issue.

Ukrainian historians of nationalist orientation had few doubts that Hrushevskiy's new interpretation was correct. D. Doroshenko, underlining this important contribution, asserts: "The most meritorious value of Hrushevskiy's work for Ukrainian historiography lies in the fact that he established and presented to the scholarly world a well based scheme of the history of the Ukrainian people throughout the whole territory they inhabited and throughout their historical development, and that he proved the continuity and integrity of this process."⁴⁷

Abroad Hrushevskiy's scheme was favourably received by many German and East European historians.⁴⁸ Reflecting this, Otto Hoetzsch

Hrushevskiy rejected as historically unacceptable "All-Russian" history (obshcherusskaya) since there is no "All-Russian" nationality. There may be a history of all the "Russian nationalities," if one wishes to call it so, or a history of the East Slavs. Hence he submitted the idea of presenting the history of each nationality separately, in accordance with its development, from the beginning to the present. He practised this new approach in the *History of Ukraine*. This view suggests that Russian history should be rearranged and its beginning placed, not in the Kievan State, but on ethnic Russian territories. The same should apply to the history of Belorussia.

⁴³ V. N. Tatishchev, *Istoriya Rossiyskaya s samykh drevneyshikh vremen*. 5 vols. (Moscow, 1768-1848), Vol. 1, pp. 540-545.

⁴⁴ N. M. Karamzin, *Istoriya Gosudarstva Rossiyskogo*. 12 vols. (SPB, 1818-1824), Vol. 1, p. 122 ff.

⁴⁵ N. Storozhev (ed.), *Russkaya istoriya s drevneyshikh vremen do Smutnogo vremeni*. (Moscow, 1898); A. E. Presniakov, *Obrazovaniye velikorusskogo gosudarstva* (Petrograd, 1918); Presniakov affirmed the correctness of Hrushevskiy's historical scheme: "brilliantly elaborated in Hrushevskiy's exhaustive *History of Ukraine-Rus'*" (p. 1.).

M. K. Liubavskiy, *Obrazovaniye osnovnoy gosudarstvennoy teritorii velikorusskoy narodnosti*. (Leningrad, 1929).

⁴⁶ *The Origin of Russia*, (London, 1954); *The Making of the Russian Nation*, (London, 1963).

⁴⁷ D. Doroshenko, "A Survey of Ukrainian Historiography," *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U. S.*, Vol. 5-6 (1957), No. 18-20, p. 264.

⁴⁸ Koch, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

and Hans von Rimscha clearly distinguish between the Kievan State and Muscovy-Russia.⁴⁹ Polish national historiographers never doubted the question of the succession to the Kievan State (Kijowska Ruś)⁵⁰ which was continued then as the territories of the Duchy of Lithuania.

Russian historians who had been critical of his "Russian scheme" were refuted in the introduction to the second edition of *Outline of the History of the Ukrainian People* (SPB, 1906). "Certainly, there was no Ukrainian nation in its final form in the ninth and tenth centuries, so neither was there in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries a Great Russian or Ukrainian nation in the form of our contemporary understanding. However, I, as any other historian, who sees his duty in exploration of the national evolution, am expected to begin with the early origin of the formation of a nation. For this reason, the cultural, economic and political life of the Southern group of East Slavic tribes from which finally emerged the Ukrainian nation, should be a part of the history of Ukraine — and certainly, with greater justification than is done with the inclusion of the "Kievan period" into the history of the Great Russian state, a scheme known otherwise as "Russian history."

With the emergence of the Soviet regime, this Russian-Ukrainian dialogue ended officially. It was replaced by a new Soviet version which posited the common historical roots of all three Slavic peoples, thus entitling each nation to include this period in their respective histories.⁵¹ "Kievskaya Rus'"⁵² was the label fabricated by Soviet historiographers for a solution which was political in nature and cannot be challenged by either side.

⁴⁹ Otto Hoetzsch, *Russland* (Berlin, 1913); Hans von Rimscha, *Geschichte Russlands* (Wiesbaden, 1960). Hrushevskiy's scheme of succession is also accepted by Josef Malt in his recently published study *Europa und die Slaven* (Wiesbaden, 1964), pp. 157-159.

⁵⁰ The matter of terminology and a selected bibliography are to be found in two works in English: A. Zoltowski, *Border of Europe: A Study of the Polish Eastern Provinces* (London, 1950); O. Halecki, *Borderlands of Western Civilization* (New York, 1952).

⁵¹ For instance, histories of the Ukrainian SSR deal with the Kievan Rus' period as an indispensable part of Ukrainian history. (*Istoriya Ukraïns'koi RSR. AN URSR* (Kiev, 1953), Vol. 1, pp. 40-87).

⁵² As officially accepted in the newest *Istoriya SSSR. AN SSSR, Institut istorii* (Moscow, 1966), Vol. 1, p. 476.

In its introductory chapter, in discussing the question of periodization of the history of the USSR, the editors (S. A. Pletneva and B. A. Rybakov) make a very significant comment regarding the origin of Russia: "In the process of liberation from the foreign yoke, the peoples prepared paths for their national development. Strong centralised states were formed. One of them was the Russian state with Moscow as its centre, which subsequently united many peoples of Europe and Asia." (p. XIV). With this statement the authors, perhaps unintentionally, came surprisingly close to Hrushevskiy's scheme of "Russian" history.

Despite Hrushevskiy's indirect contribution to this quasi-compromise, his name remained on the "index" for a long time.⁵³ Lately, on the occasion of the centennial of Hrushevskiy's birth, Soviet Ukrainian historians, initiating a process of limited rehabilitation of Hrushevskiy, acknowledged his scholarship and contribution. In *Literaturna Ukraina*, I. Boiko and Ye. Kyryliuk,⁵⁴ broke with the twenty-year-old Soviet tradition of total rejection of Hrushevskiy's scholarship and at the same time defined the extent to which he is acceptable within Soviet historiography: "As regards an appraisal of the scientific heritage of M. Hrushevskiy, Soviet scholars take the position of the directives of the great Lenin, who, speaking of the need for utilization of the works of bourgeois scholars, overtly called them underlings of the capitalist class and pointed to the need for cutting out their reactionary tendencies and combatting the entire line of forces and classes which are hostile to us." As a result, a partial restoration to scholarly ranks has become possible. This is particularly significant in the light of the fact that *The Soviet Historical Encyclopedia* has not given Hrushevskiy any scholarly recognition.⁵⁵ Two of Hrushevskiy's concepts still remain non-congruent with Soviet historiography:

(1) "The historian Hrushevskiy was in reality of a group of scholars who idealistically treated the social sciences. Hrushevskiy regarded

⁵³) It does not follow that Hrushevskiy disappeared altogether from the pages of Soviet historiography. Nevertheless, it became customary to quote him only in connection with a condemnation of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism." Thus, his contribution to East European history was concealed. This is evident, for instance, in B. Grekov's *Kiev Rus'* (Moscow, 1959). Grekov prefers an imperative statement to a purposeful discussion: "The author's (Hrushevskiy's) biased assertion that the state of Ancient Rus' was 'Ukrainian' made it impossible for him to understand its history." This negative attitude toward Hrushevskiy permeates, as late as 1961, *Istoriografiya istorii SSSR s drevneyshikh vremen do velikoy Oktiabrskoy sotsialisticheskoy revolyutsii* (Moscow, 1961). Hrushevskiy's scholarship is flatly rejected (p. 488) and his works "appear to be a falsification of history." An obvious change of attitude is evident in: *Istoriya istoricheskoy nauki v SSSR: dooktiabrskiy period. Bibliografiya* (Moscow, 1965). There are twenty-nine of Hrushevskiy's works listed, in addition to eight entries on his life and work.

⁵⁴) I. Boiko and Ye. Kyryliuk, "Mykhailo Hrushevskiy: z nahody 100-richchia vid dnia narodzhennia," *Literaturna Ukraina* September 30, 1966, pp. 3-4. As on many other occasions in the past, Kiev responded to the activities of Ukrainians in the Western World: "...The nationalist press abroad considers Hrushevskiy's heritage tendentiously and attempts to make use of it for anti-popular purposes."

The significance of this article must be measured against the fact that in the histories of the Ukrainian SSR which were published within the last twenty years, Hrushevskiy's name had not even been mentioned, not even in titles which deal with period in which he made pioneering contributions. To wit: V. A. Golobutskiy, *Zaporozhskoye Kazachestvo* (Kiev, 1957); I. P. Krypiakievych, *Bohdan Khmelnyts'kyi* (Kiev, 1954).

⁵⁵) M. A. Rubach, "Grushevskiy, Mikhail Sergeevich," *Sovetskaya Istoriicheskaya Entsiklopediya*, Vol. 4 (1963), pp. 857-859. An extremely hostile article ridicules Hrushevskiy's contribution to Ukrainian historiography.

the Ukrainian nation as an immortal category and rated the national problems higher than class problems. According to Hrushevskyyi the class struggle interfered with the national struggle... The anti-scientific approach of Mykhailo Hrushevskyyi to the basic problem of the class structure of Ukrainian society lowered, and sometimes even made worthless, the results of his work and research into a number of important problems of the history of the Ukrainian nation."

(2) "While expressing many correct thoughts about the Kievan State, in some works the historian incorrectly assessed a very important problem. He defended the erroneous opinion that the Kievan State was allegedly a Ukrainian state, and that the Russian state developed from northeastern stock, that it was not a descendant of Kievan Rus'. This idea is one of the key points of the anti-scientific nationalistic scheme of M. Hrushevskyyi's *History of Ukraine*."

In the final analysis, for the first time since 1934,⁵⁶ Soviet authors are expressing appreciation of Hrushevskyyi's work: "The Soviet people rate highly all the beneficial work done by Hrushevskyyi for the development of historical science."⁵⁷

Basically, this same approach is practised by academician F. P. Shevchenko in the *Ukrainian Historical Journal*.⁵⁸ In his lengthy article dealing with the question of Hrushevskyyi's return in 1924, the author went even a step further by branding those Soviet historians ignorant, "who overlooked the useful contribution (of Hrushevskyyi) to historical science."⁵⁹

Doubtless this restricted rehabilitation of Hrushevskyyi is a significant step by Soviet historiography which must also be understood against a corresponding background of a constantly changing political situation within and outside of the Soviet Union. Among other forces exerting pressure on the Soviet system is reemerging Ukrainian national sentiment during recent years, which is gaining in importance. As in any other similar situation in the past or present, the so-called founding fathers stimulate later generations in their time of need. In the case of Mykhailo Hrushevskyyi, history is just testifying to a time-proven fact: inspirational pillars are stronger and even more ominous when throwing their shadows from the past to the future.

⁵⁶ In November, 1934, V. P. Zaton's'kyi, the Commissar for Education of the Ukrainian SSR, on the occasion of Hrushevskyyi's funeral, praised his scholarship and role as a founder of Ukrainian historiography which helped to "destroy the foundation of Russian Tsarism oppressing his country." Zaton's'kyi concluded: "The Soviet regime always respectfully treated men of science, arts, technology, and culture. We honour M. S. Hrushevskyyi as an outstanding scholar." (*Visti V. A. N.*, No. 6-7 (1934), pp. 37-39).

⁵⁷ All foregoing quotations were taken from *Literaturna Ukraïna*, *op. cit.*

⁵⁸ F. P. Shevchenko, "Chomu Mykhailo Hrushevskyyi povernuvsia na Radians'ku Ukraïnu." *Ukraïns'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* (1966) no. 11, pp. 13-30.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

Evhen MALANIUK*

HOHOL — GOGOL

I

Most people pronouncing the name of Hohol as Gogol find nothing strange or unnatural about that. For them it is the name of the famous "Russian" writer, the "Father of Realism" of that great "Russian literature", even though he is of "Little Russian descent." Despite his name he is for them incontrovertibly a "Russian" and one, at that, whom the histories of Russian literature place right beside Pushkin. The French see in Hohol the embodiment of l'âme russe. (But then they ascribe something specifically "Russian" even to the notorious swindler Stavitsky.) They persist in this view although a valuable book in the French language was published in Paris in 1932, "Gogol" by B. de Schloezer (a Russian), which by no means treats the subject in the traditional way. As to German literary opinion, there has only in recent years been a tendency to place Hohol's name beside that of E.T.A. Hoffman, which seems at least a step in the right direction.

It must be said in fairness that the greatest contribution to the elucidation of the complex and, what is more, very confused character of the great writer and to the stripping away the traditional epithets of "harmony" and "purposefulness" from his work has come from Russian critics (V. Rozanov, V. Gippius, D. Merezhkovsky, A. Belyy, and others). But this has had very little influence on the Russian general public who in its naiveté raves to this day about "the greatest of Russian writers", the most highly gifted of "Russians" etc.

When it comes to Polish opinion, Hohol's position becomes almost hopeless, in contrast to what one might expect... One of Hohol's ancestors, Ostap Hohol, a Cossack captain, "distinguished himself on several occasions in the war of King Jan III Sobieski against the Turks" (S. Olgebrand's *Encyclopedia Powszechna*, Vol. V) and was "raised to the nobility." And after the revolution of 1648, Ostap Hohol certainly played a part in Polish history as the colonel-in-chief of the Bratslav regiment of the new-born state... If the hypothesis is

*) *Evhen Malaniuk*, the greatest living Ukrainian writer in exile, presents us here with a masterly analysis of the origin and development of the creative writing of Mykola Hohol, this highly gifted Ukrainian who wrote in the Russian Language. — *Editor*.

correct that one of the impulses which caused Sienkiewicz to write his trilogy of historical novels was his reaction to Hohol's *Taras Bulba*, then one must conclude, taking into account the style and historiographic trend of the trilogy, that the Hohol of *Taras Bulba* was for Sienkiewicz the herald of "all-Russian imperialism", that is to say he saw him as Gogol rather than Hohol.

No less characteristic was a review by the critic A. Grzymala-Siedlecki of the first performance (after the first World War) of Hohol's *Government Inspector* in Warsaw. He drew attention to the double-barrelled name Hohol-Yanovsky and — completely turning the tables — presented Hohol (on the basis of, among other things, an analysis of Khlestakov) as an emanation of the Polish spirit... and that, of all things, in the region of Poltava!

However, in the general opinion of Polish literary circles Hohol remains to this day a "Russian" writer who, though measured by high standards, is regarded as strange and hostile by virtue of his very Russian-ness.

(When, in the middle thirties, I persuaded my friend — and publisher, — the late Cz. Jastrzębiec-Kozłowski, to translate *Viy*, not one of the Warsaw periodicals would accept his fine translation, exquisitely illustrated with woodcuts by Kravchenko. The editor of the popular weekly *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* told me quite frankly that to print anything by Hohol would have a disastrous effect on subscriptions to his paper. Of Hohol's entire works the Poles know no more than *The Government Inspector*, because it has become part of the general repertoire of theatres in Western Europe, and, possibly, *The Overcoat*, which was translated by Tuwim.)

This amazing (and for our mutual relations even tragic) situation was not altered by the fact that Hohol met Mickiewicz in Paris and had many conversations with him, or by Hohol's friendship with Bohdan Zaleski, not even by the fact that from 1836 onwards Hohol was to all intents and purposes an emigrant.

But even among his own countrymen things are not much better — which is, of course, no longer surprising.

The Ukrainian intellectuals, brought up between the forties and eighties of the last century in an atmosphere of social aberration, constantly vacillating under the pressures of the Petersburg Empire between provincialism and pan-Russian dreams, did nothing to provide the criteria by which the exceptional figure of Hohol could be judged. This lack of comprehension existed both among Hohol's contemporaries and the generation that followed. The peculiar dualistic approach to the Ukrainian problem, which culminated in Kostomarov's theory of the pseudo-organic symbiosis of "two Russian national entities", harmoniously complementing each other to form a dual-national or supra-national whole, and finally the federalistic dogma laid down under the influence of M. Drahomanov, all this led

to the acceptance of S. Yefremov's simple, and therefore attractive, formula of the "two souls" ("Mizh dvoma dushamy" — "Between Two Souls" — A Study, 1909) as the definite solution to the problem of Hohol. Although the theory of the "two souls" — without defining what is meant by the term "Russian" (i.e. Muscovite) soul — must needs lead to sophistry and does not really explain anything, it was generally accepted and has for long remained the fashion.

The only dissidents from this view were T. Shevchenko ("Poslaniye" — "Open letter" — to Hohol) and P. Kulish, the editor of Hohol's correspondence.

II

Any attempt to approach Hohol from a different, more natural angle invites the derision of many and not only of foreigners, who see in it a crude attempt to attach a nationalist label to the great writer of a foreign literature. Among his countrymen, the sceptics are either greatly astonished or incredulously shake their heads, while the optimists, if they show any concern at all, take a purely superficial, chauvinistic interest in the matter.

Such reactions are completely off the mark and must be checked from the start. The sole purpose of this new approach is to investigate the complex and deep-seated peculiarities in Hohol's work which have hitherto remained obscure and to push aside everything that conceals from our view the writer's authoritative picture. All we endeavour to do is to restore his true face. That the features are also national in character is beyond any doubt. To ignore this would be to deny reality and leave us with an irrelevant mask in place of the real face. Only the contemplation of the national traits will after all help us to throw light on the so-called Hohol enigma. For although the moving tragedy of his life and work has been portrayed and described in a vast literature, the core of the matter has nowhere been revealed.

It was not a Ukrainian, but the Russian I. Mandelshtam, who first published in 1902 (when he was a professor at the University of Helsinki) an important monograph on Hohol's style, in which he demonstrated that Hohol's "language of the soul" was Ukrainian. He pointed out that not only the writer's vocabulary but also the complicated syntax and the semantics of his language were Ukrainian, and that he wrote as though he were "translating"... And, indeed, in Hohol's letters one often comes across the remark that he did "not feel particularly strong in the Russian language."

It is, of course very difficult to discuss this subject with anyone who has no feel for the Russian language, who knows nothing of Russian history and has never heard the real Russian spoken in Moscow. The linguistic-literary material, which Moscow had in the past received from Kiev, was later transformed by Lomonosov (a

former student, in fact, of the Kiev Mohyla Academy), Derzhavin and Pushkin into the literary language of the Petersburg Empire. Through the channels of the uniform school system this language, in turn, flowed back to the provinces of the empire, but had lost its national character in the process. It was the abstract "pan-Russian" language of the great empire, built up from ethnic language material and local additions. Only in this respect could Hohol's language be considered "Russian." And if his language sounded to some extent exotic, it still — in Mandelshtam's words — "enriched the Russian language", i.e. the language of Petersburg and Moscow.

There is no room here to quote examples of Hohol's wilful use of the "Russian" language. Any one familiar with Russian literary language and the classicist period of Russian literature will easily spot a great many of such examples on carefully reading Hohol's works. While literary scholars can only by painstaking examination detect linguistic or stylistic irregularities in the English of the Irishman Bernard Shaw or in the French of the Fleming F. Verhaeren, not to mention the "Slav note" in the style of Joseph Conrad, even the untrained eye of the general reader has no difficulty in discovering in Hohol's writing the presence not only of grammatical mistakes, but of striking Ukrainianisms, non-Russian syntax and at times even whole un-russified Ukrainian sentences. Besides, one need only read the original version of *Taras Bulba*, as restored by M. Sadovsky, to gain a clear idea of Hohol's true way of thinking.

Despite the organic connection between the thinking processes in literary work and the national subconscious and the mysterious factor of race, there are quite a few writers who might be termed "self-translators", i.e. those who for better or worse worked in an alien language, not only in prose but also — and this is far more difficult and hazardous — in rhymed poetry. An evident example is R. M. Rilke (half Slav, incidentally, through his Czech mother), who with equal naturalness wrote poems in German and French, the latter, admittedly, only after he had for some time been living in France as the personal secretary to the sculptor Rodin. Oscar Wilde wrote his *Salome* in French. Both Wyspiański and Przybylszewski (Polish writers — Ed.) began their literary career in German, as did the Ukrainian writer, Olha Kobylanska. The Shevchenko of Hungary, Petöfi, was really a Slovak, named Petrovich, who wrote nothing at all in the Slovak language. The list of such names could be continued indefinitely. Thus the "father of the Russian theatre", author of the comedy *Gore ot uma* (Woe from Wit), known under the name Griboyedov, was the descendant of a rebel Polish family, the Grzybowskis. The Nobel prize winner Ivan Bunin came from a "Lithuanian" (i.e. either Belorussian or Ukrainian) noble family, called Bunkovskiyi, and in the circle of his home was always known as "Jan."

But in Hohol's case there was something that set him apart from these rather "lucky fellows", something that even made him the most tragic of this kind of writer. Language is after all the phonetic and graphical mirror reflecting innermost and complicated psychological processes and it is indisputably related to the cultural and national background. It thus becomes physically and mentally the tangible "reality" of the writer, which in the end always turns out to be racial and national in character. (It requires no detailed analysis of language and style, for instance, to recognise the "scientific" writings of Karl Marx as the work of the descendant of an old Rabbinic family rather than of a "German scholar.")

III

In Hohol's short story *The Old-World Landowners* we are acquainted with the national atmosphere of Ukraine at the beginning of the 19th century. Hohol achieves this effect not so much through the subject of the tale or by actual description, but by reproducing the mental climate of that world which, though idyllic, is earthbound, narrow and even stifling.

Reduced to a semi-animal existence, the remains of the Cossack and Hetman elite somehow live their lives in sluggish disorder between eating and sleeping. Against the background of an exuberant sun-drenched landscape, amidst the ruins of a turbulent past, the farms and estates of a former Ukrainian aristocracy, who now are members of a Pan-Russian squirearchy demoralized by the policies of Petersburg, have fallen into a deathly slumber. A graveyard silence hangs oppressively over the whole of Ukraine. Only snatches of ballroom music now and then break the silence, and even at a great distance the voices of the tipsy revellers betray that food and drink have become their sole interests in life (which has earned them the name "mochemordy"*). Occasionally, it is true, glasses would be raised in a fit of drunken enthusiasm and fuddled bravado to the "Ukrainian Republic" (as, for instance, at the banquet on the Zakrevskyi estate in 1848). But the shouts of these drunkards only intensify the deathly silence that pervades the history of the times...

This then is the position at the top, among the few nobles whom Catherine II favoured with her "privileges." At the bottom, crushed by the half-dead corpse of the gentry, is the suffering mass of the people, the millions of peasants whom the same Catherine finally bound with the fetters of serfdom. The bards still bear witness to the

*) Mochemordy (literally: wet-snouts) is an expression with which Shevchenko referred to a large number of the Ukrainian gentry who knew nothing better to do than drink themselves senseless. The poet saw a good deal of these circles when he lived among them after his emancipation from serfdom.

traditions of the race, they are the nation's living conscience, a shadowy but nevertheless live symbol of historical memory. But to this peasantry, though crushed by ignorance, history has entrusted a mission and responsibility for the whole nation. In its midst forces are at work which in a slow but thoroughgoing process are to bring forth the phenomenon of a Shevchenko.

In this environment, born of the nationally lifeless and futureless Ukrainian gentry, there appears a man marked with the signs of genius and endowed with the inestimable gift of amazing creative power — a historically belated flower, as it were.

The son of an impoverished landowner, who was the author of some comedies on local life in the style of Kotliarevskiy, Hohol saw and felt the graveyard silence, the doomed life, the provincial stagnation and dissolution around him. These impressions determined and permeated his life and his work, and in *Dead Souls* he sketches with relentless clarity a whole gallery of types of that contemporary Ukrainian "elite."

And what about literature, the literary life in Ukraine? They corresponded to the political reality of the time. The literature there was, as Kostomarov later expressed it, was purely for domestic consumption. The lively and talented Ivan Kotliarevskiy, a nobleman of Poltava who had entered government service, apart from writing epigrams on his friends and odes to the people at court, acquired fame with his version of Virgil's *Aeneid*. A group of intellectuals, gathered at the newly founded university of Kharkiv, wrote ballads and fables and devoted themselves to the study of folk-song and the collection and publication of ethnographic material. Many compatriots could never get enough of the patriotic *Istoriya Rusov* (History of the Ruthenians) by a pseudo-Konyskiy, sighing deeply as they read, as one sighs for something lost and irretrievable.

Hohol's father, Vasyl, is perhaps the most typical figure in the Ukrainian literary landscape of that time. Although a "nobleman by birth", he was merely a half-ruined landowner, and as an author he was a gifted imitator of Kotliarevskiy's immortal *Natalka Poltavka*. As such he supplied the repertoire of the country house theatre of his relative and patron Troshchynskiy, a local magnate and former Petersburg Minister.

The intellectual life of the country's national elite of the time was lived between the "mochemordy" of the Left Bank and the "balaguly" of the Right Bank.* The literary aspirations and interests of that society found expression in the writings of Kotliarevskiy's followers on the one side and those of Tymko Padura on the other.

*) It will be remembered that at the time Ukraine was divided into two administrative zones: one, on the right bank of the Dnieper, under Polish rule, the other, on the left side of the river, under Russian rule.

What was a gifted and very ambitious young man, filled with creative urge and hungry for fame, who had already at school been dreaming of a wide field of action — what was he to do with himself in these circumstances? His imagination invented a magical and seductive legend of Petersburg and soon after leaving the Bezborodko grammar school at Nizhen (in 1828) he set out for the city of his dreams. Despite his ravings about Petersburg, the young Hohol had an instinctive fear of the North and anything Muscovite. He deliberately avoided seeing Moscow on his journey to Petersburg and took the longer route through Belorussia, via Mohyliv. Petersburg alone, the quintessence of all wonders and visions, was his ideal, not Muscovy, nor even Russia.

The inevitable result of all this was that as soon as he arrived in Petersburg Hohol was cruelly disillusioned. The Petersburg winter was quite different from the winter in Poltava and the much longed-for introduction to Pushkin did not take place. His first work, printed at his own expense, the idyllic poem *Hans Kuechelgarten*, met with scathing ridicule from the critics... From now the psychology of a Conrad begins to show its significance in Hohol's biography: he boards a ship (July 1829) and sails away to unknown destinations...

But at the same time the vast difference becomes apparent between these sons of two neighbouring peoples for whom there was no place in their mother countries. Conrad-Korzeniowski, the son of an active rebel who was later banished, had the impressions of armed conflict fresh in his mind. He had lost his mother in exile in Russia and he hated Russia to such an extent that his hatred lasted to the end of his days when he had long since become a respected citizen of the British Empire and a famous English writer. But in Hohol's mind the "Little Russian idyll" had taken hold, the myth of Tsarist Russia as a supra-national empire of immeasurable horizons and unlimited possibilities... What a vast field this offered for the great deeds and victories he dreamed of — although the dreamer himself had only a vague and nebulous notion of what these were going to be!

The ship on which Hohol sailed ran into a storm in the Baltic sea. This experience apparently softened the pangs of his Petersburg disappointments, for he was back in that terrible city of Peter I on the 22nd of September and later never even recalled that flight or the reasons for it. The tough career of a Captain Korzeniowski, which linked his fame with a world-wide empire, was not to be the fate of our weak-willed, anaemic descendant of "illustrious forbears." Petersburg, that town of mists and nightmare visions, with its deceitful "imitation of Europe", had already begun to poison him. His flight was a physiological rather than a mental reaction and certainly not that of a son whose motherland had been deprived by Petersburg of its freedom. Tortured by spiritual emptiness and pining

for his native country, Hohol yet made desperate attempts to gain a foothold in the capital. He was still hoping to find there the ideal "Russia", the natural successor of the ancient "Rus", and the less he succeeded the more his thoughts turned to Ukraine. It was then that he wrote *Evenings on a Farm near Dikanka* and other Ukrainian stories, which only served to numb his senses and represented odd capers in his literary career. For six years his search and struggle continued. For six years he tried his hand at various professions, from civil servant in some uncongenial government departments to Reader of History at the University, for which he was equally unsuited. Then came his acquaintance with Pushkin and with Zhukovsky (the future benefactor of Shevchenko) and his contact with so-called high society. And at last there was the fame for which he had yearned so long, the fame that came to him as the author of *The Government Inspector*, a fame which was in truth Pan-Russian... The goal seemed to be reached. But at what cost!

Henceforward, from 6 June 1836, Hohol lived abroad. Thoroughly poisoned and exhausted, mentally half-dead, he no longer searched for an imaginary Russia nor for a real Little Russia, all he now wanted to find was "the fatherland of the soul."

"I was born here," he wrote to Zhukovsky from Rome "Russia, Petersburg, the snows, the scoundrels, the Ministry, the University, the theatre — it is all a bad dream!"

IV

One might get the impression that Hohol had apathetically drifted towards moral, i. e. national, and finally even physical extinction. But in fact this was by no means the case.

For a Ukrainian of the day the "Petersburg legend" had a certain amount of substance. The manner in which civilization was brought to Muscovite Russia had for several centuries been the same and was greatly intensified under Peter I. Names like Prokopovych, Rozumovskiyi, Bezborodko, are connected with this tradition... Without going further into the sociological aspect of Petersburg in Hohol's time, here is a quotation from a letter written in 1834 by the Ukrainian poet Evhen Hrebinka to M. Novytskyi: "Petersburg is a colony of intelligent Ukrainians. Every Institute and Academy, as well as the University is full of our compatriots. A Ukrainian in his final year invariably attracts general attention as an *homme d'esprit*." In the same year, incidentally, students at the Military Academy performed within the walls of the Medical School the *Natalka Poltavka*. Many more of such paradoxes could be mentioned. It was in these circumstances that Hohol's colleagues and contemporaries were able to build up their Petersburg legend.

On the other hand, the record of Hohol's life is by no means without quite unambiguous manifestations of protest, indignation and a whipping-up of the national conscience. After the publication of *Evenings on a Farm near Dikanka* he planned to write "the history of our poor, beloved Ukraine" (according to a letter of 9 November 1833 to Mykhailo Maksymovych, in which he went on to say: "If only you knew what upheavals are going on inside me, how everything within me is torn to pieces. God, what I have been through and how much I have suffered!"). In a letter to his mother (22 Nov. 1833), requesting some national costumes, he also asks for songs and writes, as to Maksymovych: "I cannot live without songs. You cannot imagine what torture this is."

Hohol's letters to Maksymovych, his "dear fellow-countryman, who lives in the atmosphere of old times", give an impression of great sincerity, which is exceptional in this reticent and cautious man and seldom encountered in his correspondence with others. It seems that before Maksymovych he had no secrets. On 2 July 1833, for instance, he wrote to him: "I am very sorry to hear of your illness. You really ought to throw the whole katsapy* overboard and make for the Hetmanshchyna.** I intend to do so myself... How stupid we are when you come to think of it! Why do we sacrifice ourselves? Let us go away!..." Hohol's hopes of obtaining a chair at Kiev University (Maksymovych became Rector there later on) are expressed again and again in his letters. "To Kiev, to the ancient and beautiful Kiev! It is ours, not theirs — isn't that so? Around Kiev is the scene of the heroic deeds of our past." (Letter of February 1833.) But a year later his ardour had cooled after he had been offered the post of Reader in History at the University of Petersburg. "Although my heart yearns for Ukraine I must compose myself and be patient without complaints." (Letter of 14 September 1834.) The popularity he had gained through his *Evenings on a Farm near Dikanka*, new acquaintances, work on his book *Mirgorod* and his university appointment, engaged all his time and energy. A letter written on 22 October 1835 no longer mentions the Kiev chair. This letter strikes a somewhat hysterical and ironic note and begins with the words of a popular song: "How are you all, are you still alive, you pumpkin-headed squires?" And it continues: "God knows, we have departed a long way from our traditional character. We — and you especially — cannot see life, as the Cossack once saw it, as a slice of nature. Have you ever tried jumping out of bed in the early morning and doing a hopak in nothing but a shirt? There is only one wonderful thing left in this world: a bottle of good wine..."

*) Ukrainian term of abuse for everything Russian.

***) Land of Hetmans = Ukraine.

The reality of his native country receded further and further from Hohol's mind as his national consciousness grew weaker and weaker. The abstract idea of a "Russian Rus'", developed back in Petersburg and later abroad, gradually took its place. "An alien element surrounds me here", he wrote to Pogodin on 22 October 1836 from Geneva, "but in my heart there is the Rus', the unique, beautiful Rus'...". This letter can hardly be considered sincere, yet there is doubtless a grain of truth in it: Ukraine becomes transmuted into a phantom, a seductive and fantastic vision, under the assumed name of Rus', a term acceptable to Pogodin (and to many others). But a few realistic ideas, or at least the remnants thereof, must have survived throughout Hohol's lifetime. This is proved by his meditations on the chimerical historical fate of Ukraine, his abiding fondness for Ukrainian folk-song and his delight in the hopak, the Ukrainian national dance which he performed only six months before his death at the country house of the Aksakovs at Abramchevo near Moscow, where he stayed as a guest in the late summer of 1851.

There can be no doubt that Hohol's difficult and painful withdrawal from his mother country was neither rapid nor radical. It was psycho-pathological process lasting many years. It is a matter of interest that during the last years of his life there was growing suspicion among his friends that he was mentally deranged.

The national elements in Hohol's consciousness were, however, not confined to folk-song and the hopak, as the following two documents demonstrate. The only surviving letter in the Ukrainian language dates from 1837, a period when Hohol's Ukrainian patriotism was so pronounced that it reached almost revolutionary enthusiasm. This is the letter from Paris to his "fellow countryman" Bohdan Zaleski, who was to him "so exceedingly close, closer even than the whole country." In it he speaks of "the glory of the Cossack country." Almost ten years later in 1846, we find this entry in the Carlsbad Almanac register of illustrious patients (p. 17):

Mr. Nicolas de Gogol, Ukrainien, établi
à Moscou, auteur de quelques comédies russes.

In this long drawn out process of his withdrawal from the fatherland — which did not mean, however, the loss of national identity — there was no question of passive resignation. It was much more a constant inner struggle of periodically increasing and decreasing intensity. But there was something far more disconcerting besides, something mystical and and terrifying, which took an ever stronger hold of this strange writer's melancholy and distressed soul as he neared his end.

A letter written in 1845 to Count Alexander Tolstoy (the later Procurator of the Synod, with whom Hohol stayed as a guest in

1851 and at whose Moscow house he died) contains a rather alarming passage, which shows that the writer's mental state at the time was a form of mysticism not far from a true psychosis. He writes: "For me and for you the gates to the mansion of our desire are closed. Your monastery is Russia. Go there then, when you have symbolically donned the hair-shirt of the monk and completely mortified your own self, and work hard, not for your sake but for the sake of Russia."

We are not concerned here with the tragicomedy of this exhortation, addressed to a Russian, an aristocrat and bureaucrat of the Empire who, himself a valetudinarian, saw sickness in everyone else. What is significant is the implication of self-destruction, which throws much light on the personality, the work and the fate of the author himself.

Writing in a foreign language was easy for men like Oscar Wilde or Przybyszewski, while Verhaeren probably found it somewhat more difficult to make his mark in French literature. It was considerably more of a problem (as *Lord Jim* proves) for Korzeniowski-Conrad to use the English language as his tool and — quite deliberately — to transform himself into a Briton. Yet, however difficult or even tragic metamorphoses of this kind may have been, they were not of the same nature as the suicidal experiment of which Mykola Hohol was to become the object. He may not even have been conscious of what was happening to him, or may subconsciously have believed that he would be able to outwit fate.

Hohol's case is further complicated by the fact that he was potentially a genius and that his "experiment" found no reflection within his own sphere of civilization, but rather caused him to turn his back on that civilization and embrace another which was essentially different, if not hostile. This alien civilization demanded of him an act of moral obliteration ("the complete mortification of the self") since to tear oneself away from an organic whole and become merged in an amorphous concept called "Russia" is after all tantamount to cultural and national suicide. This is the most terrible variant of Faust "selling his soul to the devil"...

The result of this experiment was not only a mental lethargy like that of the characters in *Dead Souls*, but spiritual death with its corruption and decay, as Hohol himself had poignantly described it in his Petersburg story *The Portrait*.

V

What then is the literary legacy of Mykola Hohol, that nationally etiolated, later sick and — in the national sense — finally atrophied mind?

There is first of all the enchanting exotic of an almost oleographic Ukraine in his *Evenings on a Farm* with its sunny and idyllic landscape, which gradually becomes clouded in *Mirgorod* before it is plunged into utter darkness in the *Viy* story. In that mysterious darkness enveloping the temptress "Little Russia" may well lie hidden the secret of our fatherland, the secret of its historical fate and the secret of its national soul.

Already a Contemporary of Hohol's, the slightly younger Ukrainian writer and scholar, Panko Kulish, commented on the puppet-like figures in Hohol's early work and on the shadowiness and unreality of his characters. Something of this can even be detected in Hohol's historical epic *Taras Bulba*, where he achieved a maximum of three-dimensional representation. In the Petersburg short stories (*Nevsky Prospect*, *The Overcoat*) the characters no longer stand out in relief, they gradually become flat and turn into shadows, floating in the phosphorescent mists of Hoffmannesque fantasy. The autobiographical short story *The Portrait*, grounded in personal experience just below the threshold of the writer's consciousness, thus reveals psychological truth. The more his national soul withered the more he proved incapable of presenting his heroes in the round. He lost the ability to create space around them and they remained on the flat surface of the paper. The result is a two-dimensional method of drawing, the accomplished, precise and in a sense typically Ukrainian graphic art of *Dead Souls*, where a series of first-rate pictures is mechanically strung together on the thread of Chichikov's travels. Hohol, in desperation, called this collection a "poem." But no attempt at enlivening this work proved successful, neither the insertion of *The Tale of Captain Kopeikin*, nor pathetic lyrical passages ("Oh Rus', my Rus'"), nor in the last resort the search for "positive heroes" which became more and more tragic as it progressed. (Here it may be mentioned that contemporary Soviet literature conducts an equally dogged and equally fruitless search for "positive heroes.") *Dead Souls* is no longer a purely literary work: there is no life in it and no live character. As Berdyayev once remarked, Hohol's artistic manner is "similar to Picasso's cubism"...

With these purely technical hints and observations the consideration of Hohol's legacy and the influence of his work is, of course, by no means exhausted. Our own Ukrainian literature has hardly been influenced by Hohol's writings except for *Taras Bulba*. All the greater was Hohol's influence on Russian literature and on the fate of the Russian empire in general. Russia (first Petersburg and then Moscow) took Hohol and his work absolutely seriously.

His writings were the product of genius, the genius of a "Russian" (i. e. "Rossiyanin"), whereby the word "Russian" was understood as a synonym of "Muscovite" and not as an epithet for a type of in-

habitant of the Russian empire who was the sociological product of the persistent influence of that empire. (This kind of delusion is still rampant today and has taken on dangerous dimensions in the attempts to create by administrative means a Soviet people, if not a Soviet "nation.")

To what extent the Russians, and even his contemporaries, failed to understand Hohol may be judged by the reaction of so sensitive a critic and Pan-Russian imperialist as Vissarion Belinsky to Hohol's *Selected Passages from a Correspondence with Friends* (a book which smells strongly of Skovoroda and is obviously closely connected with Ukrainian literary tradition). Belinsky was genuinely perturbed and went into noisy polemics about the "reactionary character" of the book and about Hohol's "treason" to his previous career as satirist, unmasker of Russia's dark sides, progressive, and so on. Sergey Aksakov, a sincere and intelligent man, a Slavophile who had great sympathy for Ukraine, wrote towards the end of his life: "Where Hohol is concerned, we have deceived ourselves as well as him."

Without going further into significance of Hohol's work in the history and civilization of Russia and abstaining from a full analysis of the exceedingly interesting "Hohol complex" in the Pan-Russian psyche, let us examine only a single aspect of this, i. e. the very typical "Khlestakov complex." (Khlestakov, the protagonist in the comedy *The Government Inspector*, is a minor, unimportant Petersburg civil servant who, having been stranded penniless in a provincial town of the colonial empire, most likely in Ukraine, poses as a government inspector from Petersburg and after leading the local notaries by the nose manages to disappear before being found out).

The creator of Khlestakov could himself not escape from this "Khlestakovism." For most of his life Hohol was to imitate in a tragic manner the Russian, the pathetic patriot of the Russian empire (and he certainly knew very well how he functioned); he was to play the role of a founder of Russian literature. Simplifying the matter somewhat one might say that when he went to live in Petersburg Hohol automatically became Khlestakov, fully conscious of the falseness of his position. He himself admitted as much when, referring to *Selected Passages from a Correspondence with Friends*, he wrote: "I have shown myself to be such a Khlestakov in my book that I haven't the heart to open it." And *Selected Passages* is indeed full of naïve and boring moralistic sermons, addressed to people of the Russian empire in all walks of life. There is no trace here of Hohol's lively sense of humour of earlier days, and the book might have been written by some director of a department for moral education in the Ministry of the Interior... The same Khlestakov quality can be detected in the episode of Hohol's readership at Petersburg University for which he lacked every qualification.

Moreover, Hohol was always fond of reiterating that he "rid himself of his own faults by ascribing them to his characters."

The feeling of being permanently cast in the false role of a Russian patriot* and leading Russian writer, the absence of creative freedom and the depressing awareness of his defect, all this produced the stifling atmosphere out of which his stunted works and pathological ideas were to grow. Here begins that long line of "superfluous men," of the "humiliated and insulted;" from here springs Orthodox messianism and the Orthodox belief in the Nirvana; here are the roots of the ideology of the "true Russia" (does not the later use of the ominous epithet "truly Russian" proceed directly from Hohol?); from here stems the disdain for European foreigners and the contempt for "rotten" Europe; here was born the creed of a cultural autarky (the famous "independence") and the dogma of political "unity"... In short, here are the beginnings of everything that was later to flourish so abundantly with Dostoyevsky (and to some extent even with Tolstoy) and the numerous followers of that school and was to become the content and the dogma of Russian literature and culture.

Hohol was the unwilling founder of a "great" Russian literature, and against his will he was to stifle that Apollonian poetry (classical and French in origin) of Pushkin and his pleiad and, what is worse, proceeded to poison it with the emanations from his putrifying soul, that had been murdered by the pan-Russian idea. It was Hohol who undermined Russian literature with destructive and explosive elements and filled it with bogies and horrors, which we were later to behold with our own eyes. Hohol himself clearly foresaw the influence of his creative power when he wrote his "Will" (in 1845, at a moment when he was ill and expected to die). A terrible cry comes from his lips:

"Fellow citizens!" (It is significant that he uses the nationally neutral term here.) "It is horrible... My soul shrinks in terror and anguish... Dying, my whole being shudders when I contemplate the monstrous issue and see the fruits whose seed we have sown in our lifetime in ignorance and without foreseeing what fearful misery would come of it... Fellow citizens! I cannot find a name by which to address you in this hour..."

Just before these closing words there is a phrase of clairvoyant quality:

"Terrible is the darkness of the soul, and we apprehend it only when merciless death knocks at our door!"

*) It was in fact Belinsky, according to a contemporary witness, who first applied to Hohol the adjective "Russian." Up to then it had occurred to none of Hohol's contemporaries to call him that; to them he had been a "Little Russian." (Author's note.)

His will paralysed, unable to create anything new, Hohol waited six more years for his death. Then, incapable of waiting any longer, he chose the time for his own departure. He severed all connection with other men, refused to eat, answered no questions, turned his face to the wall and — literally — forced himself to die. He drew his last breath in Moscow, the place that was so alien and frightful to him...

* * *

“No politician and no political writer made as much impact on politics as Hohol did.” These are the words of a Russian who came closest to understanding Hohol’s mind, namely Vasily Rozanov, the sensitive philosopher and political writer and perceptive interpreter of his own people, for whom Hohol was neither “of his kind” nor “Russian.”

Hohol’s tragedy turned into the tragedy of Russian literature, until it finally became the tragedy of Russia, the tragedy of an empire which was unfit, lacked cultural foundations and had no justification in terms of history. That Russian empire was doomed to failure mainly because the “two national units” of Kostomarov’s thesis not only failed after an experiment of almost three hundred years to grow into a supra-national people within a single state, but rather asserted their basic differences and cultural polarity. The Khlestakov falsification of history and great-power complex, Khlestakov messianism, not excluding that of the present communist variety, have — like all fraud — not led to anything constructive. They cannot possibly offer anything constructive, for no mechanics or chemistry whatever can *eo ipso* alter or replace organic processes. A mechanical mixture of peoples and cultures can be forced only up to that point which corresponds to the maximum strength of machinery exerting the pressure; when the force of pressure exceeds that point, the result is an explosion.

In the last scene appears the real Government Inspector: History tears the mask from Khlestakov’s face.

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Anatol W. BEDRIY

MYKOLA MIKHNOVSKYI — FIRST THEORETICIAN OF MODERN UKRAINIAN NATIONALISM

2. WRITINGS OF MYKOLA MIKHNOVSKYI

(translated by Anatol and Tatiana BEDRIY)

a. *Samostiina Ukraïna* (Independent Ukraine — 1900)

The end of the 19th century has been characterized by the phenomena which point to a new turn in history of mankind. These phenomena prove that the fifth act of a great historical tragedy, called 'struggle of nations', has already started and its end is approaching. These phenomena are the armed uprisings of the enslaved nations against nations-oppressors. The bloody uprisings of Armenians, Cretians-Greeks, Cubans, and recently of Boers have just occurred. If, in addition, we survey the early phase of a more or less intense struggle, conducted by the peoples enslaved by Austria, Russia, and Turkey against the master-nations, the mortal antagonism between Germans and Frenchmen, Englishmen and Russians, if we consider the tremendous armies of the opposing nations, then it becomes very obvious, that the whole world-wide national question has fully ripened, although it is still very far from a necessary, real, and just solution. However, the nations which already have risen against foreign domination have indicated the only possible, safe, and beneficial road to the solution of this question, disregarding the political form of foreign domination, but this road is contrary to the Hague Conference. We announce that our people linger in the condition of a robbed nation.

If it is just, that because of international relations, every nation desires to achieve the form of a sovereign independent state; if it is just that only a state of monotribal national contents can give to its members the unlimited opportunity of an all-round spiritual development and attainment of the best material well-being; if it is just,

that the fruitful thriving of individuality is possible only in a state in which cultivation of individuality is a goal, — then it becomes very clear that state independence is the main condition of national existence, and state sovereignty is the national ideal in the sphere of international relations.

Thus, a question arises, is liberation possible for us? The fifth act of the drama has not yet arrived for our nation: we still are experiencing the long and hard interlude in our history: something is happening around the corner, some vigilant work is going on, it thunders from time to time, but the curtain has not yet risen. This interlude started in 1654, when the Ukrainian Republic concluded a political union with the Muscovite monarchy. Since then the Ukrainian nation has been sinking steadily both politically and culturally. Ancient forms of life are disappearing, the republican freedom is deteriorating, the nation becomes weaker, perishes. But afterwards it revives, for from under the ashes of antiquity rises the idea of a new Ukraine, the idea which must turn into the body and blood, must achieve concrete form. From the time of the Pereiaslav Treaty until today 247 years have passed. Soon Russia will celebrate the 250th anniversary of this event.

When we have to go to meetings under the watchful eyes of a whole phalanx of governmental spies, when Ukrainians are prohibited to avow their own nationality, and when to love one's fatherland is to be a traitor to the state, then very appropriately with deep indignation the question arises: by what law has the Russian tsarist government the right to treat us on our own territory as if we were its slaves? By what right was the law of May 17th, 1876, enacted condemning us — the natives of our land — to national death? On the basis of what right are all governmental positions in our land filled with officials of Russian (Muscovite) nationality or Russified renegates? By what right are our children reared in schools to become mortal enemies and haters of their own people? Why even in the church the language of our oppressors rules? By what right is the Russian government spending the money, extorted from us, on Russian national needs, on cultivation of its science, literature, and industry? And finally, the most important question, does the tsarist government have any right at all to issue laws, orders and administrative rulings, concerning us?

Is the attitude of the tsarist government toward us an attitude of law or of violence? It is a well-known fact that we of our own free will agreed upon a political union with the Muscovite state and its representative — the tsarist government. In the view of our adversaries our free choice of this union forbids us to reproach them for the injustices done to us, because we allegedly chose that path freely and accepted that government. Such a statement compels us to review the nature and the character of the treaty of 1654.

The state of our ancestors allied itself with the Muscovite state 'as equals' and 'as free partners' — according to the contemporary formula. In other words, two separate states, completely sovereign from each other in their internal systems, decided to unite themselves with the intention of achieving certain common international goals.

The question arises, whether after their union these two states disappeared and in their place came into being a third state, successor of the two? Or, to the contrary, despite the union, do both states exist beside each other? If that is the case, then from the viewpoint of international law what influence had the union upon them? The present science of international law teaches, that a state can be simple or complex. Accordingly, two or more states can unite themselves and form 'a union of states' (Staatenbund). The union of states is an alliance, in which the respect for and the functioning of common institutions not only does not exclude internal and external independence of the allied states, but to the contrary, the safeguarding of this independence becomes the goal of the allied states. States — members of the union — reserve the right to conduct international relations alongside the united representation. Each one individually has the right to get into separate agreements and to exchange representatives with other states, unless such activities aim at damaging the interests of the whole union or of individual union members. Such a union is in reality possible not only among states with similar political systems, but among states with different systems, and it does not terminate when any member state changes its form of government, or when the ruling dynasty dies out. In this particular way the union of states differs from the so-called 'real union of states', which can exist exclusively among monarchic states... The union of states is based on mutual consent of the states, which compose the union. Examples of unions are the United States of America, the Swiss union, and the German union.

In what way did the Muscovite state unite itself with the Ukrainian state? Through the contract formulated in the so-called "Pereiaslav treaty." The Pereiaslav contract regulated mutual relations of states as follows: 1. The legislative power and public administration belongs to the Hetman government without any participation and interference of the tsarist government. 2. The Ukrainian state maintains its own separate independent armed forces. 4. A citizen of a non-Ukrainian state cannot be employed in the Ukrainian government. Excepted are controlling officials, who inspect the collection of taxes to the tsarist treasury. 6. The Ukrainian state has the right to elect freely its own Head of State, informing the tsarist government about its election. 13. Continuity of ancient rights, civil and clerical, non-interference of the tsarist government in internal affairs of the Ukrainian Republic. 14. The right of the Hetman government to conduct freely the foreign relations with other states.

Studying the resolutions of the Pereiaslav Treaty, we can conclude, that it has all the characteristics typical of 'union states.' Therefore, the leading argument of our adversaries who try to prove the hopelessness of our endeavours, saying that we allegedly never constituted a state and, therefore, we do not possess any historical basis — is simply the effect of their ignorance of history and law. Throughout its entire historical existence our nation is trying to cast itself into the form of an independent and sovereign state. Even if we should leave out the age of principalities, when separate branches of our nation formed separate states, then we see the Lithuanian-Rus' principality, in which the genius of our people played the leading cultural factor, and the very important Halych-Rus' kingdom attempting to unite all branches of our people into one organic state, the attempt repeated much later by Bohdan Khmelnytskyi and again by Ivan Mazepa.

Thus from the view-point of international law the Ukrainian state constituted by Khmelnytskyi is really a state. Our opponents further argue that the Ukrainian republic which concluded the Pereiaslav Treaty was not an independent state, because it was paying 'tribute' to the tsarist government. If this were true, even in their view it would have had to be half-independent state on the model of Bulgaria, and at one time Serbia and other Balkan states. But partly independent states distinguish themselves by not having the right to international relations: however the Pereiaslav Treaty stipulated that the Ukrainian state had that right. How then shall the 'tribute' paid by the Ukrainian republic to the Muscovite monarchy be understood? It is impossible to solve this problem on the basis of present international law, because it does not know a state that would have the attributes of independence and pay 'tribute'; on the other hand, we cannot suppose that a half-independent state would exchange ambassadors with other states. This difficulty can be explained only when it is considered according to the convention that the 'tribute' was given not to the Muscovite state but to the Muscovite tsar as a protector of a special kind, on the basis that the Ukrainian state requested 'protection' alone not subjection from the union with the Muscovite state. From this point of view the 'tribute' has the meaning of a contribution to a common treasury established for international activities of common interest. Such an explanation can also be corroborated by the fact that the Ukrainian state was not conquered militarily by the Muscovite monarchy, nor acquired through diplomatic means as Poland was, but while it united itself with the Muscovite monarchy it did not yield any of its republican rights and was absolutely indifferent to the constitution of the Muscovite monarchy. The Pereiaslav Treaty was confirmed by both contractors: by the Ukrainian people and by the Muscovite tsar for unlimited time. Muscovite tsars or emperors did not carry out their obligations

in conformance with the 1654 treaty and treat us today as if the Pereiaslav Treaty never existed. They are treating us as if our nation renounced all rights and aspirations to sovereign statehood surrendered to the whims of Russian emperors, and agreed to share the same fate with the Russians, who voluntarily accepted the tsars. However, our people have neither directly nor through their government ever conceded to such an agreement nor ever renounced the rights due to them by the Pereiaslav Treaty. Therefore, the Pereiaslav Treaty is compulsory to both contracting parties: Muscovite monarchy and Ukrainian republic, on the basis of the rule, that no agreement can be abrogated or revised onesidedly, by the will of one contracting party without a clearly stated agreement of the other party. So, we do not recognize the existence of "a single indivisible Russia." We are only obligated to the Muscovite state, and the all-Russian tsar is less important to us than the Muscovite tsar. This is what the law says. In reality, however, the Pereiaslav Treaty is of no importance. The all-Russian emperors are our absolute rulers, and the Pereiaslav Treaty remains "an historical act" only and nothing more. According to the law, how should we act in view of such a cruel treatment of law? The law says, when one of the contracting parties broke the contract, then the other contracting party has the choice: either to demand from the former party to fulfil its obligations in size and way stipulated, or to proclaim the contract void in all its parts and to break all relations with the former contracting party.

The latter choice is the domination of power — not of law.

Our opponents may reply that although the contract was invalidated by violence, deception, and intrigues on the part of one contracting party, however the second contracting party forfeited not only the right to conduct its own affairs, but even the right to protest, because by its long silence it sanctified the illegal acts and whatever was gained by injustice became legal on the grounds of neglect. Therefore, it is too late to reconstruct the former treaty relations.

This speculation does not contain a grain of truth. First, whatever was seized by robbery or thievery cannot be considered as just possession because of long neglect. Second, the notion of long neglect cannot refer to the enslavement of freedom. Long neglect can have bearing only in lawful conditions and not in illegal conditions which characterize relations between Muscovite monarchy and Ukrainian republic. In international relations long neglect may have bearing merely in respect to nations which are dying out, which lack vital strength, for as long as a nation lives, as long as it feels its vitality and strength — there is no room for any neglect. Besides that, discussion of neglect cannot play any role, since our people by constant protests against Moscow's domination (Doroshenko, Mazepa, SS. Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood, Shevchenko, peasant uprisings

of the 80's, etc.) interrupted the flow of long neglect and instead attempted to achieve the solution of the conflict concerning obligations of the Pereiaslav Treaty by means which are solely effective and serious, namely, by force. Even if we should overlook the continuous protests in our history, then our own existence is a protest against the violence upon us and upon our ancestors; it interrupts the flow of neglect, it obliges us to destroy the chains of slavery in order that we — the heirs of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi — could by law use our inheritance!

Part II

While we have many legal grounds for returning to the stipulations of the Pereiaslav Treaty and for liberation of the robbed freedom, let us enquire about physical and material means of getting the desired aim?

Our opponents say that the logic of events, direction and flow of life, drive with invincible force towards complete extinction and complete denationalization of our nation.

A black flag with the inscription: "Political death, national death, cultural death to the Ukrainian nation", hangs over us.

Those are not words alone, its contents is comparable.

After the dispossession of the right to statehood of the Ukrainian nation, separate parts of the previous republic lost all elementary political rights of man. The former Ukrainian republican today enjoys fewer rights than the lowest Muscovite servant. The foreign government conducts itself in the territory of the former Ukrainian republic as though in a recently conquered country, sucks out the last ounce of energy, draws out the liberation élite, takes away the last penny from the poor people.

Foreign officials swarmed into Ukraine; they despise the folks on whose means they subsist. Recalcitrant native comply inexpressibly while the dangerous ones are deported to Siberia. The right of conscience is scorned through the laws of the Russian empire, the right of personal freedom is treated with contempt, even bodily inviolability is coerced. The former protector of the Ukrainian republic turned into a legal tyrant, to whom the unlimited power over life and death of every Ukrainian belongs. By the tsarist law of May 17th, 1876, the use of the language of the heirs of the Pereiaslav Treaty was prohibited; it has been thrown out of school and court, of church and administration. Descendants of Pavliuk, Kosynskyi, Khmelnytskyi and Mazepa have been deprived of the right to their own national literature and to their own press: even in spiritual matters they are ordered to work for their master. In

such a way the Ukrainian nation pays tribute not only in material goods, but also its psyche and intellect are exploited in favour of foreigners. Not only is Ukraine ruled by a tsar, a foreigner, but even God has been made a stranger and cannot talk in Ukrainian. Education is in neglect, culture is wasted, and darkness rules everywhere in Ukraine. In 274 years after the Pereiaslav Treaty "the free and equal" Ukrainian is in a worse position than the ancient slave, because the intellectual "tribute" was not demanded from a slave, because love and goodwill to his master was not required from a slave, and a slave understood his yoke; the Ukrainian feels it. Such is the logic of events and such are its results. In the midst of such bad conditions we have gathered as one big family filled with deep pain and sorrow because of these sufferings, which have filled to capacity the people's soul — and contrary to the logic of events we inscribed on our banner: "One, single, indivisible, free, independent Ukraine from the Carpathian mountains to the Caucasian."

Are we perhaps being carried away?

Is this ideal of ours one of the magnificent, holy illusions, by which mankind lives and hopes for its fulfilment, but which disappears as soon as you intend to achieve it?

Perhaps our passionate love for Ukraine prompted us to accept an absurd, unfounded thought.

Do we have reasons to expect broad support from Ukrainian public?

And above all, will the achievement of this desire be beneficial to the Ukrainian nation?

Often our opponents put forward the thesis that we do not have any right to national existence and to state independence, because we do not possess any historical tradition; we do not have a past. We wish not to dwell upon this argument, for we proved its fallibility above, but even the absence of national-historical past cannot have bearing upon a dynamic nation, which perceived its strength and intends to take advantage of "the right of the strong." To us the second argument that the nation is powerless, primitive, and inert is much more important. We are told: can an uneducated, unorganized, broken up mass, uninspired with any idea — create history in contemporary conditions of life? Does this mass perceive the national and political oppression? A small group of insane people can only make people laugh, but cannot even arouse sympathies among the intelligentsia, for the whole Ukrainian intelligentsia willingly without protest glides into denationalization, and behind it other educated individuals. And in the end, is not the Ukrainian nationality just a variation of the Russian nationality? Even if it should be proved that we are a variation of the Russian nation, the inhuman treatment of us by the Russians sanctifies our hatred towards them and our moral right to destroy the oppressor, defending ourselves from violence. Blood

spilled out by a brotherly hand calls as loud for revenge, because it is the blood of the brother! Let the scholars figure out who was related to whom, — the insulted sense of the nation and the harm done upon the whole people are fastidious in recognizing any moral connections with the Russian nation! For these reasons we can at most pass judgments on the means and methods of struggle!

Yes, we are uncultured. It is undoubtedly true: our nation is uncultured. Properly speaking, its culture is historical, because it stopped developing in the seventeenth century. It is true, that since the Treaty of 1654 our nation advanced little culturally and from various points of view it had to regress to lower forms of life politically and socially. Various religious-cultural movements, which resulted from a high standard of education and excited our society in the seventeenth century, gave promise to become not only sources of freedom of conscience, but of political liberty as well. All these movements were crushed by force. The elementary political rights were crippled, namely, the right of personal liberty (*corvée*), and the nation was thrown into the pit of darkness. The ancient Ukrainian culture was destroyed, the culture which was so intensive that some of its rays were able to call to life and to might the present nation of our lords.

Yes! Today our masses are uncultured, however in the fact of our uncultured condition we find the best, strongest, and most intensive argument and basis for placing political liberation of our nation as our main ideal! Can our nation really progress and educate itself without getting the right to be in command of its own life and till darkness remains the means of keeping our nation in subjugation!? Until we gain political and sovereign rights, we will not have the opportunity to create an order at home according to our wishes, because the interests of our masters are completely contrary to our interests; for opening the eyes of the slaves is dangerous to their lords. The Ukrainian intelligentsia should take this last task upon itself. It is its right and duty.

However in our history Ukrainian intelligentsia often played a shameful and scandalous role. It was betraying, was stirring, was intriguing, but it was never serving its people; it never considered the interest of the whole nation as its own interest; it often did not attempt to see such a community of interests. History is witness that a strong, educated, and cultured Ukrainian intelligentsia of the 16th and 17th centuries embraced Polish nationality. All these Chetvertynski, Chortoryiski, Vyshnevetski, and Tymkevychi were body and soul of Ukrainian origin. Despite this, the Ukrainian people generated a new intelligentsia in a strong and powerful sweep. However, this second intelligentsia during the 18th and 19th centuries embraced Russian nationality. All the Bezborodky, Prokopovychi, Yavorski, Proshchynski, and all the Hohols, Huidychi, Potapenky, Korolenky,

and a vast number of others — all of them are of our blood. The people again remained without its own intelligentsia; it left the people in the worst, hardest times of its existence. Can we equalize a war or an epidemic with the mass desertion of the intelligentsia? War and epidemic mow indiscriminately scholars and uneducated alike, poor and wealthy; national desertion took away the flower of the nation — its most cultured stratum.

The two grave losses were so big that it is hard to find equal tragedies in history of any nation. Nevertheless, the Ukrainian people produced enough strength to bring forth a new — third intelligentsia in the midst of worst political, economic, and national circumstances. The evolution of the Ukrainian intelligentsia of this third epoch did not yet begin, however the typical trait of serving its own people is strongly impressed upon it. Thus, if this third intelligentsia has organic connection with the Ukrainian nation, if it is representing the Ukrainian people and is the only politically conscious section of the Ukrainian nation, then the rudder of the national ship belongs to it. We cannot say that the majority of Ukrainian people does not have anything in common with the formation of its own present intelligentsia — for Ukrainian intelligentsia is the society in miniature, the aspiration of society is the aspiration of intelligentsia, the strivings of intelligentsia — are the strivings and desires of the whole society.

If all this is correct, we are confronted with the question: "If a Ukrainian intelligentsia does exist, if it does represent the society, if it struggles, why don't we hear anything about this struggle, don't see results, and, don't even know the aims of this struggle?"

It is hard to answer immediately all these questions. One thing can be said, namely, that the prophet of present Ukrainian national politics — Taras Shevchenko — was neither comprehended by his own generation nor by the succeeding ones. While Shevchenko sanctified by his sufferings and death the road of struggle for political, national, and economic freedom of the Ukrainian people, the succeeding generations of the so-called Ukrainophile camp wrote on their banner: "Let us act in a manner, that nobody nowhere sees our work!" During the last half century those generations of "white turtle-doves" were demoralizing the whole Ukrainian society with their pseudo-patriotism. Frightened by the sufferings of Shevchenko and by the annoyances suffered by his friends, these generations developed a cult of cowardice, worked out a whole religion of loyalty to the Russian state; by an unheard-of servility, lack of any constructive ideas, and by an unusual inertia these generations pushed away several youth movements, which were thoroughly grounded in national traditions. As the result, the Ukrainian movement was treated as shameful, ridiculous, and obscurantist. Those generations attached to Ukrainophilism the mentality of an unfinished ethno-

graphic theory. They called themselves Ukrainophiles, i.e. people who sympathize with Ukraine. They did not wish to call themselves Ukrainians. The Ukrainophiles' tactics and politics turned away from themselves the entire "Young Ukraine"; nor were they able to draw the sympathies of the "old Ukraine." Thus the Ukrainophiles were left without "offsprings." The "Young Ukraine" considers itself the direct heir of Shevchenko and its tradition is traced back to Mazepa, Khmelnytskyi, and King Danylo, by-passing the Ukrainophiles. There are no connections between the "Young Ukraine" and the Ukrainophiles except one terrible and fatal bond — to pay with blood for the mistakes of its predecessors.

The times of embroidered shirts, peasants' overcoats and whisky are over and will never return. The third Ukrainian intelligentsia is taking up arms on behalf of its people, in a bloody and merciless battle. It has faith in its power and in the power of the nation and it will do its duty. It inscribes upon its banner the words: "One, only, indivisible, sovereign, independent Ukraine from the Carpathians to the Caucasus." It has dedicated itself to the service of this great ideal, and the Ukrainian intelligentsia will not lay down its arms as long as the smallest piece of Ukrainian land remains under foreign rule; until then all Ukrainian generations will go to war. The war will be conducted with all available means. Cultural struggle is considered equal with the struggle by physical force. The need of a struggle arises from our national existence. Let our history be sad and hard, let us be uncultured, let our masses be dark, duped, despite all this we exist and we want to continue existing. And not only to exist as living beings, we want to live as human beings, as citizens, as members of a free nation. There are many of us — more than 30 million. Our future must belong to us, because it is absolutely impossible that one thirtieth of the entire humanity, a whole big nation, could disappear, could be strangled, when it can struggle against the whole world! We do exist, we are conscious of our existence and of our separate national "ego." Many times during its historical process our nation did not hold together all its parts, however today the flower of the Ukrainian nation in all parts of Ukraine lives with one thought, one dream, one idea: "one, single, indivisible, sovereign, independent Ukraine from the Carpathian mountains to the Caucasus." Today, we have united ourselves, we learned why we had Berestechkos and Poltavas.* We revived from a soil soaked through with blood of our ancestors, who died fighting for the freedom of Ukraine. We sucked with the blood of our mothers the ancient love of our nation, of the fatherland, and its liberties, and hatred to the coercion upon us. As it is impossible to stop a river when it breaks through the ice in the spring and wildly rushes to

*) Tragic historic defeats of Ukrainian forces: by the Poles at Berestechko in 1651, and by the Russians at Poltava in 1709. (Ed.)

the sea, so it is impossible to stop the nation, which is tearing down its chains, awakened to life. Our nation entered a new way of life, and our duty is lead it to the fulfilment of a grand ideal. However we should remember that we are merely heralds of its power, we are merely its messengers. The grand one is the whole Ukrainian nation.

Nevertheless we are a combative party, grown up on a historical ground and a party of practical work; we are obliged to point out the closer objective, which is in our mind. This objective — recovery of the rights stipulated by the Pereiaslav Treaty of 1654 broadened to cover the whole territory of Ukrainian people in Russia. We announce our intention to recover by force what has been taken away from us by force. For a long time our hope did not lead us anywhere, but today we are entering into the battle. We will succeed in achieving complete freedom and the first stage of it — the Pereiaslav constitution.

We are preparing ourselves for a savage and prolonged struggle; the enemy is ruthless and powerful. Nevertheless we see this struggle as the last one and afterwards the repetition of a similar struggle will never again be necessary. The night was long, however it dawned and we will not tolerate the rays of freedom for all nations only to shine upon our slave chains: we shall smash them at the sunrise of freedom. We are entering the historical stage for the final time, and either we gain victory or we die. We are unwilling to suffer anymore under foreign rule; we do not want any contempt on our own soil. We are a small group though strong in love of Ukraine! Sons of Ukraine! As Antaeus, we shall touch the native land and shall grow stronger and more courageous. There are few of us, however our voice will resound all over Ukraine, and everyone whose heart has not been corrupted yet will respond, but those whose hearts are debased — we will call ourselves!

Let the cowards and apostates go as they were going over to the camp of our enemies. There is no place for them among ourselves and we will denounce them as enemies of their own fatherland.

Everyone in entire Ukraine who is not with us is against us. Ukraine for Ukrainians! Till even one enemy remains on our soil, we have no right to lay down our arms. Let us remember that glory and victory — are the fate of fighters for the cause of the people. Forward, and let everyone remember that when he fights on behalf of his own people, he has to care for the entire people, so that the entire people does not perish because of his impudence.

Forward! We cannot hope for anybody's assistance nor should we look around for it!

b. **Vidkrytyi lyst do rosiis'koho ministra vnutrishnikh sprav Sipiagina**
(An open letter to the Russian Minister of internal affairs Sipiagin
— 1900)

Mr. Minister! You have prohibited to write the inscription on the monument of the first Ukrainian poet Kotliarevskiy in Ukrainian! You can understand our indignation when we learned of your reply to the petition of the loyal citizens of Poltava. However it has happened as you have desired: we have felt the deep bitterness of this outrage, of this contempt, which you have inflicted upon our nation. Our fathers and our grandfathers have silently put up with the prohibition of education in our language and even with the prohibition of the Ukrainian language itself. They have always repeated their testament over and over again: "Suffer, hope, and be silent!" Therefore, you, Mr. Minister, and other similar to you gentlemen began considering our nation as pariahs of Europe, because you became accustomed to respect coercion alone, although you are deceiving the whole world at the Hague Conference with the notion that you are respecting the law.

We know that you are right, that the Ukrainian nation in Russia is really a nation of slaves-pariahs. Its destiny is to feed you, Mr. Minister, and other hundreds of thousands of officials-foreigners from a minister to a village clerk; to contribute men and money for the upkeep of the army, which upholds your domination and is demoralizing our nation; to pay the expenses of various schools, wherein foreigners-teachers educate our children to become mortal enemies of their own nation; to build churches, in which mercenary clergy pleads God to consolidate foreign rule over us.

Even you, Mr. Minister, must confess, that our nation is carrying out all this resignedly, without a protest. Why then the unnecessary cruelties toward us? — Instead, you think otherwise! You are irritated by the thought that your slaves are hiding something in their souls. You are angered, that pariahs keep a "holy of holies" in their hearts, the entrance to which is barred to you; you are furious, that the nation which you made into a beggar, collected the hard-earned money for the monument to its own poet — but you laid with a disgraceful hand of a shameless stranger a ban on the soul of the nation.

Mr. Minister! You believe that together with all your henchmen you will succeed in destroying our people? Let our history answer you! Let it tell you, how strong and solid was the Polish state "from the sea to sea", how crippled became our people under the domination of foreigners-Poles, what oppression did it suffer at the hands of Polish lords. And let the history tell you, how in one vigorous and

strong movement our nation ruined the whole Polish state and turned the oppressors into nothingness. The former Poles, Mr. Minister, oppressed us not less than the present Russians, while the former Warsaw was more cultured than is the present Petersburg.

Do you know the reasons why our forefathers toppled Poland? Because she endeavoured to oppress the soul of the nation, its moral "I". All the sins are forgiven except the sins against the Holy Ghost.

The Russian government adopted the same policy toward our nation as the previous Polish government, and consequently it asks us to follow in the steps of our forefathers during the times of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi. Indeed we will follow!

The tsar's law of May 17th 1876 is a crime against the Holy Ghost, because it condemns our entire nation to moral death. However your absurd prohibition of a Ukrainian inscription on a monument of a Ukrainian poet is a disgusting cruelty upon a nation already condemned to death. This prohibition is the drop which overfilled the cup of suffering and patience of our people. It proves that there is no end in sight to your abuse. It tells us: enough of silence — you slaves!

c. **Robitnytska sprava v prohrami UNP** (The labour question in the programme of UNP — 1902)

The full text of this work of Mikhnovskyyi is unavailable. The excerpts are from the book by Petro Mirchuk, *Mykola Mikhnovskyyi*. Mikhnovskyyi begins his treatise with the question whether the Marxist slogan "Workers of all countries unite" brings salvation to all workers, and whether there exist natural, justified reasons which should prompt all workers to join in the fulfilment of this slogan. Mikhnovskyyi answers: "No, the labour movement today entered a new phase of development: from a cosmopolitan it became a national one." As an example he first analyzes the conditions in Germany, which then included Western Poland: the labour gained there important rights, and its position improved to a great extent in comparison with what it was earlier; however, all the gains concern exclusively workers of German nationality. "In Poznan Germans are building factories and plants, but there is no place for Polish workers; they are not admitted anywhere; they are thrown out everywhere; in every factory which is owned by Germans, the entire personnel is German. The German worker in Poznan lives as if in paradise, while the lot of Polish workers is even worse, as in education: "Polish schools and universities are closed and Polish people sink constantly into darkness." In this process the fact that the

German worker is not uniting with the Polish and is not defending the rights of the Polish worker is most interesting. "When the plan to Germanize the Poznan area was debated in the Reichstag, who voted against the plan? Would you say, German workers? Indeed there are many of them in the Reichstag! Did they perhaps defend the interests of the unfortunate Polish workers and peasants?... It turned out that today in Germany — in Germany in which the call once sounded loud: 'Proletarians of all lands unite!' — you will not hear it anymore. The German worker hates the Polish worker-rebel, and the latter pays back in the same currency. To the Polish worker of Poznan this once nice call 'Workers of all lands unite!' sounds as mockery, irony, a bad joke. The ideal of Polish workers is not to unite with the Germans, but to tear their country away from Germany, to create their own free state — independent, sovereign, democratic, on the ground that only in one's own state it is possible to arrange one's own life to one's liking."

"However the same Pole, who is so much discriminated against in Germany and therefore rouses sympathies amongst us, the same Pole in Halychyna (Galicia), where he belongs to the dominating nation treats the Ukrainian worker similarly as the German treats the Polish worker in Poznan. Poles establish factories and plants at the expense of Ukrainian people, but they never hire Ukrainian proletarians as managers or as employees. To the Polish peasants Polish lords, who exploit them, are much closer than Ukrainian peasants, whose plight is the same as theirs. It was clearly felt during the latest strikes in Halychyna this year, 1902."

Next, Mikhnovskyi examines the labour problem in England and corroborates that the attitude of the English worker, who already gained for himself significant rights, to the workers of people ruled by England is the same as in Germany between the German and Polish workers. Not only in English colonies. For example, in Ireland subjugated by England: "The Irish native lives together with pigs in mud-huts without windows and doors, without stoves, beds, and bed-spreads. He dresses himself in simplest shirt-like jacket, feeds himself with potatoes alone and then only if they yield. Compare the life of these poor people with the lives of English workers. Is it really possible to make a comparison?! English workers live well, but do they extend a helping hand to the Irishmen? Does perhaps a thought come to their mind to say a word on behalf of the Irish? No, the English worker despises the Irishman, and he is despised by the Irishman, a rebellious beggar in his imagination, with whom he called quits long ago."

"What do you think, the Irish workers want very much to unite with the English workers and how would the Irishmen reply if someone should counsel them to join with the Englishmen? The Irishman hates his primordial enemy — the pompous Anglo-Saxon

and his ideal is to break away from the other completely, to drive out the foreigners from his native land and achieve political independence in order to live his own way of life."

Mikhnovskyi mentions next the similarity of attitudes of dominant Austrian workers toward subordinated Czech workers. "Presently, there are probably no greater enemies than Czech and German workers. A German worker will never associate himself with a Czech union or vice versa — a Czech with a German union. Both nations are opposing each other by arms, and a sharpest struggle ensues wherever workers of these two nations meet. Neither wants to have anything to do with the other. As long as the Germans rule over the Czechs so long the slogan "Proletarians of all lands unite!" will rouse only vicious laughter and hostility among workers of both nations."

Mikhnovskyi sums up his observations: "We see that interests of dominant nations and of subjugated nations are so contradictory, that they stir up feuds and violent conflicts. Dominant nations are ruled by oppression, while robbed nations are stimulated by unlimited hatred for their oppressors because they are unable to defend themselves by force... The feeling of personal dignity compels the worker of the robbed nation to turn away with aversion from any moral contacts with members of the dominating nation, disregarding whether it is a worker or someone else, since they do not recognize his rights. Hatred of violence in life is a necessary condition for establishment of goodness in the world. The people who do not feel a sense of hatred toward their oppressors — have lost all moral feelings and are unable to assert their rights among the other peoples; they should die and their names will not be included in the book of life. Who does not defend himself is attacked by others and is devoured."

In Mikhnovskyi's view, reality has proven irrelevancy of the noisy phrase "Proletarians of all lands unite!" Therefore, "new forms of life appeared among the workers. The labour movement, particularly of the dependent peoples, became a national movement. Today workers of subjugated nations fight for the right of political independence in their own territory, realizing well that without this condition it is impossible to win material benefits or a free spiritual development. Workers of captive nations demand and fight for the right to equal liberty for all nations. The Czechs want to have their own free independent Czechia, the Irishmen — Ireland, so do Slovenians, Croatians, and Poles; similarly we — Ukrainians wish to have our Ukraine, as Germans have their independent Germany, Englishmen — England, and Muscovites — Russia."

"Therefore we propose a new slogan: Workers of subjugated nations unite in a common struggle for your own national-political,

spiritual, and economic interests against the imperialistic nations, recognizing mutual national rights!"

Mikhnovskyi assumes a negative position towards any benefits to be achieved by the proletarian class of the subjugated nation from the taking over the government in the imperialistic nation by the proletariat from the aristocratic class. On the contrary, the condition of labour of the subjugated nation will immensely worsen. "Woe to a subjugated nation, which should experience the domination by a democratized nation." Instead of the domination by a few strangers, a whole foreign people will exploit and suppress the subjugated nation. If Ukraine should come under the rule of Russian proletariat, "then the fate of the Irishmen will become the fate of Ukrainians. Ukrainian will live in a den without windows and doors, without a bed, stove, and bed-cover, together with pigs, hungry and sick. This is the future awaiting the Ukrainian nation!"

In Mikhnovskyi's view the only rescue from such a horrible fate is "fulfilment of the great national ideal: one indivisible, independent, democratic Ukraine of educated working masses, establishment of the big national state, encompassing all parts of the Ukrainian people."

d. Desiat (10) zapovidei UNP (1903) (Ten Commandments of the UNP)

1. One, single, indivisible, independent, free, democratic Ukraine from the Carpathians to the Caucasus — a republic of working people.

2. All the people are your brothers, but Russians, Poles, Hungarians, Rumanians, and Jews are enemies of our people as long as they rule over us and exploit us.

3. Ukraine for Ukrainians! Therefore, let us drive out foreigners-oppressors from all quarters of Ukraine.

4. Always and everywhere use the Ukrainian language. Let not your wife, nor your children pollute your home with the language of foreigners-oppressors.

5. Honour active members of your native land, hate its enemies, despise turncoats-renegades, then well-being will come to your people and to you.

6. Do not kill Ukraine by your indifference to national interests.

7. Do not become turncoat-renegade yourself.

8. Do not steal from your people by working for Ukraine's enemies.

9. Help your countryman before helping anyone else; keep together.

10. Do not take an alien wife, because your children will be your enemies; do not befriend enemies of our people, because thereby you give them strength and courage; do not cooperate with oppressors of our people, because you may become a traitor.

(In R. Orlykivets, "Ukraïnskyi natsionalizm", [n.p.], *Ukraïnskyi polityk*, 1949, p. 27, another version of point 1 appears: "One, single, indivisible, independent, free Ukraine from the Carpathians to the Caucasus — this is the national and all-Ukrainian ideal. Let every child remember, that it has been born into this world to fulfil this ideal.")

e. **Sprava ukraïnskoï inteligentsii v prohrami UNP** (The question of Ukrainian intelligentsia in the programme of UNP — 1904) — Excerpts.

Mikhnovskyi analyzes the political activities and political views of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. He concludes that among its ranks Russophilism is influential. "Its causes are deeply rooted in the conditions of the Ukrainian nation itself, in the condition of a disfranchised and helpless slave. Political and economic slavery is rearing Ukrainians with a mentality of spiritual slavery who cannot imagine the existence of an independent Ukrainian state; who cannot perceive the appearance of such a state even in distant future, to whom such a thought is ridiculous because of impossibility to realize it, for he thinks of the power of the Russian nation as invincible, — he will obviously seek a better future not in an antagonism but in compliance with 'masters of the situation', with the Russians. All his convictions and ideals will be moulding with an iron consistency in the direction of Russophilism. On the other hand lack of Ukrainian national press, literature, lack of national schools and obligation to study in Russian schools and to seek answers to spiritual needs in the Russian press and literature, willy-nilly teaches Ukrainians to look at the world, at themselves, and on their people through Russian eyeglasses, mechanically forms the mentality of spiritual slavery to Russian thought, Russian culture."

Mikhnovskyi then asks: "Perhaps the Russians did forsake the road of robbery and banditry in foreign countries, their historical mission, and are returning to the road of altruism? Oh no! The Russian educated classes know well that in a constitutional state they are in good position to prohibit the national press as well as

the national language of the imprisoned nation in school, court of justice, and administration; they can rule over its economy and politics. A Russian parliament, in which Muscovites due to their political and economic power will have absolute majority of representatives, will without control and ceremonies apply to Ukraine the same methods of exploitation and domination as does the contemporary absolutist government."

In his opinion, the Russian democrats desire a change exclusively for their own benefit, not to the benefit of the enslaved nations. Therefore, the work of Ukrainian federalists benefits exclusively the colonial nation. Ukrainian intelligentsia should not choose this road. It should remember the old rule, that "it is necessary to be an independent sovereign nation, not to be a slave, but master of one's own destiny and one's own existence, in order to arrange the life in one's own state and territory according to one's own will and desire." In consequence, Mikhnovskyi suggests, that the Ukrainian intelligentsia should strive not for some other regime within the Russian empire, but for the establishment of a Ukrainian sovereign statehood. The identical consideration applies to Ukrainians under Austrian and Hungarian domination.

In his opinion, no benefit will come to Ukrainians from their participation in Russian cultural, scientific, and artistic life. It is a mistake to fight for "academic freedom" at Russian universities. "The sole fact that Russian universities and schools with Russian lecturing language exist on the territory of Ukraine is the mockery of freedom, is neglect of our basic human rights, is a disgrace and disdain to our nation, particularly of our educated class — the Ukrainian intelligentsia. We should fight not for 'academic freedoms', but for the academy itself, for the right to have our own national academy."

As an instructive example to the Ukrainian youth under Russian oppression Mikhnovskyi mentions the Ukrainian students under Austrian domination: They arose not on behalf of 'academic freedoms' at the Polish university of Lviv, but for the establishment of a Ukrainian university. This activity they intertwined with the broad struggle of the Ukrainian people on behalf of national interests. Ukrainian students in Halychyna left *en masse* the Polish university. A great sympathy movement developed among Ukrainian peasantry. Soon the Ukrainian population collected 70,000 guildens for scholarships of their youth at foreign universities. Ukrainian students showed their gratitude by going into the countryside and starting a nationwide educational campaign amongst the masses. "A wonder happened: the uneducated peasant-slave became conscious of his own human nature. The same summer a grandiose peasants' strike occurred: Almost the whole Halychyna was striking... What great consequences to all Galician Ukrainians and to its proletariat have been brought

by the Ukrainian students' movement for a national academy! It can be stated with certainty that Halychyna Ukrainians became a political power when their academic youth left Polonophilism, stopped fraternizing with Polish democrats on behalf of some chimerical common interests and instead unfurled the banner of struggle for their people's and their own interests."

Upon this example Mikhnovskyi based this observation: "Little Halychyna, not bigger than the Poltava province, revealed so much heroism! We, the 25 million Ukrainians under Russian yoke, should learn from Halychyna. Comparing with Halychyna we can imagine the colossal consequences when our students would unfurl the people's banner as openly and courageously on behalf of a national academy and of the Ukrainian lecturing language at it. What a powerful wave would pass over the whole Ukraine from one end to the other! Our nation, the passive village and urban proletariat, would open their eyes and would find upon themselves chains and brand of slavery and would learn about their true enemies."

"Let us end the sacrifices to the Muscovite 'Moloch.' He drunk too much Ukrainian blood and devoured the best and noblest sons of Ukraine. What advantage is there from the 50 years of sinking by the flower of Ukrainian intelligentsia in the wide sea of Muscovite revolutionary democracy? What good has it brought to the Ukrainian nation when such of its sons as Popko, Davydenko, Perovska, Florenko, Malynka, Kravchynskyi, Kybalchych, Stefanovych, Lyzohub, and many others, undoubtedly talented people, gave away their talents to the gods of a foreign hostile nation?!"

"Nationalization of school, press, and literature on the territory of Ukraine is the foundation of well-being of Ukrainian intelligentsia and of its economic interest, as well as the greater part of the Ukrainian people." In the opinion of Mikhnovskyi the reasons are: 1) the Ukrainian teacher is neglected, 2) Ukrainian writer cannot publish his works, 3) Ukrainian journalist is unable to earn a deserving wage — for the dominant nation favours its own press. Ukrainian artists, painters, and performers must either go into the service of the foreigner or starve to death. A completely different situation would exist if Ukraine had its own national independence. Therefore, "the only salvation for Ukrainian intelligentsia is to rise in defence of the political and cultural rights of its own people, to acquire Ukrainian schools, press, and literature; then it will also find economic stability, its well-being, its honest place and the strong and powerful basis for the duration of the Ukrainian nation."

Mikhnovskyi cautions that the Ukrainian intelligentsia should not expect to gain their just rights by any legal means of begging for them from the enemy. "The Muscovite nation... has become accustomed to look at Ukraine as its milk cow, as the source of its

well-being and will retreat only when force is applied, and nothing else... One must be completely blinded to dream of the possibility to raise the cultural level of the Ukrainians by legal means; Russian law has anticipated everything, has prohibited everything. No loophole remains in it which can be used in the interests of Ukrainian people without opposing the Russian government." In such an atmosphere "loyalists-Ukrainophiles supply a rich dish and object to the chauvinistic Muscovite press to scoff at us; the press which is not omitting a single incident to jest about "khakhly." (Russian nickname for Ukrainians, used with contempt — A. W. B.)

The problem will not be solved by the establishment of cooperatives. Holding the reigns of government, Russia will at any time expropriate or liquidate them at the very moment when she feels any danger arising from them to her colonial domination. "From all the insignificant economic alleviation in Ukraine — the well-functioning pump of Russian institutions will suck out everything that can be sucked out to the advantage of the dominating Russian classes. As long as Ukrainian people will remain in slavery, without any economic and political rights — as all slaves are everywhere — so long as Ukrainian people remain in slavery, without any master will take away from him tomorrow... Independence is the only means of saving enslaved nations."

Mikhnovskiy mentions Belgium as an example of a poor country as long as it stayed under foreign occupation. On the contrary, wealthy countries became poor after coming under foreign rule. His final conclusion is as follows: "The main reason for misfortune in our nation is the lack of nationalism in its society... Nationalism is a tremendous irresistible force, manifested vividly during the 19th century. Under its invincible pressure seemingly unbreakable chains are broken, big empires are falling apart, and new peoples appear on the historical arena, peoples which till then were obediently carrying their slavish responsibilities toward foreigners-victors. Nationalism unites and coordinates forces. It drives into the struggle, sets the enslaved nations afire with fanaticism in their battle for freedom. The Ukrainian nation has to follow the same road which Western enslaved nations have shown. It will take it and will overcome whatever will come in its way!"

f. **Excerpts from the Programme of Ukraïnska Narodnia Partiia**
(Ukrainian People's Party) (1906)

"Ukraïnska Narodnia Partiia is a party of the labour masses of the Ukrainian people, a party of Ukrainian urban and rural proletariat.

"The main tasks of UNP are to educate and make Ukrainian workers and peasants conscious so that they will understand their national and class interests.

"Ukrainian workers should constantly remember to expel from Ukraine all foreigners-enemies and to establish an independent statehood. Therefore, a single national army should be organized of all Ukrainian workers with the aim of expelling all invaders whoever they may be and capturing into our own Ukrainian hands the whole Ukrainian industry... Ukraine with her wealth belongs to her people alone."

"As long as Ukrainians are a people without any rights there is no chance that it can be fulfilled (nationalization of land and turning it over to the peasantry — A. W. B.). Only after an all-Ukrainian revolution, as the result of which Ukraine would have achieved the right to self-determination, the right to arrange its destiny and its land problem freely, only then will it be possible to carry out the nationalization of land in Ukraine.

"Means of production, factories, and plants in the territories settled by the Ukrainian people must belong to the Ukrainian workers.

"UNP recognizes the Socialist ideal as the sole ideal which may finally satisfy the Ukrainian and other peoples, may destroy exploitation and lawlessness, will destroy the contemporary regime, built on violence, coercion, inequality, and domination.

"At this time, democratic forces of the master-nations, although they suffer themselves from arbitrary rule and exploitation by their own ruling classes, do not show the willingness to grant freedom to the enslaved nations. Therefore, there is no ground for expecting change of attitude in the future. When the democracy of the master-nations gains freedom, when it gains the reigns of government, then the enslaved nations can expect even less sympathy toward their enslavement from the democracy of the master-nations. On this basis domination by some nations over others should be abrogated in the whole world before the solution of the social question, before democracy gains freedom... Solution of the national question is the step by which people will enter into a bright holy temple of a socialist system, when there will be no violence, no oppression, no exploitation — where there will be only free labour of free people.

"On the road toward complete independence of Ukrainian people and the achievement of full self-determination, we are also supporting

autonomist demands of Ukrainian parties; however, this autonomy should not be fictitious but real.

“We recognize only voluntary federations among peoples. In order that two or more nations live in accord and love, it is necessary: 1) that they have equal rights and 2) that each nation should not hinder the other in the achievement of its goals, but should rather assist each other. If this is not the case, there is no reason why nations should live together.

“All the misfortunes afflicting the Ukrainian people to the present day come from the wrong approach to all matters, from a social instead of a national point of view, the Ukrainian people lacked the ideal of an independent Ukraine.

“The social problem is not the domestic problem of the Ukrainian nation, for its solution rests in the hands of the master-nation. To wrench the social problem from the hands of foreigners, to take it into its own hands — is the main ideal of every enslaved people. Wherever there exist nations-masters and nations-slaves, there are no common interests between them.”

g. Excerpts from the decision of the UNP-conference in 1907.

(I) The Ukrainian proletariat in urban areas has the tasks: 1. to wage an organised struggle against capital, 2. to secure itself from competition of foreigners, primarily Russians, who driven by spontaneous force of looking for a better life, are pouring in streams into Ukrainian cities, and owing to cultural oppression of the Ukrainian nation, attitudes of the Russian nationality, and assistance from the capitalists, composed mainly of Russians (in left-bank Ukraine), who willingly take their countrymen into their service, — take away employment from Ukrainians, pushing them out of all professions, of factories, plants, and shops into the ranks of the unemployed proletariat, into the jaws of moral death and later starvation.

(IV) The proletariat of the dominating nation and of the enslaved — are two separate classes without common interests.

Eugen LIBAUER

ARMoured THRUST FROM DZUNGARIA

Since the outbreak of the open rift between Soviet Russia and Red China, national slogans can be heard in Chinese propaganda. These slogans are intended for the ears of the forcefully resettled non-Russian peoples in Central Asia and Siberia. Moreover, this propaganda is written in the languages of these peoples and the tendency is always the same: appeal to their national pride and national consciousness. At the same time the Red Chinese are trying to pass themselves off as the champions of the national interests of the more than 100 million non-Russians in the Soviet Union and to stir up political resentment against Soviet Russian domination. The unsolved national problems in the USSR are exploited by Peking to deepen the chasm between Russians and non-Russians. Hence, it is readily understood that the Russian Communists are particularly sensitive to Chinese attacks. Quite apart from this, the growing nationalism of the non-Russian peoples subjugated in the USSR, causes the present Soviet Russian government no small amount of worry. The task of holding its multi-national empire intact becomes more and more troublesome.

On April 2nd of this year the Soviet Russian government organ *Izvestiya* began a counterattack. In an article entitled "The Peking Chauvinists," A. Dymkov writes that Mao and his guards are subjugating 43 million nationals who do not belong to the Han (Chinese) race; they are Mongolians, Tibetans or Turkestanis. Under the hypocritical guise of destroying the remnants of "feudal culture," Mao adherents are pushing through a forceful, large-scale assimilation with the ultimate intent of de-nationalizing the non-Chinese minorities. In reality,

the Communists under Mao's leadership are "Great Chinese chauvinists," who constantly violate the principles of Marxist internationalism.

To be sure, this contention contains a grain of truth. It is known from reliable sources that national and religious resistance to the Red Chinese exists in the so-called autonomous areas of Inner Mongolia, Tibet and East Turkestan (Sinkiang). In recent years Uigur, Kazakh, Tadzhik and Kirghizian Mohammedan tribes have repeatedly revolted against the Red Chinese administration. On the other hand, the Red Chinese also know that the Mohammedan Turkic peoples in the Central Asian area of the USSR (Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kirghizia and Tadzhikistan) are forced to suffer under Russia's Russification policies. On several occasions after 1917, the Turkic peoples rebelled against Moscow's colonial rule. Nor did Communist purges succeed in extinguishing the flame of nationalism.

It is precisely on the national freedom aspirations of these Central Asian and Siberian peoples that the Chinese build their far-reaching political plans. But these plans do not confine themselves solely to propaganda! For years, the Chinese have been holding manoeuvres in the Chinese-Soviet border area of Dzungaria. In 1960, the Red Chinese had collected six armies in this area, mostly tank troops and motorized units. Then manoeuvres themselves as well as the official Red Chinese reports on them, evoked scepticism from the competent Red army authorities in Moscow. At that time the anti-Russian intentions of the Chinese command headquarters were not clearly discernible.

As a matter of fact the Red Chinese themselves made every effort to

camouflage their strategic plans. They did so in 1960 also, when four Red Chinese tank divisions simulated an advance from Kuldja on the Ili river across the valleys of the borderline Bohohoro mountains to the Kazakh capital, Alma Ata, and then across the Balkhash lake (situated in the USSR). This simulated advance was carried out by the Red Chinese command headquarters under the assumption that strong "capitalist" enemy forces had advanced through the "allied" Soviet Union from Iran and had occupied Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Kazakhstan, crossed the Amu-Daria and Syr-Daria rivers, marched into Alma Ata and endangered the Kirgiz Soviet Republic. Hence, to check this advance, the Red Chinese force — according to Peking command headquarters — would have to fight their way through the valleys of the mountain range and repel the enemy...

At that time the Russian general staff in Moscow simply smiled at the possibility of an advance of strong enemy forces from Iran. Were the Red Chinese really ignorant of the fact that the Iranian army was neither numerically nor technically in a position to initiate a tank raid against the Central Asian areas of the USSR?

Today the Soviet Russians no longer smile. Now they are inclined to see the reports on the Chinese manoeuvres in an entirely different light. Not from Iran, but from China danger threatens! On paper, the alleged rescue action undertaken by the Chinese at that time led via... Novosibirsk to the Ob river and Vorkuta in the northern Ural mountains, and to Amderma on the coast of the polar sea. In short, the Chinese rescue action was to lead through such areas where strong minority groups of non-Russian peoples from the European part of the USSR have been forcefully resettled. It is clear that they would not have offered strong resistance to the Chinese.

Even in 1960, the whole matter seemed highly suspect to the Soviet Russians. From a military viewpoint,

indeed, the Chinese tank advance was pure nonsense. Even armies with almost inexhaustible reserves could hardly hope to advance from the Dzungarian basin through the entire West Siberian lowlands in one stretch, since the climate and, above all, the enormous swamp areas along the Ob river would literally drown such an undertaking.

The Chinese arguments in defence of this manoeuvre-plan annoyed the Soviet Russians at that time. However, they were not inclined to take the Chinese sandbox games too seriously. Today the Russian general staff has begun to wonder whether the Chinese manoeuvre-idea might not have been based on entirely different "assumed targets," for instance, the railway line Novosibirsk-Sverdlovsk. The further aim of this action of course would have been the occupation of the West Siberian lowlands and of the railroad Vorkuta, that is to say, Amderma, opening the road to Moscow and Leningrad. The presupposition in all this was that the population of West Siberia and the Vorkuta area would not have attacked the Chinese from behind, but the Russians!

The Chinese manoeuvre-plans were based on political deliberations. As early as 1960, Peking was aware of the possibility of a war with the USSR, and hence logically took note of the military and political importance of the non-Russian population residing in this area. There can no longer be any doubt about this: the secession of the non-Russians, the spontaneous uprisings of the colonial people against the Moscow government apparatus, are all favourable possibilities to Red China's interests.

The colonial problems of the USSR are a constant factor in the calculations of Chinese politicians and military men. Vorkuta is not important for them because of its coalmines, but because of the people living there, the majority of whom are Ukrainians, Balts, Cossackians, Koreans, Turkmenians, Byelorussians and Chinese.

Jaropolk LASOVSKYI

MUSIC IN UKRAINE UNDER SOVIET RULE

A few months ago Mykola Lysenko's opera 'Taras Bulba', performed by soloists, chorus and orchestra of the Kyiv Opera House, received a broadcast performance in New York.

Works by Ukrainian composers are a rarity among American broadcasts, so that the author of these lines tuned in and awaited impatiently the announcement of Lysenko's mighty work, an opera which in its libretto and music was in no way inferior to the operas of Verdi and Wagner. An additional pleasurable expectation lay in the fact that the opera "Taras Bulba" was to be performed with a large chorus and a full symphony orchestra of the size planned by the brilliant composer.

Unfortunately the broadcast was a deep disappointment. The soloists, without exception from the Russian Singing School, with their tremolo and Russian pronunciation produced a highly unpleasant effect. Taras Bulba (the bass A. Kykot) lisped. Although the orchestra did not make itself guilty of any falsification (as it does for example on the record of Ovsyanniko — Kulykovsky's 21 Symphony), it stormed for three and a half hours in the loudest, continual forte, as if it, so to speak, had to fulfill its quota beyond the normal rate.

The opera house in the capital of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, which is the top ensemble of a country of almost 50 million inhabitants, did not thus take any pains at all to present a performance — even if mediocre — of an opera in the Ukrainian language, an opera, which was inspired by the Ukrainian spirit. How must the international repertory sound, in such a theatre, if its own is not its own!

The example quoted is no special, isolated phenomenon in Soviet Ukraine. The attack on Ukrainian culture is not restricted to literature and painting. In Ukraine only folk and so-called popular music is allowed — and this only in restricted measure! This popular music, to which all the blessings of the party are allotted, is so rotten that the tree of Ukrainian music is already fully hollowed out and the numerous wishy-washy People's Choirs are multiplying more and more. Never before have so many songs in a 'light style' been written in Ukraine, printed and distributed on records, as they are now. For this reason the works of Ukrainian composers (with the exception of Dankevych and Mayboroda, real social-realist culture quacks), for the most part remain unplayed in the writing-desk drawers of publishers. Music in Ukraine is polluted with the rubbish or petit-bourgeois romances, plebeian pieces for harmonica, and odes to tractor drivers and milk-maids. Records and notes destined for export prove this all too clearly. Serious Ukrainian music is being granted in this avalanche of "breeches and tea-kettle idylls" a quite unimportant part.

Let us just look, then, how Ukraine and Russia are represented on the international level. There is literally no single instrumentalist who could represent Ukraine in the present musical world. But Russia is represented by the violinists Oistrach (father and son), Kogan (all three from Odessa), the pianists Gilels, Ashkenazi and Sviatoslav Richter (in the case of the latter some hints can be heard sometimes that he is Ukrainian, but never in the international press) as well as dozens of soloists of

less calibre whom Moscow sends to all possible competitions, tours and appearances.

Instrumental groups and symphony orchestras in the Ukraine remain at the low, semi-professional or amateur level. There are no records of them in the international market. The West is in the truest sense of the word showered with records of the Moscow and Leningrad symphony orchestras; the Bolshoi Theatre, the Russian chamber ensemble, offering not only works of Russian composers but also an international repertory, do the same.

Ukraine, so rich in wonderful singers, possesses 5 or 6 who are little known in the West. The best of them, Kozlovskiy and Hmyria are described on records destined for abroad, as "Soviet artists."

In passing it may be mentioned that the American expert critic, in criticising a Soviet record, on which 4 "Russian" singers are to be heard in works of Russian composers, described Boris Hmyria as one of the best contemporary bass-baritones, and at the same time quite sharply criticised the other singers from the Bolshoi Theatre. But while we can only hear Hmyria and Kozlovskiy now and then, the Russian singers Vishnevskaya, Petrov, Reyzen, Lisitsian appear at La Scala in Milan and in the New York Metropolitan Opera House.

As far as the works of Ukrainian composers which have been printed and played are concerned, they can scarcely count as representatives of the cultural acquisition of the Ukrainian nation in the last half century.

Let us take for example operas

such as "Bohdan Khmelnytskyi" by Dankevych and "Mylana" or "Taras Shevchenko" by Mayboroda. Even if one can leave out of account the propaganda of the content of the libretto the music of these operas by itself proves why they received approbation in Moscow. The structure of the melodies is build up on the model of the Russian composers Tschaikovsky or Borodin, while the thematic material is based, now on the popular Ukrainian tune "Reve ta stohne," now on the Russian "Nye iskushay menya bez nuzhdy." The structure of the harmony does not go beyond the frontiers of the seventies of the last century.

The classical repertory of the Ukrainian Opera House is composed of "Zaporozhets" and "Natalka Poltavka." Although very well performed, both these works have been exported to the West in an antideluvian recording, while at the same time records from Moscow are normally recorded with the latest "High Fidelity" methods and are often directed by American specialists. Such masterpieces of Ukrainian music as "Nocturne" by Lysenko, the works of the liquidated genius Barvinsky, the works of the old master of Ukrainian composers Liudkevych, are never played at all and are not known at all by the average listener in the West.

Moscow is carrying on its attack against Ukrainian culture with greater and greater force and severity in all its spheres, but especially in the field of music, which perhaps reveals most deeply the soul and the spiritual fire of every people.

Ukrainian Chronicle

Ban on Shevchenko's Testament Song

A letter from the town of Kolomyia in West Ukraine reports that in March of this year, the month of the great Ukrainian poet's, Taras Shevchenko, birth and death, the Soviet Russian police forbade the singing of his testament song at the end of a memorial celebration in honour of the poet. "If only you could

have seen the unanimous indignation of the hundreds of participants," the author of the letter writes. Moscow feared that the Ukrainian people would take the words of this song —

"Make my grave there — and arise,
Sundering your chains,
Bless your freedom with the blood
Of fomen's evil veins!" —

all too literally. This song was not

banned in the past. But even Moscow must realize that banning the words of this song, will not obliterate them from the memory of the Ukrainian people.

National Rally of Ukrainians in the Federal Republic of Germany

During the Whitsuntide holidays of this year, the 3rd National Rally of the Ukrainians in Germany was held in Koenigstein/Taunus in the *Haus der Begegnung*. The assembly was held under the motto of the 50th anniversary of the beginning of the Ukrainian liberation revolution and the present situation of the Ukrainian people at home. This National Rally also commemorated the 25th anniversary of the formation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

The Rally opened at 3 p.m. on Saturday, May 13, 1967. The mayor of Koenigstein, leading representatives of the Ukrainian central organizations of Canada, the United States, Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland and Austria took place on the platform of honour together with representatives of Ukrainian political life, and delivered words of greeting to the participants. The main speakers of the Central Representation of the Ukrainian Emigration in Germany, Chairman Antin Melnyk (in Ukrainian) and vice-Chairman Roman Debrycky (in German), paid tribute to the activity of the Ukrainian Central Council which was established in Kyiv fifty years ago and to the fighters of the Ukrainian liberation revolution of the last half century.

At the close of the rally resolutions were adopted, in which the subjugation by Soviet Russia was severely censured, and the free world was called upon to offer all possible help to the Ukrainian liberation fight for independence.

In the evening a concert was held at which the famous concert soprano Ira Malaniuk, the opera singer O. Nyzhankivskyi, the Byzantine choir from Utrecht under the direction of Prof. M. Antonovych, sang Ukrainian airs and songs.

On Sunday, the apostolic Exarch for Catholic Ukrainians in Germany,

Bishop Platon Kornylak, celebrated a pontifical mass together with six other priests in the *Kolleg-Kirche* of the *Haus der Begegnung*. At the same time a mass was celebrated by Protospesbyter Paladii Dubytsky from Munich for the Orthodox Ukrainians in the assembly hall of the *Haus der Begegnung*.

Sunday afternoon was dedicated to the youth. On the athletic field young boys and girls with their flags from some 20 West German cities marched past the reviewing stand dressed in the uniforms of the Ukrainian youth organizations and in national costumes. The Chairman of the youth organization, Kostiuk, and a number of honorary guests of the Federal Assembly, delivered words of greetings to the youth.

On Sunday evening the youth put on a two-hour programme consisting of folksongs and folk-dances, which were performed in colourful national costumes from all parts of Ukraine. The assembly hall was packed to the last seat with Ukrainian and German guests.

On Monday representatives of Ukrainian organizations and associations held conferences as well as a general meeting. The 1st world congress of the Ukrainians which is to be held in New York in November of this year was the main topic of interest.

Annual Meeting of German-Ukrainian Society

On June 18 of this year the annual meeting of the German-Ukrainian society was held in Munich. Dr. F. Roeder, who was President until now, was elected honorary Chairman. The member of the German Federal Diet, Herbert Prochaska (CSC), is the new President. The Vice-President, Dr. Leonti and seven other member were elected to the board of directors on a footing of equality from among the Germans and Ukrainians. Antin Melnyk (M. A.) and Slava Stetko (M. A.) retained their posts as Chairmen of the Auditing Committee and of the Advisory Council respectively.

The discussion on past activities and future tasks, seemed to indicate that the new board of directors, who plan

to hold a conference soon, will give more prominence to politics; it will no longer confine itself solely to cultural concerns.

Death Sentence for UPA Officer

Another officer of the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) was sentenced to death and executed. Of all newspapers, it was the *Visti z Ukraïny* (News from Ukraine) — which, as its editors maintain, is intended for cultural contact between Ukraine and the emigration — that printed the report with photo of the death sentence against Oleksa Hryha, alias "Chumak," lieutenant of the UPA, in its March 12, 1967 issue. The trial was held in Ivano-Frankivsk (formerly Stanislav), but the date of the trial was not mentioned. Indicative of Soviet Russian justice is the fact that Hryha was already sentenced once in 1947, a fact not formely revealed. Now it is clear that after serving his first sentence, Hryha was active in the south of Ukraine. He was again arrested, after the Supreme Court of Soviet Ukraine annulled his first sentence. The reason for this is obvious, if the newspaper is to be believed. The UPA unit of which Hryha was commander wiped out a group of Soviet Russian paratroopers who were dropped in East Carpatia in 1944 for sabotage purposes. In short, the second sentence was bloodthirsty revenge.

No Mention made of Ukrainians

Nove Zhyttia (New Life), the press organ of the cultural union of the Ukrainian workers in the Czecho-Slovak SSR, reports in its June 10, 1967 (no. 23) issue that no mention was made of the Ukrainian minority living in Slovakia in the statistical report published there recently. On May 25 of this year the Czecho-Slovakian news agency announced that during the past five years the Slovak population of Czecho-Slovakia has increased by 314,000. The exact text of the report is as follows:

"The composition of our population

in terms of nationalities changes from year to year. Last year the number of Slovaks increased by 27,000 that of the Hungarians — by 4,000; that of the Poles — by 1000..."

The impression is created, *Nove Zhyttia* writes, that there are no Ukrainians living in the ČSSR. How is that to be explained? Just recently the Slovak People's Council made an investigation of 206 Ukrainian villages in Slovakia and found that in these villages, alone some 95,000 Ukrainians are living. Why is no mention made of them?, the newspaper asks.

Our answer: The explanation can only be sought in Lenin's "Solution of Nationality Question."

History of Ukraine in the English Language

The Ukrainian fund-raising association, "Samopomich" (Self-help) in the United States is soon to publish in English the 10-volume work of the Ukrainian historian, Prof. Mykhailo Hrushevskiy. The work is the best documented history of Ukraine. Prof. Hrushevskiy was the President of the Ukrainian Central Council in 1917-18, in Kyïv, that is to say, he was the Ukrainian head of state.

It is worthy of note that a kind of competition exists between Ukrainian scholars in emigration and the Academy of Sciences in Soviet Ukraine. When the scientific Shevchenko Society began to publish the Ukrainian Encyclopedia, the Academy of Sciences in Kyïv also brought out a Ukrainian Soviet encyclopedia. To be sure, this Kyïv encyclopedia was written on Moscow's instructions: the contents of this edition bear eloquent witness to this. What is most interesting, however, is the fact that until now a Soviet Ukrainian encyclopedia did not even exist.

It only remains to be seen what kind of revenge the Kyïv scientists will seek this time. It will hardly be possible for them to falsify or to publish Prof. Hrushevskiy's ten-volume work, for it has already been banned.



The
UKRAINIAN
REVIEW



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Volodymyr BOHDANIUK

HALF A CENTURY OF TYRANNY

SITUATION IN UKRAINE ON THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION

Political Situation. Ukraine — an enslaved country.

Communist Russian propaganda, lauding the “achievements” of 50 years of the Soviet regime, paints an alluring picture of the solution of the national problem in the Soviet Union. It pictures Ukraine as a happy constituent Republic of the federation of the U.S.S.R. It alleges that the Ukrainian people readily embraced communist dictatorship following the example of their Russian “elder brother.” This “sovereign” Republic, it is said, “voluntarily” joined the Soviet family of equal nations and is devotedly “building socialism and communism.” It is alleged that bitter opposition to the establishment of the Soviet regime in Ukraine and latter’s unification with Russia in the Soviet Union came only from a small group of Ukrainian “bourgeois nationalists” who moreover were in the service of American, British, German, French etc. imperialisms.

Facts contradict this lie.

There is no need to prove at length that the Ukrainian S.S.R. does not enjoy equal rights with those of other nations of the world most of which are much smaller than Ukraine. After all Ukraine is a country whose territory is bigger than that of any other European State except Russia (namely 233,000 sq. miles), with a population of 46 million people, speaking their own Ukrainian language. Ukrainians are a separate nation, with its own ancient history and highly developed culture. Soviet propaganda statements about Ukraine’s independence and sovereignty in the USSR are empty words. Although Ukraine is nominally a member of the United Nations, it does not have any foreign policy of its own, nor does it have any diplomatic representations in any country of the world,

except the ridiculous puppet delegation in the UN. Ukraine does not have any army of its own. It is occupied by something like 500,000 strong Russian army, as well as Russian secret police and a huge number of administrators of all levels imported from Russia. Although Ukrainian S.S.R. boasts of a "Council of Ministers" and a "Supreme Soviet", i.e. a kind of parliament, the bald fact remains that all major policy matters are decided in Moscow without Kiev being consulted even. The impotent "Government" of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic is merely a camouflage of Moscow's colonial rule in Ukraine and an instrument of occupation. All it can independently decide are some minor details of social insurance, primary education, routine questions of local economic management and administration.

The only party permitted to function in Ukraine is the local branch of the CPSU, named — to give it a local colour — "Communist Party of Ukraine." It is thoroughly dominated by Russians and for this reason — and this is a significant point — could not be named "Ukrainian Communist Party." All previously existing Ukrainian parties, even of the extreme left wing, have been completely liquidated in the past 50 years, their leaders physically exterminated and rank-and-file membership persecuted and decimated. The dominant language in the CPU is Russian and the primary duty of its members is to help maintain Moscow's dictatorial rule in Ukraine. The interests of the Ukrainian people are alien to the CPU. In fact it is thoroughly hostile to any kind of Ukrainian patriotism and the idea of independent Ukrainian nationhood. Its membership consists mostly of cynical careerists who are interested only in power and material advantages for themselves, and who scorn the people among whom they live and whose bread they eat. Any legal Ukrainian opposition is impossible in Ukraine. All potential exponents of an opposition are mercilessly suppressed.

But opposition there is. It has always smouldered under the ashes of the Ukrainian independent state which existed between 1917 and 1920 and was destroyed after a prolonged war with Soviet Russia. Opposition and resistance took many forms in the last 50 years and ranged from cultural activities to armed insurrections, especially towards the end of World War II and several years after it when Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), at one time 200,000 strong, carried out a bitter armed struggle against the Communist Russian regime under the slogans of Ukrainian independence. At present the spokesmen of the resistance and opposition are young intellectuals, writers, poets, students, lecturers etc. Their pamphlets, poems, letters, satirical pieces circulate in numerous manuscript copies throughout Ukraine, and some even got through to the West.

Thus, for instance, very popular are the poems by the young Ukrainian poet and journalist, Vasyl Symonenko, who died in 1963. Their uncensored versions are circulating widely in Ukraine. They

contrast sharply with "socialist realist" poetry manufactured by official versifiers and are permeated with a strong patriotic Ukrainian spirit and protest against the injustices of Russian communist rule in Ukraine, falsehood and hypocrisy. One of the lines states: "Let all Americas and Russias be silent when I am talking to you, Ukraine." And another: "My Nation exists, it will always exist,

No one will eradicate my Nation!"

On everyone's lips is the name of the young literary critic, Ivan Dziuba, who had the courage to voice openly some home truths. His patriotic pamphlets denouncing Russification trends of the Communist Party apparatus are violently attacked in the press. He was even arrested and victimised for his opinions.

The entire nation follows the fate of 70 Ukrainian intellectuals sentenced last year to penal servitude in Mordovian concentration camps for their denouncement of Moscow's Russification drive in Ukraine. After the trial of two of them, brothers Horyn, which took place in Lviv, capital of West Ukraine, in April 1966, girls waiting outside the court showered them with flowers, and a crowd of students shouted their support to the convicted men.

A letter has recently been received by Ukrainians in the West from Ukrainian political prisoners, including some of the sentenced intellectuals, who are imprisoned in Camp No. 17 of the Dubravnoye camp administration, near Pot'ma, in Mordovia, east of Moscow. There are about 150 Ukrainian prisoners in Camp No. 17 and there are many more in altogether 36 camps in Mordovia which hold up to 100,000 prisoners.

Also very recently news has been received by Ukrainians in the West that Soviet authorities have arrested a Ukrainian journalist from Lviv, Chornovil, who dared to write an open letter to "comrade" Shelest, the Central Committee of the CPU, the Soviet Ukrainian Government and the press, protesting against the victimisation of the critic Ivan Dziuba. The letter circulates widely in manuscript copies in Ukraine. Chornovil, together with two other fellow journalists, signed another letter which bitterly attacks Russification and underprivileged position of Ukraine in the Soviet Union. The letter sets out certain demands to the Soviet Government and warns it of impending catastrophe if it ignores the just demands of the Ukrainian people to a free development of its culture and national equality.

Hatred for Communist system and Russian chauvinists who keep Ukraine in national and economic slavery is gaining in momentum in Ukraine. Demonstrations of Ukrainian students and workers become increasingly more frequent. These demonstrations sometimes occur on the anniversaries of famous Ukrainian national poets and writers, such as Taras Shevchenko, Ivan Franko, Lesia Ukrainka

and others. Students read their patriotic poems, make speeches and read their own poems, sing Ukrainian songs and demand full rights for Ukrainians in their own country. Such demonstrations have occurred in Kiev, Lviv, Odessa and other cities, and even villages. Sometimes these demonstrations are caused by economic grievances, as in the Donbas, but are also associated with Ukrainian national demands.

Ukrainians cannot forget the injustices of the Communist Russian totalitarian rule. They remember that Ukraine was conquered by armed force and terror, that hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians were shot, tortured, murdered, exiled, deported, imprisoned and persecuted for their religious and national beliefs, for their opposition to dictatorship and economic enslavement. The memory of 6 million Ukrainians who died in the terrible famine of 1933 caused by the ruthless policy of expropriation and collectivisation of Ukrainian peasants is an ever-present skeleton in relations between Russia and Ukraine. Nearly every family has lost someone in numerous terror waves and reprisals. Persecution of Ukrainian culture and cultural workers in the past and at the present time and the forcible furthering of Russification is a constant sore which exacerbates Ukrainian-Russian relations. The same goes for the persecution of religion and Church in Ukraine. Ukrainian Orthodox Church was destroyed and banned since early 1930's. All its hierarchy perished in concentration camps. From among the bishops of the Ukrainian Catholic Church banned in 1946 only one, its Metropolitan, survived. Thousands of priests and faithful of both Ukrainian Churches died in forced labour camps or were executed. The majority of churches have been closed or demolished, or turned over to profane use.

In recent times, Moscow's reprisals against the population of West Ukraine after World War II for the resistance activities of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, which continued well into the 1950's, were barbarous to such an extent that they cannot easily be forgotten or forgiven. Security police murdered and tortured people at will. Individual resistance fighters still continue to live in hiding and occasionally one hears of the assassination of some of the most ruthless local tyrants by them. Leaflets and pamphlets pass from hand to hand, broadcasts by foreign, especially Western radio stations, are eagerly listened to, there is constant expectation of a speedy end of the inhuman regime or unavoidable change. A report about one of such individual freedom fighters, Anton Oliinyk, who continued underground fight for over 20 years before he was finally captured and executed, appeared in the Western press at the beginning of 1967.

Ukraine is not reconciled with the Communist Russian occupation regime, even though the latter has become somewhat less barbarous

than it was during Stalin's lifetime. The Ukrainian people can no longer be satisfied with any half-way solutions. No compromise with the enemy is possible. Only a complete and genuine sovereignty and independence of Ukraine is acceptable to the Ukrainian people, and for this aim the Ukrainians will continue to fight, come what may.

Suppression of Ukrainian culture

Owing to Ukraine's unfavourable political status in the Soviet Union, Ukrainian cultural life is stifled. It cannot develop properly in an ever-present atmosphere of Russification furthered by every lever at the disposal of the all-powerful totalitarian regime. In view of extreme centralisation in all spheres of public life, Russian language, as the instrument of that centralist regime, has gained an overwhelmingly dominant position. Moscow unashamedly favours the spread of the use of Russian, as the "language of Lenin" and of "the first country of socialism", to the disadvantage of other national languages, including Ukrainian. A great majority of books, newspapers, journals, films, television programmes, theatrical performances etc. are in Russian, although Russians constitute only 50 p.c. of the population of the Soviet Union. The long-term policy of the CPSU is a "merger of nations" into one "socialist" nation with one universal language, which evidently must be Russian. Ukrainian is consequently regarded by the Communist Party as the language destined to die in a foreseeable future. This is combined with the centuries-old Russian contemptible attitude towards Ukrainian as something inferior to Russian. As a result of this combined Communist and Russian chauvinist pressure Ukrainian is being gradually squeezed out of many fields of public life.

The Stalinist period marked itself not only with the extermination of the Ukrainian cultural elite, but attempts were made to distort Ukrainian language and bring it nearer to Russian. Ukrainian dictionaries have been littered with Russian words and their Ukrainian equivalents have been omitted. Even a letter, "G", has been banned from the Ukrainian alphabet as "bourgeois nationalist." Although at present the regime does not shoot Ukrainian language professors, as it did during Stalin's lifetime, Stalinist distortions of the Ukrainian language have not been revoked and condemned.

The underprivileged position of Ukrainian in the supposedly "sovereign" and "free" Ukrainian SSR is illustrated by such seemingly unimportant facts, as e.g. that postage stamps used in Ukraine bear Russian inscriptions, that railway stations and ships in Ukraine have Russian names, even postcards are mostly printed in Russian. The Soviet policy at present is to further the use of Russian as much as possible in official business, science, technology, army, trade etc., and at the same time to limit Ukrainian to home and

provincial country use. It is of course not the officially proclaimed Soviet policy, which blares forth as always about the "equality of languages" in the USSR, but it is how Soviet bureaucracy actually works.

The language of instruction in many secondary schools and in the majority of university faculties is Russian. Russian is taught as a second language starting from the second year of schooling in all primary schools in Ukraine. Under the pretext of a shortage of paper, Ukrainian books, especially those of a more lasting literary or artistic value, are printed in ridiculously small number of copies, while there is no shortage of paper for Russian books and for worthless communist party propaganda. It is very difficult to obtain Ukrainian gramophone records, because only few are produced. Many Ukrainian plays, operas etc. have not been staged for decades, because they had been once officially branded as "bourgeois nationalist", whereas a flood of Russian chauvinist plays, films etc. constantly pours on to the stage and the screen.

Ukrainian science, especially humanities, suffer under the crippling disadvantage that scientific works are thoroughly scrutinised by official censors for the slightest "symptoms of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism." Ukrainian history is unrecognizably distorted by official party historians to suit the tastes of the Russian chauvinists. Ukrainian history is presented as part of Russian history. The line is constantly hammered in that Ukraine voluntarily joined Russia and that Ukrainian nationalists are "the worst enemies of the Ukrainian people", "foreign agents", "spies", etc. Ukrainian philosophy has been reduced to nought. Soviet Ukrainian literature has to follow slavishly Moscow's fashion, it is insipid, full of falsehood and hypocrisy, sickeningly sugary and overoptimistic. Only rarely a real talent bursts through the barrier of meaningless words written to satisfy Party's plan of literature for a given year. But such talents are not allowed to stay original for long. Like literature, Ukrainian art and music cannot follow original paths, but must imitate slavishly Russian "socialist realism." Contacts with Western Europe and America are discouraged and practically forbidden. Contacts with Western culture must take place through the medium of Russian which is officially termed "language of international intercourse." As an illustration of this may serve the fact that Russian — foreign language and vice versa dictionaries have been published in countless numbers of copies, whereas similar Ukrainian dictionaries are published in miserable number of copies. For instance the second edition of the Ukrainian—English dictionary by Podvezko was published in Kiev in 9,000 copies only in 1957. The first French—Ukrainian dictionary appeared in 1954 in 3000 copies. The German—Ukrainian dictionary was published in 1958 in 13,000 copies. For a country as big as

Ukraine these numbers are entirely insufficient, if we take into account that there are 30,000 schools alone in Ukraine, and what about the libraries, and private citizens?

Economic exploitation of Ukraine by Russia

The economic and military power of the USSR is greatly strengthened by the possession of Ukraine whose economic resources are extremely important. The Ukrainian SSR ranks second after the Russian Republic in economic importance. Ukraine's share in the economy of the USSR as a whole is illustrated by the following few examples which are far from exhaustive:

Share of Ukraine in the total output of the USSR (1965)

<i>Item</i>	<i>per cent</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>per cent</i>
Pig iron	50.1	Grain	20
Steel	40.7	Sugar	60
Rolled metal	42.1	Butter	23
Iron ore	55.2	Vegetable oil	28
Coke	52.2	Vegetables	27
Coal	33.8	Fruits	42
Natural gas	32.8	Meat	22.2
Natural sulphur	30	Milk	22
Manganese	50		

Ukraine has also an important engineering industry, including shipbuilding and aircraft construction, as well as manufacture of diesel and electric locomotives, electric generators and motors, tractors and an incipient car industry. Consumer industry is not well developed. There are great gaps in the development of various branches of consumer industry and services.

On the whole the economy of Ukraine is geared to the requirements of Moscow's imperial centre. Ukraine is regarded as a raw material base, and a base for the production of semi-products and bulky goods which it is cheapest to produce near the raw material base. In its structure Ukraine's economy is that of a colony of metropolitan Russia. The artificial price structure in the Soviet Union acts to the disadvantage of Ukraine because Ukrainian goods are priced relatively more cheaply than goods produced in Russia, although there is no intrinsic justification for it except Moscow's desire to exploit Ukrainian resources. Russia is pumping out resources from Ukraine to finance various imperial development projects in other parts of the USSR, or to aid various clients of the Soviet Union abroad, to further its propaganda and influence, to spread eventually Russian rule over the entire globe.

Soviet Ukrainian economists have calculated that from the Ukrainian tax yield between 1959 and 1961 78 p.c. never returned to Ukraine in any form whatsoever. By that alone Ukraine lost more than 4 milliard roubles annually, that is to say about 15 p.c. of its national income — which Moscow saw fit to invest elsewhere without any compensation for Ukraine.

Ukraine plays a major role in the Soviet export trade. In the total export of the USSR the share of Ukraine amounts to 25 p.c. and in some types of goods is predominant, e.g.: natural gas — 100 p.c., superphosphate — 99.8 p.c., iron ore — 98 p.c., pig iron — 81.5 p.c., coal — 78.4 p.c., ammonium sulphate — 78 p.c., sugar — 77.4 p.c. etc.

Ukraine is forced by Moscow's dictate to aid various development projects in the satellite countries and the underdeveloped countries. Thus in 1964 Ukraine was helping in the construction of 347 industrial undertakings in those countries. Credit for it, naturally, went to Russia, whereas Ukraine did not even receive thanks in return. At the same time various parts of Ukraine are still underdeveloped industrially, services are generally very poor and are in need of huge financial investments. Ukrainians are forced to migrate to Siberia by artificial unemployment policy in Ukraine, in order to man major industrial projects and agricultural development there which is advantageous from Moscow's strategic viewpoint. They are torn from their native land and compelled to assimilate with Russians and thus lose their national identity in a Russian sea. According to official data about 1,160,000 Ukrainians have been "recruited" for work beyond the borders of Ukraine between 1946 and 1962. These figures do not include agricultural labourers sent to work on the reclamation of the "virgin lands", nor do they include detainees and deportees whose numbers went into hundreds of thousands and perhaps even millions. In their place Russians are sent into Ukraine at a frightening rate. Between 1926 and 1959 the number of the Russians in Ukraine increased from 3,070,000 to 7,090,000, that is more than doubled. In the urban population of Ukraine, Russians now constitute 30 p.c. while in some of the biggest population centres this proportion rises to nearly 50 p.c. Still, in the Ukraine as a whole 76.8 p.c. of the population are Ukrainians (according to the census of 1959) while the Russians constitute 16.9 p.c. out of the total population of 46 million (1967 figure). At least 5 million Ukrainians live outside the borders of the Ukrainian SSR in the adjacent areas of Ukraine which had been annexed to the Russian Republic, and many are scattered all over Kazakhstan and Siberia.

Conclusion

50 years after the Bolshevik October Revolution which was supposed to bring equality and liberation, Ukraine is still a colony of Russia, where the lawless alien occupation regime tortures and persecutes Ukrainian nation and murders its best sons.

Jens NIELSEN
(Denmark)

UKRAINE WILL TRIUMPH

In 1917 after centuries of oppression, cruelties and deceit, the peoples of tsarist Russia rose up to defeat tyranny. It was certainly not the small Bolshevik party, who overthrew Nicholas II, nor was it the small Bolshevik party in the pay of the German General Staff who carried out the division of land among the poor farmers and the landless. All this was a movement from below. All the misery, all the cruelties of endless years, all the tortures, all the oppression of the Ukrainian people and many other peoples had not deadened the longing for freedom, and then it happened, in February 1917, what generations had fought for, what women had cried for, the great and wonderful day for which Shevchenko had endured ten years of suffering in Siberia: The people stood up against obscurantist and cruel tsardom to proclaim freedom, equality and brotherhood.

The revolution of the year 1917 was not a communist revolution; the communists did not even take any significant part in it. Lenin was living abroad on the money of the German monarchists and generals. The revolution that overthrew the tsar and slung open the door of the prison of Russia, this was a national people's revolution and the fire that blew up into all-devouring flames, was the insurrection of the Ukrainian Volynian regiment. What uncounted generations of the best sons and daughters of the Ukraine had suffered was repaid, the silenced voice of a people that was not even permitted to use its own language, was now heard again with a jubilant proclamation of freedom. All this happened in February 1917.

Then came October 1917, the day the Russian imperialists are celebrating together with bourgeois reactionaries of the West.

The truth about the so-called Great October Revolution is pure and simply that it was no revolution at all. It was a stab in the back with the usual cunning of Lenin, the paid spy of the German general

staff. It was a stab in the back of the non-Russian peoples, of all the champions of democracy and freedom, and it soon opened the gates to waves of barbarity. Darkness once more befell the state of Russia, truly a prison of nations. Lenin's military coup soon again stamped out the fire of freedom. However, the aspirations of the Ukrainian people never ceased to be turned toward national freedom and Ukrainian statehood. The dream of the resurrection of the Ukrainian nation continued to live on together with the hope, nay, the firm conviction that one day, this dream would come true.

Then came the day of the war in 1941. Even the Russians ceased to fight, the Communist party disappeared like dew before the sun and Stalin's government sought refuge far away from Moscow. Then Nazi Germany committed its greatest crime and stupidity. Those drunk with power, blinded by hatred and unrestrained by any concepts of civilisation proclaimed the superiority of the Teutonic master race and the inferiority of the "Slav subhumans" as they called them. This spelled doom for Germany and the German people, which despite all its intelligence and endurance soon became a victim of the megalomania of its leaders.

The Russian imperialists under leadership of Stalin, Khrushchev, Kaganovich etc. again began their work of death and destruction in the rich Ukrainian lands, for which they shall be remembered for ever.

However, the Ukrainian people continued to fight under the heroic and gallant leadership of Stepan Bandera, Taras Chuprynka and many others. Yona Liron, now in Israel, was then a Major of the Red Army and describes the cruel and bestial Russian warfare in the Ukraine, carried out against the Ukrainian Insurrection Army and the whole Ukrainian people. Hundreds of thousands and millions were again killed. Once more the sufferings of the Ukrainian people cried to heaven for justice and revenge.

The fate of the Ukrainian people under Russian oppression is clearly illustrated by the population figures of the so-called Soviet Union. From 1926 to 1959 the number of Ukrainians rose from 31 million to 37 million people. However, in the same period, due to the expansionist policy of Stalin and especially the incorporation into the so-called Soviet Ukraine of Western Ukraine, Western Byelorussia, Carpatho-Ukraine, Bessarabia and Bukovina, the number of Ukrainians in the Soviet Ukraine was increased by 9 million people, living in these areas. If now we deduct 9 million people in these areas from the number of Ukrainians counted in 1959, then we arrive at the fact that while in 1926 there were 31 million Ukrainians within the old frontiers, their number had been reduced to 28 millions in 1959. In the same period the number of Russians rose from 78 million to 113 million people. An Ukrainian decrease of 10 per cent and a Russian increase of 47 per cent.

Do we need clearer proof of the fact that what Nazi Germany did to the Jews, generally condemned by the world and rightly so, this extermination of 4-6 million Jews is just a mere fraction of what the Russian imperialists did to the Ukrainian people in the very same period. But despite that, despite mass killings on a scale unknown in history the Ukrainian people not only lives on, but it is firmly convinced that it shall see the dawn of freedom — and freedom in our time.

This is the great importance of the Symonenko case, that the Russian imperialists through their ridiculous fear of a few poems, written by a young poet, lying in his grave since 1963 now, through this act of cowardice and deceit, have shown clearly once more that they fear the Ukrainian people and they fear the idea of Ukrainian freedom — because the idea of freedom is invincible and immortal.

When studying population figures it comes out as a fact that from 1926 to 1959, the so-called Soviet Union had in fact a deficit of population of 74 million people, for in view of the birth rate of 1926 and the expansion of the territory by which Russia has continued its expansion for 500 years with a speed of 16,000 square miles a year, on the basis of all this, the population figures of the so-called Soviet Union have been 74 million bigger than it actually was in 1959.

This brings us to the conclusion that the Ukrainian people has a deficit throughout these years of many million people and this is an undeniable scientific fact. In a rare moment of truth during the XX congress Khrushchev stated that Stalin had planned to destroy the whole Ukrainian people, to destroy the people that is more numerous than most other European peoples and to destroy it by deportation of the whole people to Siberia. All this at the very moment, when Russia boasted of her “nationality policy”, her “freedom for all nationalities”, and so forth and when famous intellectuals from Western Europe came to sit at the feet of the mighty Stalin.

There is no people in the world today or at any time in history that has experienced a greater hardship and more suffering and destruction than the Ukrainian people. It is truly a people that embodies the sufferings of Christ in our time and it is our sacred duty to help this great and heroic people to a restoration of all its rights. This alone is the way in which Russian imperialism can be destroyed and a mortal threat against freedom and security of all nations can be efficiently eliminated.

The so-called communist movement employs all possible means of propaganda to make us believe that they are an *avant-garde* of freedom, democracy and social justice. They try to present to the peoples of the world an image of a great movement striving at the liberation of mankind and the freeing of the working masses from the bondage of capitalism.

We need only to study the teaching of the sly and cunning Lenin to see clearly, what practice has confirmed long ago, that far from being the spearhead of the working class, Russian imperialism in its socialist disguise as Marxian communism is nothing but an enormous deceit and that Russian communism is a mortal enemy of any free labour movement.

Through decades of bitter struggle the venerable leaders and pioneers of labour in many countries have obtained a new dignity of working man within a democratic society. In many countries, Labour movements are governing or are a decisive force in political life. This has resulted in a high standard of living, in full employment, in the highest possible standard of education and in good opportunities for all, also for the sons and daughters of the labour class. Social legislation protects the individual against injustices of the capitalist economy and secures the lives of all citizens against the impact of illness, unemployment and other evils.

What has Lenin to say to this, however? He clearly makes a distinction between the Labour movement and what he calls the revolutionary movement. He clearly states, that the workers cannot be called upon to organize socialism. Socialism is something, that must be imposed upon the labour movement. The labour movement must be guided and directed by what he calls the revolutionary party organisation. If left to themselves, the workers and peasants will just strive to better their living conditions, not to work out any revolutionary changes in the structure of society.

These words clearly reveal the bitter fact that for Lenin and his followers and successors, the ideals and the interests and even the fight of labour is of no interest whatsoever. The workers are for him just serfs, who have to follow blindly the professional revolutionaries, as the Russian muzhiks had to follow their feudal lords.

To me, this does not look like socialism. It looks more like an immense concentration camp, where the workers are the unhappy inmates, treated like a worthless cannon-fodder and the communist party plays the role of a Nazi SS elite and a group of Kapos. This is the greatest betrayal against everything socialism stands for, but it is just another example of the parasitic nature of Russian imperialism and communism.

Lenin's advent to power in Russia is therefore a masterpiece of deceit and treason and the sufferings of mankind in wars and concentration camps are the direct result of this cunning policy aiming at the destruction of our concept of civilized life and all human rights.

Lenin utilized the craving for freedom among Russian intellectuals, not to give the intelligentsia freedom but to make the intellectuals snivelling serfs and tools in the hand of the communist power elite in the service of genocide.

Lenin posed as the liberator of the peasants and their ally in their natural fight for land and freedom. But once he had come into power on the backs of the peasant masses, communist Moscow took the land away from the peasants and once again made the peasants serfs of the new Russian feudal lords. The dreams and hopes of the peasants ended in the wholesale slaughter of the peasant class in forced collectivization and planned, deliberately planned and man-made famines destroying millions upon millions of peasants and physically annihilating them.

The dreams of the Russian and Ukrainian workers during decades under the yoke and combined forces of tsarism and capitalism — did they come true? Lenin posed as the liberator of the workers, but what became of it in reality?

The reality is that Russian imperialism is an enemy of the working class and any labour movement. They have exploited their workers more ruthlessly than the British capitalists during the years of the industrial revolution in Britain. All the misery and human sufferings that Marx and Engels have described and decried as witness of the evil of capitalism, all this has been seen in Communist Russia on an even greater scale.

All the idealism of the heroes and martyrs of socialism has been betrayed. The dream of freedom and social justice was drowned already when Trotsky murdered the workers at Kronstadt. The Russian imperialists have done what no other government has done since the revolution of the Commune in Paris: They have killed the workers with tanks and cannons in Kronstadt, in Poznan, in Berlin, in Brno and in Budapest. They have buried the noble ideals of international labour in the blood, the dirt and the mud of Vorkuta and Kolyma.

Russian communism is nothing but age-old Russian tsarist imperialism in a new disguise of a so-called scientific theory. They promised the workers bread and freedom and gave them bullets. The liquidation of Russian communism is an indispensable necessity for any development of a free socialist society.

However, not only the intellectuals were deceived. Not only the workers were betrayed, not only the peasants were enticed to fight for their own enslavement. The Russian imperialists also used the idea of national liberation as a tool to open the road to power for their imperialism.

In 1917 and 1918, when Lenin was militarily weak and the country surrounded by the newly founded states of Finland, Poland, the Baltic States, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia and others and behind them were the great powers of Western Europe, the Russian imperialists skillfully disguised themselves as champions of national self-determination.

They recognized the right of the Ukrainian people to set up an Ukrainian state and concluded a non-aggression treaty with that very state.

But this policy did not last long. At the very moment, when they felt themselves strong enough to throw away their masks, they brutally and without declaration of war attacked their neighbours without regard for the pacts they had solemnly concluded.

Ukraine fell victim once again to this policy of deceit and brutality and thus collapsed for some years the hope of containing imperialist Russia.

Now you may ask me why I repeat all these facts which are well known to all of you.

The reason is that this gives us the clue to unmask once more the policy of imperialist Russia.

Today the strategic situation in the world is very different from what it was between the two world wars. The existence of nuclear weapons on both sides has resulted in a kind of stalemate. Russia knows that any attempt to cross the present demarcation line in Europe will produce retaliation and total destruction.

In this situation Russia kindles the naïve belief in the possibility of a peaceful coexistence to bring the West to sleep. It has not given up the idea of conquering the world, but it has changed its methods. Now Russia knows that an all-out war means Russia's own destruction. However, Russia is now gambling on another card, namely the so-called wars of national liberation, guerilla warfare, local wars not likely to bring about a universal catastrophe and so forth. But the ultimate goal remains the same now as in 1917, the conquest of the whole world.

Therefore, as Russia did many years ago in the Ukraine, namely posing as the champion of national self-determination, this Russia does today throughout the world. Therefore, it is important to show the world the warning example of the Ukrainian state, once recognized by Russia and then a few years later invaded, subdued and almost exterminated to let the world understand that Russia does not aim at national liberation, nor at social justice. It aims solely and exclusively at the physical possession of foreign lands in order to continue its policy of expansion, which began five centuries ago.

However, by bringing up the national question in other parts of the world, imperialist Russia is spelling doom for her own domination of other nations, because Russia and the so-called Soviet Union is the only empire left in the world, it is doomed to the same fate that has befallen other empires.

When you ask me, why I am so sure about that, I can only answer by pointing to the example of Vasyl Symonenko. Symonenko grew up under Russian rule. He grew up under communist domination and

he was permanently indoctrinated by the false theories of Russian communism. Yet we see before our very eyes a poet, whose soul burns for his own homeland, for the eternal Ukraine and who is imbued with the lofty ideals of national freedom, democracy and Christianity.

Others are now suffering in dungeons for having expressed the very same thoughts. Svitlychnyi and others have joined the immense army of Ukrainian heroes and martyrs in the cause of Ukrainian freedom.

Symonenko and Svitlychnyi are names giving evidence of the fact that man has an immortal soul, that the dark forces of tyranny may silence a nation for some time, but that some day the forces of freedom will break through the wall of silence and cry to heaven for justice. These names give evidence for the whole world, that a Ukrainian nation still exists and demands its place in the world among other free nations to live in freedom, peace and dignity.

Today Russian imperialists propagate the idea of peaceful co-existence. All of us want peaceful co-existence, meaning that we do not want any war and especially not any war fought with nuclear weapons. This is not a Russian idea, this is something which has been our idea for a very long time. It is not we who threatened Russia with our bombs, but on the contrary, Russia threatened us and the Russian leader Khrushchev repeatedly said he would bury us.

However, the fact that we do not want any war does not mean, that we are ready to accept the present state of affairs. We shall not sit quietly in our armchairs while half of Europe is kept in slavery. This would go against our innermost feelings, because this would make us guilty of being accomplices to the greatest crimes in history, the killing of whole peoples. We would betray everything our civilisation means to us, all the ideals of democracy and Christianity that we stand for.

When men like Symonenko and Svitlychnyi risk so much, living with the breathing of the beast on their necks, how much more must then be expected from us who live in freedom?

This is what has motivated the best of the Danish youth to create the organisation of the Democratic Alliance, which spreads the truth about Russian imperialism in the whole world, as for instance when Khrushchev visited Scandinavia three years ago. This organisation has been created because the best youth of Denmark does not want to sit silently and watch the dark forces of tyranny trying to quench the subjugated nations.

This is a youth whose beliefs are firmly rooted in the ideology of the Danish resistance movement during the war, when so many rose against Nazi dictatorship to sacrifice their lives fighting for the



U.P.A. COMPANY "MESTNYK-1"
celebrating Easter in the Carpathians — 1947



U.P.A. PLATOON "K" — 1947

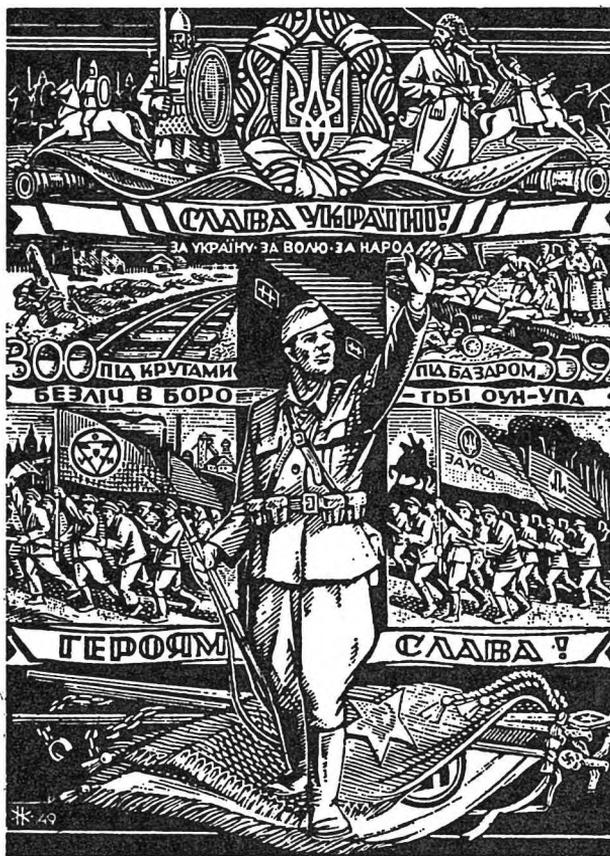


A GROUP OF WOMEN — U.P.A. FIGHTERS



U.P.A. GROUP "ROMAN" — 1950

THE 25th ANNIVERSARY
OF THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY



"GLORY TO UKRAINE! GLORY TO THE HEROES!" —
a woodcut by Nil Khasevych, a U.P.A. fighter,
distributed as a leaflet in Ukraine.



"FOR AN INDEPENDENT AND UNITED
UKRAINIAN STATE!" — another woodcut
leaflet by Nil Khasevych.

freedom of our country and for the freedom of all peoples. You will hear more about this organisation of determined young men and women in the future, and we are convinced, that we shall contribute to the final downfall of the world's greatest tyranny, the ruthless dictatorship of Russian imperialism by our action. We firmly believe that men and women, dedicated to freedom are able to stand up against the greatest powers on earth, because there is no force in the world, able to withstand the idea of freedom.

Therefore, I have this message to state, namely, that the Ukrainian people is not standing alone.

The Ukrainian people has not been abandoned and the day will come, when the Ukrainian people is no longer a defenceless victim.

There has not yet been any power in the world able to withstand the power of freedom, because freedom is the divine spark in men. Freedom comes from the Lord and the day of the Lord will come with a kingdom of justice in our time.

This is why the action of the Danish youth is so important. It is a reaction to the wonderful news of protests and resistance in the Ukraine and let me mention here, the demonstration that took place in Kyiv in front of the Shevchenko monument on the 22nd of May.

Everywhere men and women are working for the downfall of Russian imperialism and even in the Russian empire itself, free men and women stand up against the tyrants to demonstrate their indomitable spirit of freedom and independence.

There is no doubt in my mind, therefore, that the day will come, when we are witnesses to the resurrection of the martyred Ukrainian nation and Kievan Rus' is restored to its ancient splendour. This will be the day of rejoicing as never before in history as it will mean the victory of the spirit over the forces of materialism.

The Lord is our Shepherd, we shall not want. He carries us out of the valley of the shadows.

When his Holiness Paul VI spoke to Joseph Slipyi in the Cathedral of St. Peter in Rome he said: I have appointed you also to give the Ukrainian people hope.

I know that not only will the Ukrainian people not be destroyed, but it will triumph in the end.

Yes, THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE WILL TRIUMPH IN THE END.
SHCHE NE VMERLA UKRAÏNA!

Ihor KUTASH
University of Manitoba

SHOULD CHRISTIANS MEET COMMUNISTS?

CHRISTIAN IDEOLOGY AND COMMONSENSE VERSUS CULTURAL EXCHANGES WITH GODLESS COMMUNISTS

1. INTRODUCTION

All of us are aware that we are living in extremely perilous times, rife with tension, and open and concealed conflict. Some of us are aware that a psychological battle is being waged, aimed mainly at the minds and wills of the free citizens of the world, by clever tyrants with the willing or unwilling, conscious or unconscious support and aid of some unversed or indifferent (or perhaps already subdued) free citizens of the world. As a result, we are now faced with what has become a very controversial question: Should we or should we not have so-called "cultural exchanges" with the Communists, whereby a Soviet artist or poet or dance companies, choirs and the like come to entertain audiences in the Free World, at the latter's invitation. I think that the answer to this question is very pertinent and should be of great interest to all Orthodox Catholic students of Ukrainian nationality, as well as to all Ukrainians. I shall show that we, as Orthodox Catholic Ukrainians, as well as citizens of a free and democratic nation *have no moral right to support cultural exchanges with Communists*, for we must recognize such "exchanges" for what they are. *They are opportunities for the implantation of pro-Soviet view-points in our free citizenry!* As an important part of our fight against Communism (and various forms of tyranny in general), we must struggle against them for freedom is a gift of God and not to be taken lightly. It must be fought for and defended whenever and wherever it is persecuted or endangered.

2. COMPARISON OF IDEOLOGIES

Let us compare, as briefly as possible, the ideologies of the two antagonists — Christianity, which brings freedom before God, and Communism, which brings enslavement by the State.

First, what is the Christian Church? The Christian Church consists of individuals baptized in the Name of the Holy Trinity, freed from their sins by our Lord Jesus Christ and called by God to live a pure and moral life in harmony with God. She preaches love toward our fellow-man (“Love one another as I have loved you”), and service to our fellow-man — and God through him — as a means of attaining peace, happiness and blessedness in this life and salvation in the life to come. We, as Christians, “have received, not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God; that we might know the things that are freely given to us of God” (I Cor. 2:12).

What, on the other hand, does Communism teach? What are its doctrines? In the first place, it has, from the beginning, denied the existence of God, attacking religion as “the opiate of the people.” The founder of Communism, Karl Marx wrote: “The idea of God is the keystone of perverted society. It must be destroyed. The true root of liberty, equality and culture is atheism.” Thus, atheists-Communists refuse to recognize one of human natures most dominant instincts. Orthodox Archpriest Peter G. Kohanik, describes this very well in his book, *The Mother Church of Christendom and the Separated Christian Denominations*, Passaic, N.J., 1948, pp. 160-161:

“Either we must believe in God, and so reconcile common sense with our natural instinct, or we must deny God, repudiate the universal testimony of man, and reject natural instinct. We must, in fact, believe in God or cease to be men. Without God man knows not whence he comes, whither he goes, nor what he should be here below; he walks in the dark, and at every step he finds some stumbling block in his way. Without God, there is no longer any brotherhood possible among mankind (we actually see this fulfilled in the Moscow Communists disbehaviour in the United Nations Organization, and in the failure of signing the peace treaties). *Separate man from God, and he degenerates into a perpetual condition of enmity against his fellow men.* Without God there can be no liberty, and in its stead reigns bolshevik force, the antagonist of freedom.”

Depraved by their atheism, Communist leaders have challenged God and religion. Stalin said: “Religion is black devilishness, obscuratation supported and propagated by churchmen” (Ibid. p. 164). Zinoviev, another Communist-Bolshevik leader said: “We will grapple with the Lord-God in due season. *We shall vanquish Him in the highest heaven and wherever He seeks refuge we shall subdue Him for ever!*” (Ibid).

Notice how these atheists contradict themselves. If there is no God, as they so emphatically maintain, then whom are they grappling with? The most revealing statement of all — one which indicates why there is a life-and-death struggle between it and Christianity — was made by former Soviet Commissar of Education, Anatole Lunacharsky, who said: "We hate Christianity and Christians; even the best of them must be looked on as our worst enemies. *Christian love is an obstacle to the development of the revolution. Down with love towards our neighbour; what we want is HATRED!*" (Ibid). In keeping with this teaching, the Soviet's public prosecutor, Krylenko, sneeringly said: "*I spit on all religions.*" (Ibid)

From the foregoing it should be evident that we, being true-believing Orthodox Catholic Christians, dearly purchased by the Blood of Christ our Saviour, must devote ourselves heart and soul to the struggle against the enemy of our Lord, this massive anti-Christ force of evil that has cast its yoke of oppression upon one billion people and controls 25% of the world's land mass (John A. Stormer, *None Dare Call It Treason*, Florissant, Missouri: Liberty Bell Press, 1964, p. 7) and is constantly fighting to subdue the remainder under its power. The Holy Bible instructs us: "Resist (and fight) the devil, and he will flee from you" (James 4:7). Communism must certainly be the child of the devil, since one of its bosses in America, Gus Hall, secretary of the Communist Party of the USA, found it within himself to say the following shocking words, in February, 1961: "I dream of the hour when the last Congressman is strangled to death on the guts of the last preacher — and since the Christians love to sing about the blood, why not give them a little of it." (Quoted from the *St. Louis Globe Democrat*, May 12, 1963, by John A. Stormer, Ibid. p. 20).

The listener may now be asking, "Why is he telling us all this? We realize that Communism is bad, but what can we do?" We can do a lot by resisting the Communist design on our liberty in our private conversations and in public, wherever possible. Let's be informed. Our society's immunity against Communism is as weak as that of its weakest member. Let's be strong against this evil! We must realize that Communists do not really expect a major conversion of the free peoples of the world to Communism. *If they can be lulled into putting up no resistance to the triumph of World Communism, then this is enough.* To this end Communists are spending 2 dollars per year per free man to be subjugated in propaganda purposes, as compared to 2 cents per man spent by the West (figures given by Carl T. Rowan, formerly director of the US Information Agency, in his article, "Why the Communists Are Winning the Propaganda War", published by *Reader's Digest*, February, 1966, p. 57).

The efforts exerted by the Communists are indeed colossal and the assault is aimed at every facet of our life in the Free West.

3. THE IMPORTANT QUESTION

This brings us to the important question: Should we or should we not have cultural exchanges (actually not an "exchange" usually, for it is extremely onesided) with the Soviets? I think that there are two main reasons why we should not: 1. They give the Soviet Union an opportunity to carry on infiltration and subversive activities on the territory of the U.S.A. and Canada; and 2. They give the Soviet Union an opportunity to put into successful operation its vast propoganda machine, exploiting culture as a means of making us weak in the fight against godless Communism.

4. THE FIRST ARGUMENT AGAINST CULTURAL EXCHANGES WITH THE COMMUNISTS

Let us now study the first reason. There are people who will scoff when presented with the statement that people such as Korotych, Drach and Pavlychko are espionage agents of the Soviet Union, using their poetic talents as a mask for their true mission. Can we seriously deny this, however, in view of the following statements made by Col. Penkovskiy, a former Russian war hero, senior officer in Soviet military intelligence, graduate of the staff college and missile academy, friend and confidant of Soviet marshals and generals, who became disillusioned with Communism and agreed to spy for the West, playing a crucial role behind the scenes in world affairs during the duration of his espionage, April 12, 1961, to October, 1962, for which he was executed by the Soviets:

"*Any* (author) Soviet citizen who has anything at all to do with the work of foreign countries or who is connected with foreigners in the course of his work, is perforce engaged in intelligence work. There is no institution in the USSR that does not have in it an intelligence officer or agent. Here are some of the Soviet ministries and committees through which we conduct intelligence: Intourist and International Book Trading Agency (almost 100 per cent State Security); Ministry of Foreign Trade; Council for the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church; The Academy of Sciences; Union of the Red Cross; *State Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries*... The list is almost endless...

"A Soviet ambassador is first of all an employee of the Central Committee of the Party, only secondly of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Often he is himself part of the Military Intelligence or the State Security Police. A great many of the Soviet ambassadors in foreign countries are intelligence officers.

"To process people travelling abroad, there is a special commission for trips abroad under the Central Committee. It consists *entirely* of State Security officers. *Any* person, even a tourist going overseas comes for a conference to the Central Committee." (Oleg Penkovskiy, *The Penkovskiy Papers*, Doubleday & Co. Inc. 1965, as condensed by *True* magazine, April, 1966, Vol. 47, No. 347, pp. 116, 117).

Another former Soviet Embassy official affirmed: "No Soviet citizen ever leaves the borders of the USSR in private capacity — there are no Soviet tourists. Wherever there are Russians in embassies, consulates, trade and cultural delegations and even in sports teams — they are secret agents."

What, then, can one say of the people such as I. Drach and D. Pavlychko, who were trusted enough by the Soviets to be sent as delegates to the United Nations. Pavlychko wrote in one of his poems:

"The Party is my eyes,
The Party is my language."

(Dmytro Pavlychko, *Peliustky i Leza*, Publishers "Dnipro", Kyiv, 1964, p. 97).

Can we, then, seriously believe that such a man could truly, as he claimed at a recent "cultural exchange", speak to us "only as a poet." This is an absurd thought in view of the fact that he personally admitted that he was a co-worker of the MGB, (Soviet Secret Police — see *Shliakh Peremohy*, No. 50, 1966).

Should we give such men the opportunity of access to soften up our society for their Soviet masters? Certainly not! The argument feebly put forth by some supporters of cultural exchanges with Communists, that we are showing them the superiority of our way of life to theirs and they may thus change their views, is absolutely invalid. The men sent here are well indoctrinated and trained to accomplish their mission without going over to the enemy, or softening towards him. Vitaliy Korotych, who recently visited Canada, wrote a book full of deceit and slander about Canada (*O, Kanada!*, "Molod" Publishers, Kyiv, 1966). The "superiority of our way of life" had made no effect on him! Can we ever hope to win over (or even influence) such a man or a man like Pavlychko, who has written a poem in which he scorns Canada and either condemns or bewails the sufferings of those Ukrainians who emigrated here in search of better fortunes:

"Canada, you evil step-mother, Canada,
Do you, even this day, hold people as dogs?...
The "fairyland" accepted you (emigrants) gladly!
And herded you, for a meagre pay,
Into dark mine shafts, into boggy forests..."

(*Peliustky i Leza*, p. 44).

He has also written:

“My world,
Your world,
A duel is being fought —
Yours will perish” (Ibid. p. 111).

A man such as this, bent on the destruction of our world, our society, by Communism, cannot be swayed by the kindness (or rather weakness) of his Western hosts, nor by the wonders he sees in our society. How can we permit men such as this to come into our beloved country to further his Party’s purposes — infiltration and subversion!?

5. THE SECOND ARGUMENT

Let us now briefly deal with the second reason for opposing cultural exchanges with Communists. The Soviets, by means of cultural exchanges, are weakening our will to stand against them. The late W. C. Foster, Communist boss in the USA, said: “...Art is a weapon in the class struggle. Not only is art a weapon, but a very potent one as well...” And the “god” of Communists, *Lenin*, said: “Art cannot be neutral. It must serve the interests of the Communist revolution.” What folly to believe that Communist performers do not “mix art with politics.”

Communists owe their success to the ignorance, *naïveté*, gullibility and apathy of their victims. Free individuals come to hear the sweet words of the poet, to watch the graceful and beautiful dances and they leave dazzled by the appeal to their emotions, which is based on their pride in their national culture (as in the case of Ukrainians), love for superb dancing, poetry, singing and so on. They become unwittingly susceptible to the subtle suggestion that all credit for those things must go to the Communist Party, under whose tutelage and guidance Ukrainian culture is blossoming so profusely. Many of these people will deny this emphatically, but one has only to look at the rapt, ecstatic, almost reverend expressions on their faces when they listen to the poetry (or what sometimes passes for poetry) of the puppets of the Soviet State, or watch the dancing, etc. (Compare the indifference some of these people show for equally good performers of the Free World). Thus, Ukrainian culture (and the cultures of other nations enslaved by the Communists) is being exploited to further the Communist cause.

Some Ukrainian leaders in the Free World are overjoyed at the demand by such Soviet literary figures as Honchar, Korotych, Novychenko and others for the end to “Russification” and the advancement of the Ukrainian language in Soviet culture, as stated in the reports

of the Fifth Conference of the Association of Writers of Ukraine held in Kyiv on November 16-19, 1966. But these leaders do not realize that our beloved language is being used, and will continue to be used by the Communists as a means of spreading Communist propaganda. What the writers are really demanding is that Ukrainians should be brainwashed in Ukrainian and not in Russian. Let us ask ourselves, of what real benefit is the Ukrainian language to the people when it is used by the enemy as a wrapping for Communist lies? Communist propaganda is poison in any language; but it is far more dangerous when expressed in a language understood and loved by the people at whom the assault of Communist ideology is being directed. (The listener must not interpret this as an attack on the Ukrainian language. I love the Ukrainian language above all others and I firmly believe that all Ukrainians have a God-given duty to love and to know the language, for our language is a gift to us of the Holy Spirit. Let us not, however, be blind to the fact that language is a medium that can be employed to influence people to do good or evil. Language must not become a goal to us, but a means — indispensable, nonetheless — to attain that goal: the firm establishment, maintenance and propagation of Ukrainian nationality, which is embodied by national, spiritual and material culture of which language is only a part. Ukrainian culture can never be victorious in Ukraine, the land of our fathers, while it is under the yoke of Russian imperialists-Communists, who employ various means to lay hold of men's souls and bodies. They even employ the language which they have sworn to destroy, in order to win those simplehearted, trustful, soft and gullible Ukrainians of the Free World, who hold language above culture, freedom, nationhood — yes, and even God, without whom no nation can exist for long.)

How can we deny the ruinous effect of listening to Soviet poets, when confronted with the fact that at a recent visit by Soviet poets, Drach and Pavlychko, people caught up in the hysteria of appreciation of Soviet "art" applauded a poem containing the following words: *"... Under the Red banner, lead new victors to battle, and place bones as concrete beneath an eternal monument."* (I assume that those who applauded were unaware of what had been said, for I should hate to draw the alternative conclusion which presents itself — that they knew and applauded anyhow!) What monstrous Soviet propaganda! Can anyone still insist that Drach and Pavlychko visited us "only as poets"! Isn't there a deeper, hidden purpose behind these lines directed to Western audiences?

Because of the lack of time, I will not mention other flagrant blasphemies and attacks against God and our democratic way of life that these "poets" uttered at "cultural" evenings — and were applauded for by the ecstatic audiences.

6. OTHER ARGUMENTS AGAINST CULTURAL EXCHANGES WITH COMMUNISTS

There are, of course, other reasons why cultural exchanges are harmful. For one, they are a blow to the morale of the enslaved but unbroken people in the land of our fathers, Ukraine, who are looking towards us to keep the torch of freedom burning here in the West and, with it, to set aflame the Soviet Prisonhouse of Nations. What can those people think when men, such as Pavlychko, who admittedly took part in the murder of Ukrainian nationalists, a "darling" of the Communist Party which tyrannizes them, are greeted warmly and applauded by those who were fortunate enough to escape the Soviet Terror, and who are the hope of our countrymen under the Communist yoke. Another argument, certainly not to be ignored, is the fact that these exchanges cause dissension and disunity among Ukrainians in the Free World. This is becoming more and more evident.

7. CONCLUSION: WHAT WE MUST DO

I think that the above arguments speak for themselves. I only wish to state, in conclusion, that I do not suggest that the way to combat Communists is merely to exclude them from our midst by cancelling cultural exchanges. Obviously, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that Communists exist and are a very real menace to our society. We must, therefore, use every means to fight them, to destroy their wicked, godless system that has butchered millions of our people (journalists list the figure of Ukrainians killed by the Soviet regime at 20,000,000 in the 46 years of Communist domination), destroyed our Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Ukraine and killed or exiled many of our poets, writers, clergymen, scientists, professors and other notables. Recently, the arrest of nearly a hundred Ukrainian poets and writers was reported by almost every Ukrainian periodical in the Free World. Thus, Drach and Pavlychko were sent here while other poets were being arrested. This certainly shows us what kind of "poets" they were!

What can we do? Perhaps the following example will suggest an answer to this question. The Provincial Convention of the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association (CYMK) of Manitoba, held in Winnipeg on November 11-13, 1966, adopted the following resolution which was sent to the Prime Minister of Canada, the United Nations and many periodicals:

"The Convention of the Manitoba branches of the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association protests:

- a) Against the destruction of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Ukraine by the Communist occupants of that land;
- b) Against the persecution of the Ukrainian Hierarchy and faithful, and of Ukrainian writers and poets;
- c) Against the extermination of the flower of the Ukrainian nation — the Ukrainian youth;
- d) Against the deportation to Siberia of 1,500,000 young Ukrainian students;
- e) Against the Muscovite occupation of Ukraine and other nations; and
- f) Against all forms of abuse of human rights.

And, therefore, we demand that the Communist-Muscovite occupational authority get out of Ukraine."

We all can and should publicly proclaim and support this resolution. Yes, we can fight Communists in this and many other ways in our public and private lives. Our Bible, which is an authority for Orthodox Catholic Christians, says: "*There is no peace to the wicked — Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet and shew my people their transgressions*" (Isaiah 57:21 — 58:1). We must not keep silence in the face of the ragings of the enemies of God. We must not be influenced by those who label such activities as promoting fanaticism, hate, intolerance, for we should be aware that these arguments are used by Communist schemers to get us to shut up while they talk. When we say or write something against them — it is "propaganda, obscurantism, antisemitism, fanaticism, hate literature" and many other disagreeable things, but, if they say or write something — it is "truth, progress, culture", etc. *Is it not time we stopped being so "nice" and hit them with that which hurts them the most — the Truth!*

The Holy Bible further states: "*Rebuke them sharply that they may be sound in faith.*" (Titus 1:13). This last may be applied to those of us, who may have been lured into aiding the Communists by our lack of a stiff line against them. Such people may not be aware of their role in advancing the Communist cause (witness the unawareness of some of those who applauded the above mentioned poem by Pavlychko). Therefore, they must be informed. If they are aware of their role and continue in it deliberately, then there is no alternative but to expel them from their positions of leadership in our community, for they open the door for Communist infiltrators. Our society must be strong in order to fight Communism. It is greatly damaged by pacifists and liberals, who would rather open the door to the Red Satan than fight him. *Democracy is not served by tolerating those*

who would destroy it and replace it by tyrannical despotism. By tolerating them, we give them an opportunity to thrive and perpetrate their ruinous designs upon our freedom. When our body is attacked by cancer, we remove the diseased portion in order that it may not spread and destroy the entire organism. What argument, then, can there be for allowing the festering cancer of Communism to gain a foothold in our society, in order to destroy it by gradual infiltration and subversion!? *It must be swept out!*

The Communist might and wiles should not frighten us, for we, too, have might on our side — the MIGHT OF OUR LORD GOD, the Creator of all, and the Might of His Truth. While we fight on the Lord's side, proclaiming His gift of liberty to us, His Holy Truth, His Church and His People, we need not fear that power of the godless. Nevertheless, our Christian certainty is no excuse for resting on our laurels and doing nothing against evil while it rages. Nor does it give us the right to needlessly expose ourselves to poisonous Communist influences, as in the case of cultural exchanges with them. It is easy to take poison if it is concealed by a sweet coating. We can get used to it, but it still hurts us in the long run. Not all of us, however, are strong enough to resist the bait they toss us. So they work on such people gradually, put them to sleep, then come and take over. We should all be very sensitive to their subtle assaults on our freedom even through the democratic press and through the mouths of our unwitting leaders of government, and so on. If not, the day may come, when we shall be forced to obey their atheistic doctrines or die at the hands of the godless Communist State. *Let us rather die than relinquish the struggle against them! May such shameful phrases as "better Red than dead" be omitted from our language forever.* They are unworthy of children of liberty! Soft line policies such as suggested by these words are open invitations to hard-line Communists. Certainly we want peace, but not at the cost of our liberty. *We do not wish to be peaceful slaves of the Communist State.*

As Orthodox Catholic Christians, we are all soldiers of Christ. Let us fight tirelessly for His Cause, against the Red Menace. Moreover, let us not expose ourselves to their influences needlessly, because it is a sin even to enter willingly into temptation. "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God", says the Bible. It also says: "*Put away from among yourselves the wicked person*" (I Cor. 5:13). *Let this be our guide with regard to cultural exchanges with godless Communists.*

We are the young generation, but we have a good deal to say that perhaps our elders with all their doctorates and degrees and life experience have forgotten! We are young and idealistic. Let's use these gifts in Christ's Cause and this means *no compromising with the Communists, His enemies.* This is the Christian ideology: *our law is love and service, but WE HATE EVIL, FOR IT OPPOSES LOVE.*

We must fight the enemies of God until we have subdued them in His Holy Name! We must not let our youthful emotions, wants, desires, dreams stand in our way. Last Sunday, January 29, 1967, we marked the occasion of the 49th anniversary of the martyrdom of 300 young students of Kruty, in freedom's cause and in defence of Christian ideals. Like us, they had youthful aspirations, ambitions and problems and life was dear to them; but, they laid their lives down on the altar of freedom and Christ's Truth, fighting against tremendous odds, the assembled might of godless Communism. All things must come in their place; however CHRIST'S CAUSE MUST COME FIRST. Let's all stand together against Communism and its subtle attacks on our liberty. Witness fearlessly to the Truth whenever and wherever the opportunity is offered. *Let the people know that they may be free.*

GOD GIVE US STRENGTH IN HIS CAUSE AND MAY THE LORD
BE OUR CAPTAIN!

*

This paper "Christian Ideology and Common Sense Vs. Cultural Exchange with Godless Communists", is based on a talk given on Sunday, February 5, 1967 in the Holy Trinity Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Cathedral Auditorium, in Winnipeg, Manitoba, to members of the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association.

The author of the paper, Ihor Kutash, has written numerous articles to Ukrainian and English periodicals on topics of concern to Ukrainians. He is Vice-President of the St. Ilarion Society, an organization for the Ukrainian Orthodox students of the University of Manitoba, and President of the Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Union (S.U.S.K.) of the University of Manitoba, which is the coordinating body of the three Ukrainian student organizations at the university: Alpha Omega, Ilarion and Obnova. A third year student in Theology at St. Andrew's College in Winnipeg, Ihor Kutash is a former President of the Students' Theological Society, in which he presently occupies the position of Press Reporter.

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The Executive,
St. Ilarion Society
St. Andrew's College
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg 19, Man., Canada.

F. ZORNDORFF

THE MYTH OF POLAND'S "FOURTH PARTITION"

In the struggle over the Oder-Neisse Line the Poles often complain that the Polish State, on account of the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939, has lost "its" eastern territory (46 per cent of its entire area). This argument is not at all new. Many Poles, living both in Poland and in exile, are in the habit of referring to the Hitler-Stalin agreement as the "fourth partition" of Poland. Undoubtedly both Stalin and Hitler negotiated as enemies of the Polish people, but it is historically incorrect to speak of a "fourth partition." The Poles were forced to yield to the Soviet Union not Polish, but Ukrainian, Lithuanian, and White Ruthenian (Byelorussian) territories (which, one might add, pushed the West Ukrainians out of the frying pan into the fire).

For this reason the propaganda of certain West German circles is completely misplaced when it suggests pressing for an exchange of the "East Polish" areas occupied by Soviet Russia in 1939 for the East German provinces annexed by Poland in 1945.

How do matters stand if we look at the historical facts?

As a result of the Ukrainian-Polish War (1918-19) and the Russian-Polish War (1919-21) the following West Ukrainian territories fell into Polish hands: Eastern Galicia, West Volynia, Western Polissia, and Kholm and Pidlyashia areas. This territory covered an area of well over 50,000 square miles and had a Ukrainian population of seven million — Ukrainians were in the majority, Poles formed the minority.

The first World War came to an end, but this did not bring peace. Chauvinism and national oppression reigned victorious, even in the newly constituted Polish State. Instead of striving for genuine Polish-Ukrainian understanding on the basis of President Wilson's Fourteen Points, the Warsaw government omitted no act which would serve to destroy what trust the Ukrainians still had in the Poles.

Immediately after the military occupation began a cruel period of administrative reprisals. In Galicia alone in the Summer of 1919 over a quarter of a million Ukrainians were in Polish prisons and camps as political prisoners — among them about a thousand Orthodox and Catholic priests. "Conditions in the camps at Modlin and Brest-Litovsk are a disgrace to the Polish State", wrote the Warsaw newspaper *Robotnik* on 16th October 1919.

In 1919 the Polish occupation of the West Ukrainian provinces had not yet been legalized by the *Entente* Powers. This recognition did not come until 15th March 1923, when the ambassadorial council passed a resolution which also contained the condition that the Polish government should work towards autonomy in Eastern Galicia and respect the convention on the protection of national minorities. But this autonomy was *never* realized. Instead the Warsaw government undertook the following actions:

- it tried to prevent the use of the expression 'Ukrainian' and instead tried to keep up artificially the archaic name 'Ruthenian' or even to introduce the artificial name 'native';
- it introduced a severe censorship of the Ukrainian press, which was, moreover, greatly curtailed and constantly persecuted;
- it wiped out in 1924 the autonomous Ukrainian school system and began to "integrate" Ukrainian schools with their Polish counterparts (in 1920 there were 3662 Ukrainian schools, in 1928 only 771, and in 1939, shortly before the outbreak of war, almost all Ukrainian schools had become Polish);
- it banned in 1924 the use of the Ukrainian language for administrative purposes throughout West Ukraine;
- it abolished all the Ukrainian professorial chairs at Lviv University, which in the Austrian era had been a mixed Polish-Ukrainian university (in 1938 only 310 of the 2205 students enrolled at higher educational establishments in Lviv were Ukrainians);
- it appropriated 3085 square miles of West Ukrainian farm land in order to settle Polish veterans.

As one Ukrainian historian writes: "Polish policy as regards West Ukraine was based on the goal of annihilating Ukrainian nationhood and making the entire territory Polish. In 1920 the new official designation of 'Eastern Little Poland' was brought in for Galicia."

It is no wonder that the Polish Government's senseless oppressive measures triggered off a violent reaction amongst the Ukrainians. There were even spontaneous mutinies in the schools. Ukrainian children burned Polish textbooks, tore the Polish coat of arms from the classroom walls, sang revolutionary songs, and answered their teachers and recited the Lord's Prayer in Ukrainian instead of Polish. The sparks of resistance even caught light in the villages. The estates and palaces of the Polish land-owners went up in flames.

Pilsudski decided to employ military force against the unarmed Ukrainians and to solve the Ukrainian question with brute force. This was known as "pacification", and began in mid-September of 1930, that is, 37 years ago. It was directed mainly against the native Ukrainian population of the Galician countryside. One punitive expedition followed another. Troops of police and regiments of lancers, armed as if for war, used cruel pogrom methods.

The Warsaw government made frantic efforts to keep this "pacification" secret from foreigners, but could not avoid individual atrocities becoming known. On 22nd November 1935, the *Manchester Guardian* described how units of the Polish Army and Police had been attacking Ukrainian villages, and detaining and beating up peasants indiscriminately. The article explained that these operations had been carried out secretly, but contemporary history could not but declare that these were the most oppressive acts which the civilized world had ever known. The paper was unable to say how many peasants had been severely beaten up, but conservative estimates put the figure at 10,000 innocent victims.

Indignation throughout the world was unequivocal; there were demonstrations in Paris, New York, London, and Berlin. Between 2nd August and 18th November 1930 no less than 413 news and eye-witness reports and editorials connected with the Polish pogroms were published in German and German-language newspapers alone: in, for example, the *Frankfurter Rundschau* (Frankfurt), *Prager Presse* (Prague), *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (Zürich), *Vorwärts* (Basel), *Berliner Lokalanzeiger*, *Der Montag*, *Der Tag*, *Berliner Börsenanzeiger*, and many more.

In spite of world-wide protests Polish police and lancers continued their atrocities. It was to no avail at all that sixty-four well-known British Labour M.P.'s sent a "Petition on behalf of the Ukrainian minority in Poland" to the Secretary General of the League of Nations, Sir Eric Drummond, with the urgent request that "an impartial investigation of these acts" should be demanded. The petition did not bring an end to the pogroms against the Ukrainians. The League of Nations did not employ any sanctions at all against Poland when, on 18th June, 1934, the Polish President ordered the building of the concentration camp of Bereza Kartuzka. Nor did the League of Nations stir even when on 13th December, 1934, the Polish government issued a declaration in Geneva declaring null and void the conditions regarding minority rights attached to the peace treaty which had been signed on 29th June 1919 by Poland and the *Entente* Powers.

In this situation, with no hope of help from abroad, the Ukrainian freedom movement, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.), led by Evhen Konovalets and Stepan Bandera took up the

counter-offensive. The most prominent victim of the retaliatory blows was Pieracki, the Polish Minister of the Interior. His assassin, Matseyko, managed to escape abroad. Stepan Bandera, however, was arrested, and sentenced to death in Warsaw in 1936. This sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment.

Who in fact was Pieracki?

The *Manchester Guardian* of 3rd December 1935 wrote that he had been responsible for the "pacification" of Eastern Galicia in 1930, for that of the Lisko district in 1931 and of Volynia and Polissia in 1932. His soothing speeches only served to veil the cruel acts for which he and his government were responsible from world publicity.

After the second World War the Polish minority in these territories allowed itself almost completely and without any opposition to be resettled in Poland. Economically Poland has scarcely felt the "loss of her eastern territories."

So the "fourth partition" of Poland is a myth.

UKRAINE-RUŚ AND WESTERN EUROPE IN 10th-13th CENTURIES

by

Natalia Polonška-Vasylenko
Ukrainian Free University

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THE STRUGGLE FOR UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE IN 1917-1918

(Continuation — 2)

THE PEACE TREATY AT BREST-LITOVSK

The initiative of the peace negotiations was taken by the Bolsheviks who on the 15th of December concluded an Armistice with the Germans. In an attempt to clarify its position regarding the Brest-Litovsk peace talks, the Ukrainian Central Rada on December 22nd addressed a note to all belligerent and neutral states. But it did not meet with much sympathy from the recipients.³⁸ Then a Ukrainian delegation was sent to Brest-Litovsk. It intended to treat the conference only as a preliminary to the conclusion of a general peace at an international congress. But one of the Ukrainian observers M. Liubyns'kyi³⁹ returned to Kiev on December 28th and informed the Rada of the need for sending representatives with full authority to negotiate.⁴⁰

The Rada held the view that a peace treaty for the whole of Russia should be concluded by a federal government but since such a Government was non-existent it had to send its own delegation to the conference and to empower it to negotiate for peace.⁴¹

The Rada's delegation to Brest consisted of four members: Alexander Sevriuk, a Social Revolutionary; Mykola Liubyns'kyi, a Social Revolutionary; M. Poloz, a Social Revolutionary; Mykola Levytskyi, a Social Democrat. Vsevolod Holubovych, a Social Revolutionary,⁴²

³⁸) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.* I, pp. 227-229.

³⁹) P. Khrystiuk, *op. cit.* pp. 94-95.

⁴⁰) *Ib.*, p. 95

⁴¹) *Ib.*, p. 98.

⁴²) See P. Khrystiuk, *op. cit.* II, p. 98.

who was the Minister of trade and industry, was initially appointed as the head of the peace delegation. The delegation was reorganized later as a result of the resignation of V. Vynnychenko and the appointment of Vsevolod Holubovych as his successor to the premiership. The twenty-five-year-old Oleksander Sevriuk then became the head of the peace delegation.⁴³

Before the Ukrainian delegation left for Brest they had a conference with Professor Hrushevskiy who gave them instructions with regards to the Ukrainian territory. The delegation was to claim East Galicia, Bukovyna, Transcarpathia, Kholm, and Pidliashia. Should Austro-Hungary not agree to these demands Professor Hrushevskiy put as a *conditio sine qua non* for negotiations that Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna might remain within Austria but should be changed into a separate Ukrainian province.⁴⁴

At Brest-Litovsk Germany was represented by the Secretary of State Baron von Kuhlmann, who brought Rosenberg as his assistant and as his chef de cabinet a young Saxon nobleman Baron von Hoesch; the Chief of Staff to the Commander-in-Chief in the East, General Hoffmann, was appointed as military representative, with plenipotentiary status. Austro-Hungary's representatives were Minister of Foreign Affairs count Ottokar Czernin, General Csiscerics and Baron von Wiesner. M. Popov, Minister of Justice, headed the Bulgarian delegation and Nessimy Bey the Turkish one; these were later joined by M. Radoslovov, the Prime Minister, and Talaat Pasha, the Grand Vizier.

The Soviet delegation was led at first by Adolf Joffe and then by Leo Trotsky and consisted of Leo Kamenev, Leo Karakhan (who was a secretary general of the Delegation) and Sokolnikov. These people provided the orthodox revolutionary element of the delegation. In addition to them the Soviet delegation included Mme. Anastasia Bitsenko and representatives of the soldiers, sailors and peasants. Nine naval and military officers were also included as the technical advisers.⁴⁵

The Ukrainian delegation began their negotiations on January 6th. Count Czernin made an entry for January 6: "Today we had the first discussion with the Ukrainian delegation, all of whom were present except the leader. The Ukrainians are very different from the Russian delegates. Far less revolutionary, and with far more interest in their own country, less in the progress of socialism generally... and their efforts are solely directed towards attaining their own independence as soon as possible... Evidently, the very intelligent Ukrainian delegates intend to use us as a springboard from which they them-

43) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.* I, p. 296.

44) *Ib.*, p. 296.

45) See Wheeler-Bennett, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-88 and p. 112.

selves could spring upon the Bolsheviks. Their idea was that we should acknowledge their independence and then with this as a "fait accompli" they could face the Bolsheviks and force them to recognize their equal standing and treat with them on that basis."⁴⁶

It was clear of course to the Ukrainians that the Central Powers wished to use them for their own purposes, but they themselves optimistically hoped to make use of the Central Powers' difficulties with food supplies to attain the recognition of Ukraine as an independent state.

The line of the Central Powers policy was "either to bring over the Ukrainians to our [Central Powers'] peace basis, or else to drive a wedge between them and the Petersburgers. As to their [Ukrainians] desire for independence we declared ourselves willing to recognize this, provided the Ukrainians on their part would agree to the following three points: the negotiations to be concluded at Brest-Litovsk and not at Stockholm (as the Bolsheviks demanded); recognition of the former political frontier between Austria-Hungary and Ukraine; non-interference of any one state in the internal affairs of another."⁴⁷

But the Central Powers played for time and they had "...a new conflict with the Ukrainians. They [the Ukrainians] now demanded recognition of their independence, and declared they would leave if this is not conceded."⁴⁸

Meanwhile the internal state of affairs of the Central Powers and especially that of Austro-Hungary went from bad to worse. On January 15th, count Czernin received the information from home "that disaster, due to lack of foodstuffs, is now imminent... Only small quantities are now being received from Hungary; from Rumania only 10,000 wagons of maize; this given, add to it the decrease of at least 30,000 wagons of grain, without which we must infallibly perish... in a few weeks our war industries, our railway traffic, would be at a standstill, the provisions of the army would be impossible, it must break down, and that would mean the collapse of Austria."⁴⁹

The shortage of foodstuffs gave rise to strikes. "...Bad news from Vienna and its surroundings: serious strike movements, due to the reduction of the flour rations and the tardy progress of the Brest negotiations... Germany declares categorically that she is unable to help us having insufficient for herself..."

46) See Count Ottokar Czernin, *In the World War*, London, 1919, p. 231.

47) *Ib.*, p. 231.

48) *Ib.*, p. 235.

49) See Czernin, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

The Ukrainian delegation knew of all the difficulties in Austria and, as count Czernin wrote, "despite their youth, are showing themselves quite sufficiently grown to profit by the situation... First they demanded East Galicia... Then they grew more modest, but since the outbreak of trouble at home they realize our position, and know that we *must* make peace in order to get corn. Now they demanded a separate status for East Galicia."⁵⁰

And again in his diary count Czernin laments the bad situation in Austria and the fact that "without supplies of grain from the Ukraine the catastrophe is imminent." He adds: "...there are supplies in Ukraine, if we can get them, the worst may be avoided."⁵¹

More or less the same picture of the negotiations in Brest is given by M. Hoffmann. He described "...the position of count Czernin as a very difficult one owing to strikes in Vienna..." and because of that "...the Ukrainian peace which before was only a means of forcing Trotsky into concluding the treaty became now for count Czernin an urgent necessity — a "bread peace."⁵²

At the beginning relations between the Russian and the Ukrainian delegations in Brest were not bad. On January 10th Trotsky even recognized the Rada as the government of an independent country. But later, when the Bolsheviks organized its own Ukrainian government in Kharkiv which decided to send its own delegation to Brest, the relations between the two became strained.

At the end of January, 1918, the negotiations in Brest were temporarily stopped and all the delegations returned home to consult their Governments.⁵³ When the Ukrainian delegation arrived in Kiev the Bolshevik forces began to narrow their iron ring around it and inside the town the supporters of the Bolsheviks succeeded in raising a revolt in the Arsenal. These were the circumstances in which a new delegation was appointed while V. Holubovych took over the premiership.

That new delegation consisted of Ol. Sevriuk, M. Levyts'kyi and M. Lubyns'kyi the first one being leader. The delegation was given only one instruction: "To conclude the peace as soon as possible."⁵⁴ The Kiev preparations for the conclusion of peace "were made in a nervy and unstable atmosphere. The uncertainty about tomorrow was such that the Rada granted the delegation rights to ratify the treaty

50) *Ib.*, p. 238.

51) See Czernin, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

52) See M. Hoffmann, *Der Krieg der versäumten Gelegenheiten*, Berlin, 1919, pp. 210-211.

53) See P. Khrystiuk, *op. cit.*, II, p. 101.

54) See P. Khrystiuk, *op. cit.*, II, p. 101.

after its signature in case the Rada itself were not in a position to do so."⁵⁵

On January 22nd, while these events were taking place in Kiev, Count Czernin took part in a conference held in the presence of Emperor Karl, having for its aim the solution of the difficulties created by the Brest-Litovsk negotiations. "...The Emperor... summed up the essence of the opinions expressed as indicating that it was primarily necessary to make peace with Petersburg and with the Ukrainians, and that negotiations should be entered upon with Ukraine as to the division of Galicia... In conclusion, Dr. Burian, the Minister of Finance... advised that a clause referring to this division of Galicia should be inserted not in the instrument of peace itself but in a secret annexe..."⁵⁶

When the Ukrainian delegation returned to Brest the representatives of the Ukrainians in Austria M. Zalizniak and M. Vasyľko helped them by informing them of the state of affairs in Austria which they believed made it possible to force the Austrian Government to form a separate province from the territory of East Galicia and North Bukovyna.⁵⁷

Before the session took place on February 1st, 1918, the Ukrainians were given the text of a declaration proclaiming the Central Powers' decision to recognise the Ukraine as an independent State. At that period the Ukrainian delegation in Brest was in a very difficult position owing to the grave situation in Kiev which weakened their stand at Brest because General Hoffmann flatly refused to sign the treaty should Kiev fall. Negotiations were then swayed by the radio operators who supplied the latest news. At last everything was ready and on the night of 8-9 February the peace treaty was concluded. It included a secret protocol drafted as a separate treaty between Ukraine and Austro-Hungary whereby the latter pledged itself to form East Galicia and Bukovyna into a separate Ukrainian province⁵⁸ within the Monarchy and linguistic rights were guaranteed to the Ukrainians in West Galicia. Count Czernin wished to conceal that protocol as he was afraid of the reactions of the Poles to it. That is why when the Count found out that the Poles and the West-Ukrainians had got to know about the document he forced Sevriuk, who was the holder of one copy of it, to hand it over to the Germans who were to keep it in Berlin.⁵⁹

55) The memoirs of Sevriuk about Brest were published in the collected articles about the conclusion of the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, *Chervona Kalyna*, Lviv, 1923, pp. 155-156.

56) See Czernin, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

57) See Czernin, *op. cit.*, pp. 244-245.

58) See P. Khrystiuk, *op. cit.*, II, p. 115.

59) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, II, p. 216.

The problem of the Kholm district was equally complicated. Austria did her best to talk the Ukrainians into altering its frontiers in favour of the Poles. Till the very end the Habsburg Monarchy played for time in order to keep the Kholm district for Poland.⁶⁰

*

After the peace treaty with Ukraine was signed the Central Powers presented to the Russian delegation an ultimatum concerning the conclusion of a separate treaty with them. But Trotsky declined to sign it. His policy was: "The war is over but there is no peace", and he left for Petrograd with all his staff.

When the treaty was concluded, the Ukrainian delegation, considering their duty only half done, began to negotiate with the Germans and Austrians for military help to Ukraine. They made plain the real state of affairs in their country and the Germans as well as the Austrians knew that if they wanted to receive any help in grain from Ukraine they had to send their troops there.⁶¹ The member of the Ukrainian delegation, M. Liubyns'kyi, who was still in Brest, had to sign the address to the German people asking them for help.⁶² The Ukrainians asked the Germans and the Austrians first to send to Ukraine the units formed from Ukrainian prisoners. However in the event Germany sent some German units although the order was given to form two Ukrainian divisions of "bluecoaters."

When the Austrians saw the Germans sending their troops to Ukraine they also supplied some troops formed from all the nationalities composing Austro-Hungary but the Ukrainians.

Thus the Ukrainians did conclude a peace treaty with the Central Powers as they wished and received the military help they desired against the Bolsheviks. They saved their country for the time being. However, the cost of that gain, i.e. the break with the Entente Powers, was much heavier than anticipated.

*

The opinions about the "bread peace" differ widely. As a rule of course the views expressed on it in the countries of the Central Powers were favourable while those of the countries of the Entente Powers were hostile to it. In Austria the Emperor Karl congratulated count Czernin in the following telegram: "...Deeply moved and

⁶⁰) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

⁶¹) See Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, p. 217; Ludendorf, *Meine Kriegserinnerungen*, p. 447.

⁶²) For the text of it see P. Khrystiuk, II, pp. 139-140.

rejoiced to learn of the conclusion of peace with Ukraine. I thank you, dear count Czernin, from the bottom of my heart for your persevering and successful endeavours..."⁶³ "Neue Freie Presse", "Pester Lloyd" and "Magyar Hírlap" — the Austrian press — wrote favourably about the treaty. But in the Polish papers the news about it was published framed in a black border under the title "The IV partition of Poland."⁶⁴ In Germany, when Kuhlmann made a report about the "bread peace" before the Main Commission of the Reichstag on February 19th, 1918, it was criticized very much and only the representatives of the right wing were in favour. When the treaty was discussed at the sitting of the Reichstag on February 20th, it was passed after the third reading. Against it were the Poles and the German social-democrats.⁶⁵ The German press such as "Tägliche Rundschau", "Berliner Tageblatt", "Vossische Zeitung", and "Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger" as a rule wrote positively of that peace.

The French newspapers took a very negative view. "The treachery of Ukraine" was the title of the article about the peace in "L'Événement." "Le Pays" wrote about "the peace of scoundrels and speculators"; "Paris-Midi" referred to "the peace of greed and cynicism."⁶⁶

Non-Bolshevik Russian papers in Petrograd and Moscow such as *Volia naroda* ("The will of the people"), *Vek* ("Age"), *Den* ("Day"), *Nash vek* ("Our age") and so on, wrote about the peace and the Ukrainians with sympathy and described the conflict between the Russians and the Ukrainian delegates not as a conflict between two nations but between two different ideologies.⁶⁷

Count Czernin wrote: "The peace with Ukraine was made under pressure of imminent famine. And it bears the characteristic marks of such a birth. That is true, but it is no less true that despite the fact of our having obtained far less from Ukraine than we had hoped, we should, without these supplies, have been unable to carry on at all until the new harvest. Statistics show that during the spring and summer of 1918, 42,000 wagonloads were received from Ukraine...⁶⁸ Millions of human beings were thus saved from death by starvation."

We may add that because of the "Bread Peace" the opposition of Polish bourgeoisie forced Count Czernin to retire as the Austro-Hungary Minister of Foreign Affairs. He was replaced by Count von

⁶³) See Czernin, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

⁶⁴) See D. Doroshenko, I, p. 324.

⁶⁵) *Ib.*, p. 325.

⁶⁶) D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

⁶⁷) *Ib.*, p. 326.

⁶⁸) See Czernin, *op. cit.*, p. 250. The trade between Ukraine and the Central Powers is discussed in Appendix III of this thesis.

Payer, the advocate of an Austro-Polish solution of the Ukrainian question. And as a result of antagonism to the treaty, sympathy for the Entente was strengthened among the Poles, especially in military circles.^{69 70}

In London *The New Europe* for April 18th, 1918 — July 11th, 1918, wrote under the title "Feeling in the Ukraine": "...It would be a grave mistake if those who were, a few months ago, inclined to embrace the Ukraine with all the enthusiasm of ignorance, should, owing to the experiences of Brest, fly into the opposite extreme of writing it off as a German province. The part which the Ukraine is destined to play in the future Russian federal state is one of immense importance and no effort ought to be neglected on the part of the Western Powers to encourage the process of reconciliation between Kiev and Moscow..."⁷¹ The London *Times* merely gave the facts on the peace treaty without comment.

BOLSHEVIKS IN KIEV

Meanwhile the Rada left Kiev for Zhytomyr and the town was occupied by the Bolsheviks, who issued many orders to calm the population. On February 11th the Commander-in-Chief Muraviov informed Kiev that the ruling Government of Ukraine was the Bolshevik-sponsored People's Secretariat and the highest authorities in Kiev were the Soviets of the workers' and the soldiers' deputies and the Military and Revolutionary Committee.

Muraviov is an odious figure. An officer in the Russian army he had been wounded during the war. After his recovery he spent some time teaching in the military school in Odessa and went again to the front after the February Revolution. At first he was a supporter of Kerensky but soon appeared to be disappointed in him and transferred his allegiance to the left wing of the Social-Revolutionary party, and finally to the Bolsheviks. Antonov-Ovseyenko called him "the bold adventurer."⁷² During the October Revolution he occupied the post of Commander-in-Chief of the Petrograd district. Then he led the fight against Krasnov, in which he succeeded, employing many Russian army officers and not being afraid of using their services.

⁶⁹⁾ For the peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk in Ukrainian see D. Doroshenko, I. *op. cit.*, pp. 423-32.

⁷⁰⁾ *Arkhiv Radians'koï Ukraïny*, No. 4-5, July-October, 1932.

⁷¹⁾ *The New Europe*, Vol. 88, 18 April — 11 July, 1918, p. 120. *The Times*, March, 1918.

⁷²⁾ Antonov-Ovseyenko, *Zapiski o grazhdanskoy voyne*, Moscow, 1924, p. 80.

Later he was replaced by Antonov-Ovseyenko, who recollected that Muraviov liked to boast about his cruelty: "Blood, blood, and blood..." often repeated cheerfully Muraviov after the suppression of some revolt. In the months that followed the October Revolution Muraviov worked with Antonov-Ovseyenko; he was working in the military district of Moscow when he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the troops fighting against the Central Rada in Ukraine.

Bolshevik troops under the command of Muraviov committed many atrocities after occupying Kiev. About 3,000 people were shot without any kind of trial.

In order to conclude the career of Muraviov we should add that he, after many blunders in Ukraine, was given the post of Commander-in-Chief of the Bolshevik army which fought against the Czecho-Slovak troops. There were attached to him a few commissars who kept giving him unwanted advice. Muraviov disliked that and it was one of the main reasons why he, disobeying all orders given to him by the Bolsheviks, commanded his troops to attack the Germans instead. That is how Antonov-Ovseyenko interpreted his actions. But the Bolsheviks thought it was because he wanted to help the Social-Revolutionary people, who started an unsuccessful revolt against the Bolsheviks at that time in Moscow. In that attempt Muraviov was killed.⁷³

The order of Muraviov in Kiev said: "This Soviet regime we brought from the far north on the ends of our bayonets and in the places where we established it we support it with the help of those bayonets and with the moral authority of the revolutionary and the socialist army."⁷⁴ The Bolshevik Military and the Revolutionary Committee ordered all shops, theatres and cinemas to be opened and encouraged the peasants to bring their goods to Kiev for sale. But when the peasants did bring their goods they were either ordered to sell them for very low fixed prices or the goods were requisitioned. The head of the Municipal Duma (town council) was ordered to bury the dead who were killed in the battle for Kiev within 24 hours or else to pay a 100,000 roubles fine.⁷⁵

The Russian and Jewish Revolutionary Democrats welcomed the Bolsheviks in Kiev as "the restoration of the joint all-Russian Revolutionary Front."⁷⁶ The Central Rada and General Secretariat were abolished and the persons who worked for them were proclaimed to be criminals. Their property was confiscated. At the head of the new Ukrainian Workers' and Soldiers' Republic was the People's Secretariat. All the offices from Kharkiv were moved now

⁷³) See Antonov-Ovseyenko, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-89.

⁷⁴) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, I, p. 340.

⁷⁵) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, I, p. 341.

⁷⁶) See P. Khrystiuk, *op. cit.*, II, p. 135.

to Kiev and quartered in the building of Pedahohichny Museum — the place where the Rada used to hold its sittings.

But this time the Bolsheviks remained in Kiev only for three weeks, from February 8th to March 1st. By the end of February they began to evacuate the town before the Ukrainian and German armies. They took with them everything they could lay their hands on: food, goods, money, arms, furniture. They undermined the bridges but somehow only one exploded.⁷⁷

On February 28th the Kiev town council was informed that Petliura with his forces was approaching the town. Then the Council charged the Georgian National Committee, as a neutral power, to defend the town. On March 2nd, the Ukrainian forces, those of Petliura and Presovskyi, entered Kiev. The Germans entered the town on the next day.

At the beginning of February, when the Rada were driven out of Kiev under the pressure of the Bolshevik troops, the loyalist army consisted of many varied divisions, units of Free Cossacks and numerous other formations. Along with them retreated the headquarters of many units which did not exist any more. On paper the Ukrainian army looked formidable. But in reality many of its units consisted of a few men. For instance: Bohun regiment had 8 men; Polubotko's — 5 men; Doroshenko's 80 men and so on.⁷⁸

When the Rada under the guard of "Sich Riflemen" went to Zhytomyr their army made their quarters in the small provincial town of Ihnatova. There the army was reorganized into the Special Zaporozhian Formation ("Okremyi Zaporiz'kyi Zahin"), under the command of General Presovskyi. Only Petliura with his forces did not join General Presovskyi and kept his forces separately. The Free Cossacks joined his Haidamaks. In all the army had over 5,000 men.⁷⁹

The Rada had to retreat from Zhytomyr to a small station of Sarny but when the news was received that the Germans were approaching the Rada again moved to Zhytomyr and then to Kiev.

While moving the Rada did not stop their work and on February 12th, 1918 it issued the law introducing the Gregorian Calendar.⁸⁰ On March 1st it issued the edict about the money system. *Hryvnia* was taken for the monetary unit. It was divided into 100 *shahs*. The value of two hryvnia was equal to one karbovanets of 1917. On the same date the State Emblem was chosen: its coat-of-arms was the *Tryzub* of Prince Volodymyr Sviatoslav's son, that is, the trident

⁷⁷) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, I, p. 341.

⁷⁸) See B. Monkevych, *Slidamy novitnykh kozakiv*, ("In the Wake of the New Cossacks"), Lviv, 1928, pp. 8-9.

⁷⁹) See B. Monkevych, p. 10.

⁸⁰) See P. Khrystiuk, *op. cit.*, II, p. 143.

with the cross. Another enactment was issued on the same day: the law about Ukrainian citizenship. A new territorial division of the country, which was partitioned into *zemli* (Lands) instead of the old Russian divisions of Gubernias, was also passed.⁸¹

While attending to those enactments the Rada received the news that the German army was about to enter Ukraine. On learning of it Prof. Hrushevskyi started to weep. For him it was the tragedy of his life: so often in the past his enemies had called him the servant of the Germans and the Austrians. And now it appeared that they were right.

Nevertheless this fact had to be faced and above all it had to be explained to the people of Ukraine. It was done in an "Address to all citizens of the Ukrainian People's Republic", signed by the three members of the Ukrainian delegation in Brest; in "The Announcement of the Central Rada" on March 7th; in an "Explanation to the Ukrainian people" by Prof. Hrushevskyi and the Prime Minister of the Rada.⁸²

(To be continued.)

⁸¹) See P. Khrystiuk, *op. cit.*, II, p. 143.

⁸²) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 335-337; P. Khrystiuk, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 145-146.

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Igor Peter SHANKOWSKY

Department of Slavonic Languages and Literatures,
The University of Alberta.

VASYL SYMONENKO AND HIS BACKGROUND

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

(Conclusion)

SYMONENKO AS A POET AND SPOKESMAN

Symonenko entered Soviet Ukrainian literature as a young poet of bold personality and courageous, fiery verses — an angry rebel with a cause. Another young poet and coeval¹⁵⁵ of Symonenko, Mykola Som reminisces in the foreword to the posthumous volume of Symonenko's poetry *Zemne tyazhinnya*: "After making his debut in literature, Vasyl' Symonenko, gifted with generous talent and incorruptible intellect, started to sing his hearty song loud and clear."¹⁵⁶ But not for long. Realising the true and revealing nature of Symonenko's poetry, Soviet censorship undertook its usual measures of victimization: refusal to accept Symonenko's works for publication or mutilation of the accepted texts. This fact is well documented by the poet himself in *The Diary*. His admirers, however, saw to it that his poetry circulated in hand-written manuscripts throughout Ukraine even before the publication of his first volume of poetry *Tysha i hrim* in 1962.¹⁵⁷

A complete collection of Symonenko's poetry is still not available today. A detailed biography of his life and works has yet to be written. This, and the Soviet censorship exercised over Symonenko's works make any serious investigation and/or analysis of his poetry quite difficult. For such reasons, only the poetry published in

¹⁵⁵ *Dictionary V*, 503.

¹⁵⁶ Mykola Som, "Slovo pro Vasylya Symonenka", Vasyl' Symonenko, *Zemne tyazhinnya*, vyd-vo "Molod", Kiev — 1964, 3.

¹⁵⁷ "Ukrainian Poet and Rebel: Vasyl Symonenko", *The Ukrainian Bulletin* (October, 1965), 87.

Symonenko's posthumous book *Bereh chekan'* in the chapters "The Poetry Mutilated by Soviet Censorship" and "Poetry forbidden in URSR"¹⁵⁸ can be considered as authentic and examined in this dissertation. There are only eighteen poems divided in both chapters and their authenticity has been admitted by at least one Soviet source.¹⁵⁹

A new volume of Symonenko's poetry recently published in the Soviet Ukraine¹⁶⁰ contains two poems hereto listed as "forbidden in the URSR." They are "Loneliness" and "I."

In evaluating poetry, it is customary to accept objectively valid norms deduced from ages of experience and by observation of facts and/or extensive deductive procedures. Such an approach establishes Symonenko as a traditional poet without a trace of the abstractive pettifoggery. Tentatively the eighteen poems considered here can be divided into three different categories. They could be named respectively as: (1) poetry of angry realism, (2) psychological, deductive poetry, and (3) connotative lyrics. After accepting such categorization it must be observed that some of the poems contain all or more than one of the above categories.

As an example for "poetry of angry realism" let us consider Symonenko's "Granite Obelisks...", first in the chapter "Poetry Mutilated by Soviet Censorship":

Granite obelisks, like medusae,
Crawled, crawled and slowed their pace.
In the cemetery of shot illusions
There is no longer any room for graves.

Milliards of faiths — buried in the soil,
Milliards of happinesses — smashed to smithereens...
One's soul's afire, angry mind ablaze,
And hatred roars with laughter in the winds.

If all those duped could suddenly see,
If all those killed could be alive again,
The sky grown grey from all the curses
Would, surely, burst from revilement and shame.

Tremble, you murderers, think hard, you lackeys!
Life does not fit upon your last these days!
Do you hear? In the cemetery of shot illusions
There is no longer any room for graves.

¹⁵⁸) Vasył' Symonenko, *Bereh chekan'*, vyd-vo "Prolog", München — 1965, 137-148 and 151-167.

¹⁵⁹) Mykola Nehoda, "Everest pidlosti", *Radyans'ka Ukraina* (April 15, 1965), 3.

¹⁶⁰) Vasył' Symonenko, *Poezii*, vyd-vo "Molod", Kiev — 1966.

The people are already as one bleeding wound,
 The earth is growing wild from wounds that ooze,
 And for every executioner and tyrant
 There waits already a roughly twisted noose.

The tortured, hounded, killed and murdered
 Are rising up, at a trial to meet,
 And their vile curses, raging and rebelling,
 Will fall upon the souls, mildewed and full-bellied,
 And from tree branches there will swing
 The apostles of crime and deceit.¹⁶¹

In an attempt to distort the meaning behind this poem Soviet censorship named it "The Prophecy of 1917"¹⁶² and added the following two lines to the ending:

And truth and love will rise up in the world,
 And labour will stand on the guard of truth.¹⁶³

It would be hard to accept such two lines as written by Symonenko. A poet, critical in most of his poetry about contemporary labour problems in the Soviet Ukraine, could not possibly aim to foretell the victory of "labour", taking for a starting point a year eighteen years prior to his own birthdate. Symonenko was a contemporary poet concerned with contemporary problems, and "Granitni obelisky..." must be viewed as an angry description of the present social status of the Soviet Ukrainian people. As Anatol W. Bedriy had observed: "Vasyl' Symonenko presented in his poetry and in his diary the whole panorama of the life, conditions, endeavours, attitudes, and struggles of the Ukrainian nation during the last two decades. His work can be called the testimony and picture of the Ukraine of this period." And then: "Vasyl Symonenko was a typical Ukrainian individualist."¹⁶⁴

A similar observation is offered by a German article about Vasyl' Symonenko's poetry in *Rheinische Merkur* (May 15, 1965), 4: "Ein leidenschaftlicher, ja geradezu revolutionärer Hass flammt aus jenen Gedichten Symonenkos, in denen er die Ausbeutung und Erniedrigung

161) Vasyl' Symonenko, *Bereh chekan'*, vyd-vo "Prolog", München — 1965, 137-138.

162) Vasyl' Symonenko, *Zemne tyazhinnya*, vyd-vo "Molod", Kiev — 1964, 15.

163) Vasyl' Symonenko, *Zemne tyazhinnya*, vyd-vo "Molod", Kiev — 1964, 16.

164) Anatol W. Bedriy, "Vasyl Symonenko (1935-1963). Troubadour of Ukraine's Freedom", *ABN Correspondence* (January-February, 1966), 6.

durch das bolschewistische Regime mit Spott und Fluch geisselt." This statement is further illustrated by a German translation of the ending of Symonenko's poem "Zlodii", the first on the list in the chapter "Poetry Forbidden in URSR":

Wo sind sie,
 die fetten und grauen, beutegierigen Demagogen und Lügner,
 die der Väter Glauben abgewürgt haben
 und nun thronen — gleich Drohnen — in Ämtern
 und Funktionen? Wo?!
 Sie, sie allein gehören hinter das Zuchthausgitter.
 Vor's Tribunal — sie!
 In den Karzer — sie!
 Für Ausbeutung und Blutsaugerei.
 Was, der Beweise seien zu wenig? Beweise gibt's.
 Die Trümmer, die Fetzen gestohlenen Glaubens,
 gestohlener Hoffnung —
 Sie sollen unsere Beweise sein...!¹⁶⁵

Whenever a poet puts stress on a certain ideal, it is easily translated into any language, since it becomes possible for the translator to feel the meaning behind the poem.

It is said that poets anticipate science, and Symonenko, sensitive to life surrounding him, distrusted the various techniques of abstraction and preferred to state his views in a manner immediately comprehensible by the individual mind:

I look into your eyes,
 Blue, anxious, like an early dawn.
 Red lightnings are flashing in them
 Of revolutions, risings and revolts.

¹⁶⁵) Wolfgang Strauss "Der Fall Symonenko 1935-1963", *Ukraine In Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (32/1965), 107. The English version is as follows:

Where are they — the fat and grey
 Tongue-twisting demagogues and liars,
 Who have throttled the peasant's faith,
 Elbowing their way to office and rank?
 It is they who belong behind the prison-bars,
 It is they who should be brought to trial,
 Thrown into gaol for daylight robbery!
 What, too little evidence? There's evidence enough
 Of tattered rags of stolen faith and hope.¹⁶⁵

O Ukraine! How wondrous you're to me!
 And though a year may follow upon year,
 I shall forever wonder at your looks,
 My mother proud and beautiful.

*It's for your sake that I sow pearls in man's soul,
 It's for your sake that I think and create.
 Let all Americas and Russias hold their tongue
 When I'm talking with you, O Ukraine!*

Go away, you evil adversaries!
 Friends, wait for me a little on your way!
 For I have the sacred filial right
 To stay alone with Mother for a while.

*Rarely do I think of you, O Mother,
 Our days are far too short and small.
 Devils do not all yet live in Heaven,
 There are quite a few of them on Earth below.*

*You see, I fight them every hour,
 Do you hear the ancient battle clang?
 How can I do without my cherished friends,
 Without their brains, their eyes and hands?*

*O Ukraine, you are my daily prayer,
 My eternal despair and distress . . .
 A fierce battle is fought in the world
 For your life, sacred rights, happiness.*

Let purple clouds blaze out in flames,
 Let insults be hissed angry,
 I shall spill as a drop of blood
 On your *holy* standard.¹⁶⁶

The lines omitted by Soviet censorship for obvious reasons are italicized. However an error in a volume released in the Soviet Ukraine supports and proves the fact that Soviet censorship, indeed, was applied.

In *Zemne tyazhinnya* we find:

I shall spill as a drop of blood
 On your *red* standard.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁶) Vasyl' Symonenko, *Bereh chekan'*, vyd-vo "Prolog", München — 1965, 146-147.

¹⁶⁷) Vasyl' Symonenko, *Zemne tyazhinnya*, vyd-vo "Molod", Kiev — 1964, 66.

while in *Poezii*, Soviet edition of 1966, all omissions are indicated by lines of periods, and we read:

I shall spill as a drop of blood
On your *holy* standard.¹⁶⁸

A laboratory analyst would be helpless in trying to find meaning in the case stated above; he would simply reject the issue as irrelevant. Being a victim of his trade, he would choose to involve himself with the mechanical task of establishing the way by which the poet said all he had to say — he would disregard the question: *What did the poet say?* The moral, political, personal, generally humane views of the poet, the fact that censorship was applied — do not matter. A laboratory analyst does not really care what is it that he analyses. It could be a dog, a guinea pig, or a literary text; he is concerned with classification and not with the revelation of his subject.

Symonenko did not classify — he revealed the reality that surrounded him with anger and dismay. In his poem "The Gate" he is concerned with the pre-ordained destiny of anybody having the courage to disagree:

With wild and unknown utterings
The gate dreams nightmares in an anxious sleep,
Where the warder jungles his keys
And the protecting door creaks.

Apparitions with bloody swords
In cloaks as black as the night,
Play with oddly-shaped balls —
With heads swished from the shoulders.

Blood flows beneath flegmatic ramparts,
The cries die on the lips.
Centuries of outrage and torture
Make the dead turn in their graves.

But the town does not see in a murky night
How the guard, now without their swords,
Throw another victim under the ramparts,
Bound with a dirty rag across his eyes.¹⁶⁹

In "Ballad about a Stranger"¹⁷⁰ Symonenko exposes those making futile promises to the Soviet Ukrainian people as physical

¹⁶⁸) Vasylyl' Symonenko, *Poezii*, vyd-vo "Molod", Kiev — 1966, 96.

¹⁶⁹) Vasylyl' Symonenko, *Bereh chekan'*, vyd-vo "Prolog", München — 1965, 156.

¹⁷⁰) Vasylyl' Symonenko, *Bereh chekan'*, vyd-vo "Prolog", München — 1965, 157-158.

"castrates", unable to fulfil what they promise. This, and the poem "To Kurdish Brother", where Symonenko clearly states:

O Kurd, save your munitions,
But do not save murderers' lives!
Fall like a whirlwind and a storm
On bastards of violence, lawlessness and lies!

Converse with them only with bullets,
They have not come here merely for your things:
They've come to take your name, your language,
To make your son a bastard without kin.

You'll never live in concord with the oppressor:
For him — to rule, for you — to pull the cart!
For our fiercest adversary — chauvinism —
Is fattening on the blood of tired peoples' hearts.¹⁷¹

These lines are addressed above all to human justice and dignity on the international level.

Symonenko places a great deal of confidence behind every word in his poetry. Every line voices resistance against any form of oppression the presence of which in the Soviet Ukraine has become an obsession with the young poet. Symonenko apologizes to no one, he protests angrily against every injustice he has ever encountered.

Being a realist, but a realist not afraid to voice the true state of affairs in the Soviet Ukraine instead of wishful thinking, Symonenko's poetry often turns for aid to psychology and becomes deductive. The best example of his psychological deductive thinking is found in one of the poems in the chapter "Poetry Mutilated by Soviet Censorship." Again Soviet censorship is indicated by underlining the omitted lines:

There are thousands of roads, a million narrow paths,
There are thousands of fields, but only one is mine.
And what am I to do when destiny required
That I begin a meagre harvest on an unfertile field?

Am I to throw away the sickle and spend my days in idleness,
Or to curse the fate for the scanty yield,
And to hire myself out to neighbours
For a pair of sandals and a tasty meal?

*If I could forget my own poor native field
I would be given everything for this piece of land . . .
Moreover, stubble never hurts the feet of those
Who wear a toady's sandals without shame.*

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 159-160.

But I must go barefoot to my native field,
 And wear out myself and the slothful sickle,
 And fall from tiredness on the rustling swathes,
 And sleep, embracing my own sheaf of corn.

For this field is mine! Here I'll begin my harvest,
 For nowhere shall I find a better yield,
 For thousands of roads, millions of narrow paths
 Will lead me to my own ancestral field...¹⁷²

Here, in a series of comparisons, questions, and answers Symonenko shows the reason why he had selected his own little plot of land. He comes to a decision by psychological, deductive thinking. This poem, censored, was first printed in *Zmina* (August, 1964) on page 10 and now, also censored but indicating the omitted stanza by a dotted line, it appears in the newly released posthumous volume.¹⁷³ The omission, likewise, was indicated in *Zmina*.

The reasons for Soviet censorship of Symonenko's poetry are obvious. Symonenko died in the prime of his youth, he had fully and conscientiously realized his near end and therefore his voice sounded loud and clear. He could not compromise in what he had to say, for he had no time to waste. The reaction to his poetry in the Soviet Ukraine was favourable as will be shown in what follows.

Early in January, 1965, Symonenko's books *Tysha i hrim*, posthumous *Zemne tyazhynnya*, and the fairy-tale *Journey into Upside-down Land* were nominated for the Taras Shevchenko prize by the publishing house "Molod'", the Communist Youth Organization, by the Soviet Ukrainian Writers Union, and the Editorial Board of the monthly *Zmina*. An announcement to this effect appeared in *Literaturna Ukraina* (January 8, 1965) on the front page. At the same time, early in January, a gathering to commemorate Vasyľ Symonenko took place in Kiev. The evening was opened by Dmytro Pavlychko¹⁷⁴ (1929-) and followed by speeches by A. Perepadya (not listed in the *Dictionary* and later accused, among others, of smuggling out of the Soviet Ukraine Symonenko's manuscript¹⁷⁵) and many other young writers, Symonenko's friends, and university colleagues. Symonenko's voice was heard from a tape recorder and his mother was present, having arrived for the occasion earlier, from Cherkasy. A short notation about that evening appeared in *Literaturna Ukraina* (January 22, 1965), on page 2.

¹⁷²) Vasyľ Symonenko, *Bereh chekan'*, vyd-vo "Prolog", München — 1965, 148.

¹⁷³) Vasyľ Symonenko, *Poezii*, vyd-vo "Molod'", Kiev — 1966, 185.

¹⁷⁴) *Dictionary V*, 232-237.

¹⁷⁵) Perepadya's name is mentioned by Symonenko's mother (Hanna Shcherban') in a letter which was printed in *Radyans'ka Ukraina* (April 15, 1965), 3.

After this a series of voices were heard approving Symonenko's nomination for the Taras Shevchenko annual Prize. "The fairy tale *A Journey into Upsidedown Land* together with his books *Quietness and Thunder* and *Earth's Gravity* is nominated for the Taras Shevchenko Prize in 1965. We believe that it is worthy of such high distinction. The books *Quietness and Thunder* and *Earth's Gravity* have earned equal praise."¹⁷⁶ "I have met this book of poetry as one meets a long missed friend"¹⁷⁷ — wrote one reader enthusiastically about Symonenko's *Earth's Gravity*. "I am taking into my hands Symonenko's first book *Quietness and Thunder* and I cannot believe that he is among us no more. No! He is with us. His exciting poetry remains . . ."¹⁷⁸ "Vasyl' Symonenko . . . *Earth's Gravity*. I have read it. I remain a captive of his earthy poetry. How one wishes to cry when reading these magnificent lines."¹⁷⁹

However, the Taras Shevchenko Prize was not granted to Symonenko posthumously. Mykola Bazhan collected the laurels for his poem "Flight through the Tempest."¹⁸⁰ It could be suspected that the most probable reason for Symonenko's works failing to receive the Taras Shevchenko Prize was the publication of his clandestine poetry and *The Diary* abroad.¹⁸¹

The presentation of Symonenko and his background in this dissertation only scratches the surface of the fact that such a poet, born and raised within the Soviet system did exist, and did say what was necessary as a Ukrainian living within the Soviet reality. Three years after his untimely death his works continue to appear in the Soviet Ukraine and abroad and this fact leaves room for hope that some day complete, original and unabused works of Vasyl' Symonenko will become available for a serious analysis.

Note. The quoted poems by V. Symonenko have been, as far as possible, literally translated into English by V. Bohdaniuk without any pretensions at poetic refinement.

¹⁷⁶ Vadym Skomorovs'kyi, "Nadzvychaina mandrivka", *Literaturna Ukraina* (February 5, 1965), 3.

¹⁷⁷ Stanislav Shumyts'kyi, "Ostrov", *Literaturna Ukraina* (February 23, 1965), 3.

¹⁷⁸ Leonid Khodzits'kyi, "Samobutna poeziya", *Literaturna Ukraina* (March 2, 1965), 2.

¹⁷⁹ Mykhailo Ternavs'kyi, "Treba velykomu but", *Literaturna Ukraina* (March 2, 1965).

¹⁸⁰ "Announcement", *Literaturna Ukraina* (March 9, 1965), 1.

¹⁸¹ Clandestine poetry and *The Diary* were first published in *Sučasnist'* (January, 1965), 3-18.

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H. H. FRUMENKOV

The Fate of the Last Cossack Chief of the Zaporozhian Host

Many sons of "the fertile Cossack mother" were imprisoned in the XVIII century in the dungeons of the Solovetsky fort,* but the most prominent among them was Petro Ivanovych Kalnyshevskiy — the last chief of the Zaporozhian Host. He held this post from 1765 to the moment of liquidation of "the Cossack State", or for ten consecutive years which was unprecedentedly long period of time...

Of course, there were accusations against Kalnyshevskiy. In the "enlightened" era of Catherine II when the government was encouraging denunciations and the public was infested by them, no one could be safe from accusations of crimes against the state.

In January 1767, regimental officer, Pavlo Savytskyi, in a letter in his own handwriting notified Petersburg, that the Cossack Chief together with the Military Secretary and Lieutenant were planning to betray Russia in the near future, if the boundary disputes would not be settled to the benefit of the Zaporozhian Host. If we are to believe the informer, the higher Cossack command agreed to "select 20 good men from the military and to send them to the Turkish Emperor with the petition to take them under Turkish protection."

Nobody had any inkling of Savytskyi's denunciation. The Cossack Chief was never accused of the preparation to betray Russia. He died without knowing about Savytskyi's accusation. The denunciation was placed in the archives and, as unjust, it was placed in the folder in which the order of 1801 granting Kalnyshevskiy freedom was filed...

No one else, but G. Potemkin, three years before the fall of Sich, where he played a fatal role, expressed his respect and love for the Zaporozhian Host, stressing his everlasting readiness to serve "his highly respected father", as he flatteringly called the Cossack Chief.

In 1772 Potemkin performed the following farce: he asked Kalnyshevskiy to sign him up as a Cossack, which was done willingly. In conversations among themselves the Cossacks called this new knight Hryts Nechésa (Uncombed Gregory) because of the curls in his wig.

*) A fortress-like monastery on the desolate Solovetsky island in the sub-Arctic White Sea.

The Governor-general of "New Russia"**) was not without compliments to Kalnyshevskiy even on the day of the victorious end of the Russo-Turkish war (1768-1774). "I assure you sincerely that I will not overlook any instance, where I could foresee to deliver any comfort that you might wish, based upon justice and strength" — thus wrote Potemkin to Kalnyshevskiy on June 2, 1774. A year had not passed after these verbose utterances when Sich because of Potemkin himself was destroyed and the Cossack Chief arrested.

On June 4, 1775, a large detachment under the command of P. A. Tekeli unexpectedly fell upon Sich. Ataman Kalnyshevskiy, the Military Secretary Hloba and the Military Judge Holovatyi were placed under guard, and their property, as well as that of the Zaporozhian Host was confiscated.

On August 3, 1775, a ukase was issued by Catherine II which announced that "Zaporozhian Sich has been completely destroyed, including the destruction for the future even of the name of the Zaporozhian Cossacks, for nothing less than for insulting Her Majesty by the actions and insolence perpetrated by these Cossacks amounting to insubordination to Our high commands."

The manifesto did not mention Kalnyshevskiy. After his arrest the Chief disappeared, no one knew where, as if the man fell into deep water. Neither his family, nor friends knew where he was staying or whether he was alive at all.

The Cossack songs implied that the chief was sent to live in the Don area. The descendants of the Cossacks made up a legend saying that Kalnyshevskiy escaped from under arrest, went to Turkey; there married and had a son.

Only after a century had passed following the tragedy which took place at the Lower Dnieper in 1775, the first revelations about the fate of Kalnyshevskiy after the base was destroyed appeared in the press.

In 1863 in the archives of the city of Arkhangelsk, an exiled historian, P. S. Yefymenko, found "The case concerning the information of this office by the State Military College on the sending over for a stay in Solovetsky monastery of the Cossack Chief, Petro Kalnyshevskiy, on July 11, 1776.

In 1875 in the November issue of *Russkaia starina* (Russian Antiquity) the scholar published an article entitled "Kalnyshevskiy, the Last Chief of Zaporozhian Sich."

In the publication the rumours which were told to Yefymenko by the White Sea coast peasants were recounted and, furthermore, it was documentatively proven that after the destruction of the New Sich,

**) As Catherine named the territories in South Ukraine on the Black Sea coast.

Kalnyshevskiy did not flee anywhere but was sent to Solovki Islands, spent many years there in solitary confinement and died on the island.

As a pragmatist historian, Yefymenko did not take it upon himself to give the reasons for the deportation of Kalnyshevskiy, the conditions of his imprisonment in the monastery, the reasons for the "pardon" in the beginning of the XIX century. He limited himself to bringing to the attention of the readers a concrete, indisputable fact: after the fall of the last Cossack base camp, Kalnyshevskiy was sent to Solovetsky monastery and died there.

We shall try to fill the gaps in the article of P. S. Yefymenko.

After his arrest, Kalnyshevskiy, together with the Military Secretary and Judge, was sent to Moscow and all three were kept in the office of the Military College awaiting the final decision as to their fate.

The government did not want to try the last representatives of Zaporozhian Sich's government. It wanted to deal with them in a quiet administrative way. These methods of punishment of the dangerous enemy were completely approved by Tsarism. Lawlessness did not disturb it.

G. O. Potemkin, once an ardent "honourer" of Kalnyshevskiy and now just as ardent a hater, formulated the indictment with characteristic gallantry. We will quote this document without any changes because of its undoubted interest:

"The Most Merciful Sovereign!

Your Imperial Majesty is aware of all the impudent deeds of Petro Kalnyshevskiy, the former Cossack Chief of Zaporozhian Sich, and his accomplices, Judge Pavlo Holovaty and Secretary Ivan Hloba, whose treacherous and violent conduct is so enormous, that I will not dare, oh Most Merciful Sovereign, by recounting it to sadden your tender and human heart, and, furthermore, I don't see the smallest need to start any kind of investigation having the original orders to the officers as living proof, which show their great crimes before the sanctity of Your Imperial Majesty's throne, who by all civil and political laws justly deserve punishment by execution. But benevolence, as the everlasting companion of your brilliant soul, is victorious over the severity of anger by the mild and motherly correction; therefore, I take the liberty, most submissively, to suggest: may it please Your Majesty to proclaim by the royal edict the merciful pardon from their deserved punishment to the aforementioned prisoners placed at the mercy of your just court, who have realized the gravity of their crime, and in its place after the outlived danger of their nearness to the former Zaporozhian regions, to will to send them to a monastery for life imprisonment, the Chief to the Solovetsky, and the remainder to the monasteries existing in Siberia with the grant from the formerly confiscated property of Zaporozhia:

for the Chief one rouble and for the others a quarter rouble daily. What will remain thereafter should be used, in all justice, for the reparation to your faithful slaves, who were ruined by them, but, who submitting to your divine command suffered violence from the former Zaporozhians without the slightest resistance, awaiting their salvation from Your righteous hand and suffering losses amounting to more than 200,000 roubles, whom I will not forsake to make contented, oh Most Merciful Sovereign.

Most faithful subject of Your Imperial Majesty
and slave Duke Potemkin."

A note written with her majesty's own hand appears on this document: "Let it be so. May 14, 1776, Tsarskoye Selo."

On June 8, 1776 the Governing Senate advised the Holy Synod of Potemkin's letter and the high confirmation written under it. From its own side the Senate advised that the edict be announced to Kalnyshevskiy and his colleagues and that the arrested be sent immediately to the places of their imprisonment: the Chief to Solovetsky monastery; Hloba and Holovatyi to the distant Siberian monasteries "under the most severe guard from one place to the other of the military command." Furthermore, Potemkin suggested to the Synod to command the monastery authorities "to confine the prisoners to the monastery, never to let them out and to keep them away not only from letter writing, but also from all contacts with the outside persons."

Special "care" was taken of the "chief criminal", the former Ataman of the Lower Dnieper Zaporozhian Army. The warden of the Solovetsky prison was advised: "the prisoner who was being sent here should be kept under the unweakened guard of the soldiers stationed in this monastery."

On June 25, 1776, Kalnyshevskiy was taken from Moscow to Arkhangelsk. The convoy was made up of seven men: second-major of the First Moscow Foot Regiment, Alexander Puzyrevskiy, an N.C.O. and five privates. The military office commanded Puzyrevskiy to "keep the arrested under diligent supervision and to keep him from all contacts with outsiders during the journey."

On July 11th Kalnyshevskiy was delivered to Arkhangelsk, and from there in a boat rented from a merchant, Voronikhin, for 20 roubles he was transported to Solovetsky Islands where he was placed in the care of the Archimandrite Dosifey, for life imprisonment. Rather overscrupulous Arkhangelsk governor, Ye. Golovtsyn, to reinforce the guard, sent a sergeant and three privates from the governor's company and bid them "to stay in the monastery permanently to guard the cell of the former Chief, if Dosifey would consider it possible and necessary."

On July 30th, the Solovetsky superior notified the Synod that in the beginning of the month he received the prisoner, Kalnyshevskiy from Puzyrevskiy and would hold him according to the imperial command which he received from the Synod.

"To keep as commanded" meant to keep him in severe isolation "without ever being let out from the monastery and to keep him away not only from correspondence but also from all contacts with the outsiders, under the unweakening guard of the soldiers stationed at the monastery." Thus wrote the superior against the name of Kalnyshevskiy in the reports which he periodically sent to the Synod with the indication of when, for what, by whom, this or that prisoner was sent and how he was to be held.

Dosifey categorically and not very politely refused the help of Golovtsyn's guards. The sergeant with three privates was sent back to Arkhangelsk. The superior did not want to divide the laurels of the prisoner Kalnyshevskiy with the governor. His conduct Dosifey explained by the Synod's command which told him to keep the "former ataman under guard of the monastery soldiers."

P. Yefymenko believed that the transportation of Kalnyshevskiy's property from Moscow to Arkhangelsk took six wagons from the nine which constituted Puzyrevskiy's train. Kalnyshevskiy's biographer arrived at that figure on the basis of the following phrase from the major's letter to Golovtsyn: "When I was sent from that office (from Moscow — H.F.) I was given three horses, the N.C.O. and three privates — also three, and then two other men escorted the prisoner, under whom were also three horses." In this case the researcher conducted himself very freely with the documents and came to the conclusion which does not follow from the contents of the material. If one is to follow the logic of Yefymenko, one would have to say that three wagons carried the major's uniforms.

In reality the military treasures and all personal property of the Chief were confiscated. He arrived in Arkhangelsk without anything. No property had been loaded onto Voronikhin's boat. Kalnyshevskiy brought nothing to the monastery, except the clothes that he wore. Therefore, in the case of Kalnyshevskiy there is no "inventory of property", which is constantly found in the prisoners' files. Only 330 roubles which had been given by the treasury for the support of the former Chief of the Cossacks were transferred to the monastery authorities by Puzyrevskiy. When this sum was at an end the monastery turned to Golovtsyn (letter from June 23, 1777) with the request to send the amount designated for the prisoner for the following year "in order that the Chief because of lack of food does not suffer hunger and insufficiencies in other needs." It is needless to say that monks would not have threatened the prisoner with hunger after 11 months of his imprisonment in the monastery if Kalnyshevskiy had brought six wagons of property.

In the Solovetsky monastery Kalnyshevskiy was thrown into one of the most dismal cells of the Golovlenkov prison which was located in the tower of the same name situated at the south side of the wall of the fortress.

The imprisonment was terrible; the conditions of existence inhuman. M. Kolchin described the cell in which Kalnyshevskiy was staying thus: "Before us there was a small door, about 2 arshines (arshine = 71.1 cm, or 28 inches — Ed.) high with a tiny window in the middle of it; this door leads into the living quarters of the prisoner, where we are entering. It has the form of a cut cone of brick, approximately 4 arshines long, one sagene (7 ft. or 2 m. 13 cm. — Ed.) wide; high at the entrance — 3 arshines, in the narrow end — 1½. Near the entrance on the right we see a bench, which was the prisoner's bed at the same time... On the other side, the remains of a broken down stove. The walls... damp, covered with mildew, the air — stale, stuffy. In the narrow end of the room there is a small window about 10½ in. square; the ray of light as if secretly, darkly lights up this horrible cell through three frames and two grilles. In this lighting it was only possible to read on the brightest days and even then with great strain of the eyesight. If the imprisoned tried to look at God's world through this window, then before his eyes only the cemetery appeared, which was located underneath the window. Therefore, anyone who stays for about half an hour in the stuffy atmosphere of the cell, gets dizzy, the blood rushes to his head, an infinite feeling of fear appears... Anyone who visits this place, even if he is a most stern person, involuntarily lets if not a cry of horror, then a heavy sigh out of his breast and from his tongue falls the question: "Is life really possible here? Have people been so strong that they could have endured years of such sepulchral life?"

It only remains to be added that the ceiling of the cell of the "great criminal" was not much better than a sieve and Kalnyshevskiy had to take "a cold shower" many times. In the files of the monastery archives a note from Oct. 12, 1779 written by the monk, Simon, deputy superior to Archimandrite Ieronim states as follows: "Upon the frequent... requests of P. I. Kalnyshevskiy of the need to repair and cover the cell where he lives, which leaks when it rains and because of which his clothes rot, and begs your excellency to order specially that besides those hired by the monastery for carpentry work, to hire four men at his cost and to send them in the Spring with other monastery workers, indicating his name, who and at what price."

The Archimandrite "took into consideration" the prisoner's request. For Kalnyshevskiy's money the cell, in which he suffered, was repaired.

The prison regime was noted for its exceptional severity. P. Kalnyshevskiy remained in the dungeon which M. Kolchin saw; he was

hopelessly buried while still alive. Vorzogorsk peasants told P. Yefymenko that the "Cossack Ataman" was led out of his chamber only three times a year: at Easter, Transfiguration and Christmas. This, however, cannot be ascertained from the archive documents.

In the summer, four men constantly rotated in guarding Kalnyshevskiy, at the time when all other prisoners were guarded by two soldiers only. In the winter, cell No. 15, where P. Kalnyshevskiy lingered was guarded by three soldiers, when all the other convicts had only one guard. This happened in 1781 at any rate, when Kalnyshevskiy got a "competitor" — an important secret prisoner by the name of "former Pushkin." He was guarded more heavily — four soldiers in the winter time.

The personal make-up of the guard which stood near the cell no. 15 was constant. As a rule the same guards, and at that the most reliable soldiers in the monastery garrison for many years guarded Kalnyshevskiy: Ivan Matveyev, Anton Mikhailov, Vasiliy Nestiukov, Vasiliy Sokhanov. The former Chief was "permanently attached" to these soldiers; he had, so to speak, a "body guard." The guard which protected the "great sinner" was headed by the commanding officer of the Solovetsky company.

The all-powerful favourite G. Potemkin did not forget his "inseparable friend." He periodically asked the Synod whether Kalnyshevskiy was still alive.

It is known that the Chief was to receive one rouble daily on account of the confiscated Cossack military treasury and property. This was done.

In the early years the monastery received "the ration money" for the prisoner a year in advance from the Arkhangelsk provincial office from the sums received from the treasury. The delays in the sending of the money had no effect upon the prisoner. Thus, on June 23, 1777 the monastery notified Golovtsyn that from the 330 roubles received from Puzyrevskiy not one kopeck would be left in three days. The monks asked the office to provide the Chief with money for food for the following year. On July 29, 1777 Golovtsyn ordered to give the monastery 365 roubles (till June 26, 1778) and informed the monks that the requests for money should be made in advance. In June of 1778, the soldier Ilya Kashkin, as a representative of the monastery, received the money in Arkhangelsk for the following year, till June 26, 1779 inclusive. In June of 1779 the monastery was given 366 roubles of money for food for Kalnyshevskiy — till the summer of 1780; in June 1780 365 roubles were given out till June 26, 1781. After that the money was withheld.

On July 11, 1782 Solovetsky Superior Ieronim complained to the Synod that from June 26, 1781 he was not getting the money for Kalnyshevskiy, and "the Chief for a year has been completely supported by the monastery, because of which the monastery is

sustaining a loss." The Synod immediately notified the Senate and it resolved to compensate the monastery for the money spent in recent months for Kalnyshevskiy: "to continue to issue it in the prescribed amount from the Vologda treasury from the income of the Vologda government."

The monastery gave the Chief "the commanded pay" at the end of each month for the previous period.

In the archives "a notebook issued by the office of the monastery management to the treasurer, the monk Ioann, to keep the record of the food expenditure of the former Chief of Zaporozhian Sich, P. Kalnyshevskiy", has been preserved. It is evident that one of the guards, once a month, received the money, one rouble per day, for the support of Kalnyshevskiy from the monastery treasurer, accounted to the treasurer and at the request of the prisoner bought food.

The notebook contains six entries for the first half of 1781. We will quote first of them — January: "The 31st day of the month of January. Issued to the soldier Vasiliy Nestiukov for the prisoner P. Kalnyshevskiy, who is under his surveillance, according to the ukase, — food money, one rouble per day. The total for the month is 31 roubles. Soldier Vasiliy Nestiukov received this sum of money, 31 roubles, and signed for it." Identical entries were found for February, March, April and May. There was a little deviation in June. On June 30, soldier Vasiliy Sokhanov received 25 roubles for the prisoner, from the 1st to the 26th and not for the entire month. This happened because the provincial government office, as is evident, only gave the monastery money till June 26, 1781 inclusive.

It should be mentioned that Kalnyshevskiy received sound "support" for that time and did not suffer material deprivation. He did not have to live in semi-starvation as other prisoners.

In the second half of the XVIII century the treasury paid the monastery 9 roubles per year for every prisoner in the monks' support. Thus, Kalnyshevskiy's one rouble was more than 40 times greater than the average norm of support of the prisoners. From such a grant he could set aside the costs for current repair and overhaul of "his" cell; he could also save something for "a rainy day." It is known that in his memory the prisoner left to the monastery an expensive Book of Gospels (made by Moscow craftsmen) that weighed more than 34 lbs. and was valued at 2,435 roubles and about which the Solovetskiy superiors were willingly talking.

In the stone sack of the Golovlenkov jail, the description of which was quoted above, Kalnyshevskiy spent 16 years, after which he was given a more "comfortable" solitary cell alongside the kitchen where he was under lock and key for another nine years.

By the order of Alexander I, from April 2, 1801 the former Chief was "granted pardon" and the right to choose a place to live according

to his wishes. P. Kalnyshevskiy was then 110 years old, of which a quarter of a century he suffered in the solitary cells of the monastery torture houses. In spite of such long-lasting imprisonment, the Chief did not lose his mind. It is impossible not to acknowledge that he had a truly heroic, fabled nature, a real Zaporozhian oak! But the permanent murk of the cells had its effect: Kalnyshevskiy became blind.

P. Kalnyshevskiy could not enjoy the "gift" of a new tyrant. On June 7, 1801, the amnestied Ataman wrote a letter to the Arkhangelsk civil governor Mezentsev in which he thanked the government for the belated benefits and begged to let him "await with peaceful spirit the end of his life, which is nearing, in this abode." This decision, not without humour, he justified by the fact that during his 25-year stay in prison he "got used completely" to the monastery, and now, "he even enjoys the freedom fully here." But, in order to spend "the rest of his days without poverty", the liberated begged to let him keep the prisoner's monetary support — one rouble daily. The Tsar granted the wish of the Chief.

Kalnyshevskiy "enjoyed" his freedom but a short time. In 1803 he died.

Kalnyshevskiy's grave is located in the main yard of the Solovetskiy Kremlin in front of the Transfiguration Cathedral alongside the graves of Avraamiy Palitsyn and Peter Tolstoy. To this day it is topped with a grave stone from grey polished granite "decorated" with hypocritical epitaph, composed by the monks: "Here lies the body of the deceased Chief of the former dread Zaporozhian Sich, the Cossack Ataman Petro Kalnyshevskiy, deported to this abode by the highest command in 1776 for submission. In 1801 he was pardoned, also by the highest command, but he, himself, did not want to leave this place, where he found the peace of soul of a peaceful Christian, who sincerely realized his crimes.

He died in 1803, the 31st day of October, 112 years after birth, with a pious, good death."

M. Kolchin relates the legend which he heard at the monastery about Kalnyshevskiy. After long imprisonment of the Chief, it was suddenly discovered that the prisoner was an innocent sufferer. Therefore, the Tsar, after pardoning him, wanted somehow to compensate the Cossack Ataman for his endured suffering and let it be asked of him what he would like as compensation.

— I have become old — supposedly answered Kalnyshevskiy — the earthly honours do not entice me; I do not need riches; I will outlive what I already have; I have only one problem: to prepare myself for the future life, but I cannot do this better anywhere than in this holy place; therefore, my first request is to let me live out my life at Solovki, and the second request, if the Tsar-father wants

to honour me, let him command that a proper prison be built for the criminals, so that they do not suffer, as I did, in the cells of the fort.

This invented dialogue made the rounds in the works of the researchers, seeped through to the periodical press, and turned into a fact which explained the new round of construction of prison quarters at Solovki in the beginning of the XIX century.

The legend recorded by Kolchin does not have any real base under it.

That Kalnyshevskiy was innocent was known to the authorities in 1775, when he was arrested, and it did not become clear in 1801, when the Tsar "magnanimously" granted freedom to the enfeebled prisoner.

Zaporozhia, with its original democratic government was the salt in the eye of the tsarism under the new conditions. The formal elective organization which survived in the Cossack camp in no way harmonized with the autocratic Russian reality.

The social stratification of the Cossack society and the concentration of the wealth in the hands of the minority did not hinder Zaporozhian Sich from remaining the centre of freedom, rebellions, anti-feudal moods and uprisings. The peasants' flight there did not stop. The tsarism could not acquiesce with it any longer.

The government of Catherine II conducted the policy of social and national subjugation of Ukraine. Sich created an obstacle to these policies. Therefore, it was destroyed, and the officers headed by Kalnyshevskiy were buried in the monastic jails.

In March, 1801 in the reports about the Solovetsky prisoners which the monastery sent to the capital, against the name of Kalnyshevskiy one word had been written "forgiven." What hypocrisy! It is a pity that the report gave no explanation of what "crimes" of Kalnyshevskiy were forgotten, but we know why he was let out from prison in 1801.

By the edict of April 2, 1801 the Secret Expedition was done away with and many prisoners, who were kept because of it were pardoned. This gesture was supposed to prove the liberal course of Alexander's I government.

Before the April 2nd edict, an examination of the lists of prisoners, which were held in various places of imprisonment, took place. Arkhangelsk governor Mezentsev, among other provincial supervisors, submitted for investigation the list of names of the prisoners, who were staying in the Solovetsky monastery, in the cities of Kemi and Arkhangelsk. As the result, the government acknowledged that it was possible to free two prisoners from the Solovetsky prison — A. Yelenskiy and P. Kalnyshevskiy. The latter, being 110 years old, did not arouse any more fears, and the Tsar did not want to miss a chance to demonstrate his "humanitarianism."

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Professor Dr. Georg STADTMÜLLER

THE MARXIST CONCEPTION OF MAN AND HISTORICAL REALITY

**(To the topic: The Concept of Man as a Subject
of Ideological Controversy)**

To talk about the idea of man and historical reality is to talk about the clash of utopian or near-utopian demands with the recalcitrant facts of reality, about the collision of certain constants in human nature with ideologically based and motivated attempts to change that reality for the better.

The historian approaches a subject of this kind not from the conceptual angle but by way of the historical method: he tries to understand the phenomena in describing them and, understanding, to describe them. This close interrelation between understanding and describing is the essence of the historical method.

In the exchange of views between people of different ideological standpoints, it is my task to define the dividing lines between "us" and "them." Every concept of man is a blueprint for the future. Our concern in these discussions has been with that image of man and that political social-revolutionary programme which we associate chiefly with the names of Marx and Engels, and which we are in the habit of calling by the misleading omnibus term of "Marxism."

The ideas of man and his world, and the closely related programme for altering the world through politics, normally connected in our minds with Marx and Engels, can be traced as far back as the 18th century. Numerous factors contributed at that time to usher in a new era: the intellectual influence of the "Enlightenment", the mighty eruption of the French Revolution and, finally, the new technical and economic possibilities of mastering life — above all the invention of the machine. The introduction of the machine, which has gradually replaced and largely superseded human labour, is at least as decisive

a prerequisite for political and ideological changes in the world as all the political ideologies and attempts at world-improvement the 19th and 20th century have so lavishly produced. Without the advance in technology and new economic thinking all the world-improving ideologies and programmes for "progress" would, after all, be operating in a vacuum.

It did not need Lenin and his disquisition on the three elements of the old Marxism to make us aware of the perfectly obvious fact that assimilated into the ideological work of Marx and Engels are three historical components representing, in a way, the three great nations — or three among the great nations — of Europe by the specific achievement peculiar to each.

France contributed the missionary and revolutionary zeal for improving the world. Ever new revolutionary schemes for world improvement gushed forth from the volcano of France over the continent of Europe. Here it goes without saying that the serious historian does not indiscriminately repeat the still frequent distinction between "utopian" and "scientific" socialism. That differentiation does not stand up to critical thinking. For what Engels and Marx disparagingly called "utopian" socialism — that host of French reformers from the great Revolution of 1789 to the liberal revolution of 1848 — already contained scientific features of some substance. To dissociate themselves from what they considered their merely "utopian" predecessors, Marx and Engels invested their own teaching with the prestigious title of "scientific socialism." But this alleged "scientific" socialism is — as we can now say in the form of a generous intellectual obituary — itself largely a utopia, and in the clash with the rude reality of human nature has been proved to be utopian.

Britain's contribution was the specifically Anglo-Saxon quality of empiricism, averse to any philosophical speculation. It was the empiricism in two divergent fields of knowledge: economics and biology. The new science of "political economy" originated in Britain. It was to permeate the industrial society grown up in Britain, the mother-country of the technical and industrial revolution, with the means of rational science. From there, political economy, hand in hand with British technology, began its triumphant progress across Europe and the entire globe. Another product of Anglo-Saxon empiricism must also be mentioned in this context, namely the novel view of biology, which substituted the evolutionary theory of Darwinism for the static system of Linné.

Germany contributed to the old Marxism the philosophical component. Hegel's philosophy, turned upside down by Ludwig Feuerbach from idealism to materialism, has become the philosophical basis for the teaching of Marx and Engels.

These, then, are the assumptions from which Marx and Engels start. But there is no question here of a facile eclecticism; their doctrine is in fact a genuine and original attempt at interpreting the world, a vision of man, an analysis of existing social and economic conditions and, at the same time, a programme for the realisation of a bigger, better and nobler system of human society. Both writers were certainly motivated by protest and rebellion against the evils of their time; protest against the lack of political freedom which continued long after the earthquake of the French Revolution; rebellion against the economic dependence of the new industrial worker in the agglomerations of the rapidly, and at first chaotically, growing industrial towns; protest against the legal fiction that the new problems arising in the developing industrial society could be approached, or even solved, by antiquated forms of contract.

Thus Marx arrived at his masterly analysis of capitalist industrial society as he found it. This was no doubt a great and lasting achievement. Of particular importance was his insight into the function of the prevailing forces of production as the initial cause of a chain reaction of effects, first in the economic field, then in society, and finally, through the agency of the latter, in intellectual spheres. This is a point to be remembered; at the same time it must be said that to reduce the infinite variety and richness of human history to a schema of basis and superstructure is a clumsy and primitive simplification which makes a comprehension of the multiplicity of historical phenomena impossible. The attempt to divide the history of mankind into periods, originating chiefly with Engels, already shows signs of a more penetrating understanding. This is particularly true of the recognition that the invention of the modern machine marks the beginning of a new era in human history. That was something a Leopold von Ranke had not seen; for him the dawning age of new problems was not yet a subject for study. He wrote political-military history in the old style, and the first and second generations of the new German historiographers kept within the limits of such an interpretation. Another useful and lasting idea emerging from Engels's attempt to divide history into periods is the concept of "feudalism."

Proceeding from their notion of historical "processes", Marx and Engels even ventured to predict the future, whereby their allegedly "scientific" prognosis coincides in content with their passionately advocated political programme: This is what will be, because this is what must be; because history is a determined process, to struggle against which would be foolish. The only, indeed very limited, chance man has for exercising his free will is to accept this process, to adapt himself to it and to act in accordance with it.

With that prediction of the future, which was at the same time a political programme, the old Marxism began. With these ideas it

lived happily and without problems almost until the turn of the century. Then it became obvious that the economic and social circumstances in the new industrial society were undergoing a change. There was no longer that early capitalist society, the gruesome excesses of which Engels had described half a century earlier in his work on 'The Condition of the Working Classes in England.' By 1890 "capitalism" had changed quite considerably, and the effects of this change were noticeable first in Britain and Belgium, and then in Germany and France. Up to that time governments had remained mere onlookers, taking little interest in the social-economic contest between the old-type "manufacturer" and the old-type "worker." The relationship between employer and employed was still considered to be based on a contract according to civil law, which could at any time be altered by either party. With the increase in industrial growth this view became untenable. The millions of industrial employees could no longer be left at the mercy of a handful of "manufacturers." The state could no longer remain an indifferent bystander in the conflict between "capital" and "labour", but had to enter the field of the social-political battle as arbiter between the two sides.

The great change that came about around 1890 was due to three intellectual and social-political movements, which by various ways and means brought pressure to bear upon the governments forcing them to abandon their position of reserve and to shoulder their moral responsibilities. These were:

1. The political and trade-unionist working-class movement, chiefly, but not entirely, inspired by the ideology of Marxism.
2. The Christian social reform since 1848 in the Catholic as well as the Protestant sectors (Ketteler, Kolping; Wichern, Stöcker) which, starting from religious Christian impulses (love of one's fellow-men, Caritas), eventually challenged the government to intervene as arbiter in the fight between capital and labour and to provide by legislative measures an outer framework for social justice.
3. The social reform movement of the so-called "academic socialists", which brought together top ranking representatives from German universities and civil administration, who made the same demands of the government (Gustav Schmoller, Adolf Wagner, Lujo Bretano, Otto Friedrich von Gierke, Werner Sombart, and others).

In the nineties no-one could any longer close his eyes to the fact that the relationship between capital and labour was changing radically. At the same time it became evident that developments in the meantime had largely refuted the prognosis which Marx and Engels had pronounced with all the pathos of scientific certainty. "Capitalism" did not break down, but altered and modernised itself. The pauperization of the proletariat did not come about; instead, the

condition of the workers improved steadily, though slowly and at times accompanied by painful symptoms. The new working-class gradually moved closer towards the bourgeoisie.

What attitude were the followers of Marx and Engels to take now, in the face of these undeniable facts? Among the German Social Democrats this dilemma led to the great "revisionism" dispute. At first the old guard under Karl Kautsky seemed to win, determined to cling to the old Marxist programme of the class-struggle. Eventually, however, the modern wing (Eduard Bernstein) prevailed, who, rejecting revolutionary methods, advocated the evolutionary transformation of the existing social, economic and political order.

For the historian of ideas it is fascinating to see how in the succeeding decades, under the pressure of facts, the self-assurance of the German Social Democratic Party changes step by step in the direction of an evolutionary adaptation to the rules of the parliamentary constitutional state. Hopes and ideas of a revolutionary overthrow of the so-called capitalist system of exploitation fade into a nebulous distance, while all the emphasis is placed on the necessity of gaining through the vote a parliamentary majority in the Reichstag and thus obtaining the power to improve the condition of the working classes by legislative means. In this way German social democracy made its decision for a new future.

As a result of the revisionism dispute there appear around the turn of the century the first signs of the great division between, on the one hand, a socialism gradually turning bourgeois under a parliamentary system of government and, on the other hand, a communist party led by professional revolutionaries, aiming at the violent seizure of power by a qualified minority.

The revisionism dispute also determined Lenin's initial position. He could not fail to see that there was no longer any question of the working-class becoming pauperized. In two publications he tried to find new answers to the ideological dilemma with which Marxism was faced during the crisis of the revisionism dispute. The one work, "What is to be done?" (1902), attacks the social-democratic "opportunists" who consider the economic betterment of the workers as more important than the struggle for absolute power and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin goes into much practical detail here and already touches upon the idea that the interests of the proletariat cannot really be taken care of by the proletariat as such, but must be looked after by a small group of highly trained professional revolutionaries who are to pre-fabricate, so to speak, the revolution of the future.

The other work, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism" (1917), tries in a different manner, yet on the same lines of thought, to refute the arguments of the revisionists. Lenin does not deny that

capitalism in the great industrial countries did not collapse nor even show any signs of collapse. His explanation of this fact, which clearly contradicted Marx's prognosis, is that European-American capitalism merely succeeded in winning a stay of execution by the imperial expansion into a colonial empire which provided new areas of exploitation outside the industrial countries themselves. Overseas the development would simply be repeated and would again take some time. Thus, imperialism, as the parasitic late phase of capitalism, only delayed for a while the regular historical "process."

The totalitarian one-party state, which Lenin built up in Russia after he had seized power in October/November 1917, referred to the ideology of Marx and Engels. But Marx and Engels cannot be blamed for all the horrible things that eventually happened under the terrorist regime of that police state. The reality of the Soviet state, its administration, police and politics, in no way corresponds to the very general and nebulous draft for a dictatorship of the proletariat found in the writings of Marx and Engels. There can be no doubt that it owes its character rather to the long-standing and specifically Russian tradition of the government exercising unlimited power. The Soviet system is fed by two sources: its ideology comes from Marxism, its practical shaping and wielding of power derives from the traditional forces of Russian political reality. While the ideology of historical and dialectical materialism has almost entirely been imported from the West, the apparatus of the Soviet terrorist state is based essentially on Russian historical precedent.

After Lenin's death (1924), Stalin gradually seized all power in Party and State, eliminated his rivals and, finally, in the "great purges" of 1936-1938 murdered almost all of the old Bolshevik leaders. It is not without irony that while these massacres got under way the Stalin Constitution was promulgated (1936), which guaranteed in black and white the most splendid democratic rights of the individual: freedom of person, protection against arbitrary arrest, secrecy of letters and telephones, freedom of association and coalition — admittedly with one simple, though significant and highly elastic reservation, "if this is in the interest of the workers." What the interests of the workers are is, of course, determined by the Party.

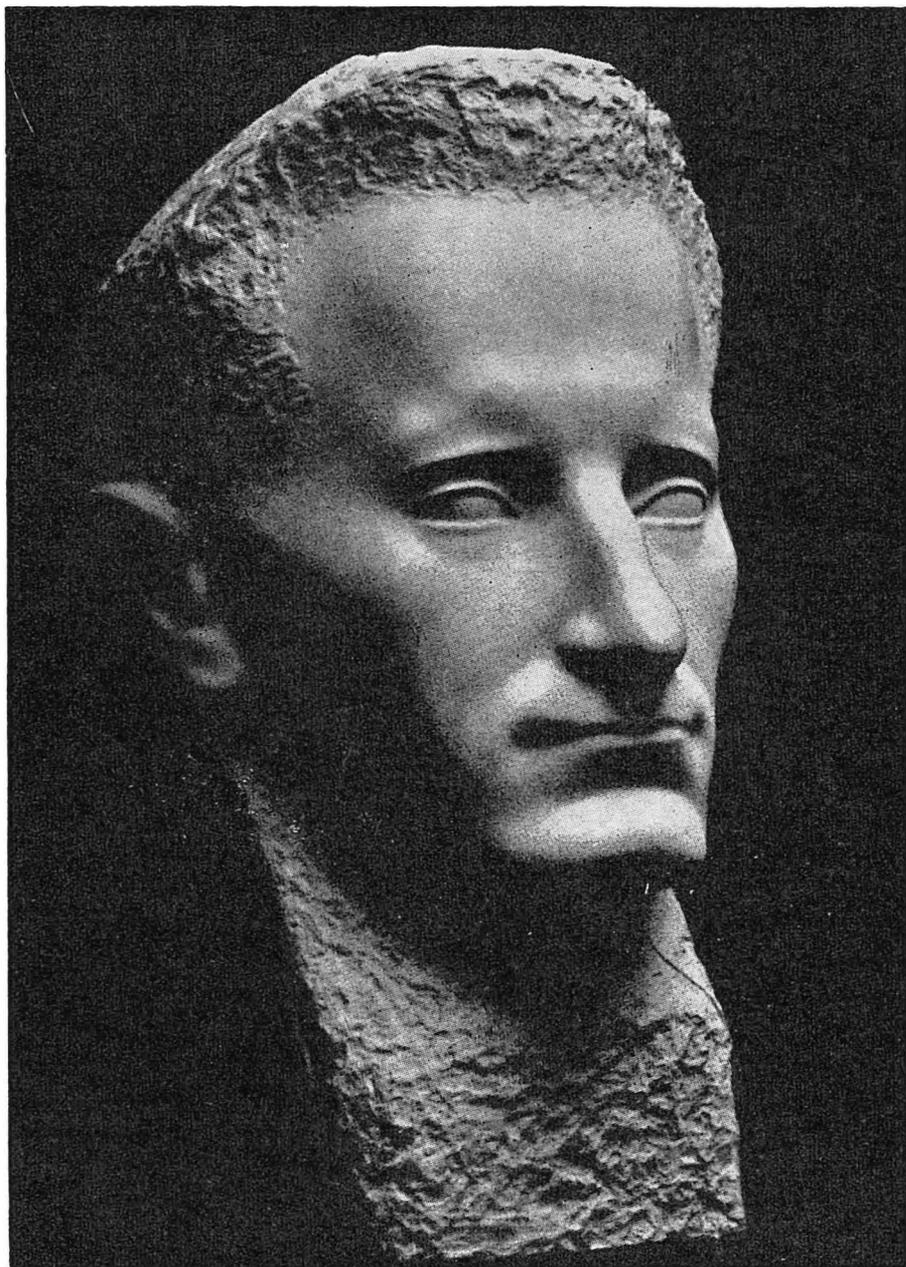
An intellectual phenomenon of the first order, with which we Germans are of course particularly concerned, is the tremendous fascination Communism had for a considerable number of the German and European intelligentsia of the twenties (Arthur Koestler, and others). When that ideologically homeless group became acquainted with the tenets of dialectical and historical materialism it seemed as if an all-illuminating sun had risen on their horizon. The grand ideas proclaimed by communist propaganda elicited an enthusiastic response: humanitarianism, an end to exploitation, the liberation of

Man, the creation of a better and juster world. Then, during the years of the Weimar Republic or soon after Hitler's rise to power, many of these unsuspecting Communist faithful went to the Soviet Union, the "homeland of all workers", where they believed the new, better world order to have been realized. But there they were confronted by the harsh reality of the terrorist Soviet State. The mental disappointment and the physical fate of these old-Communist emigrants were appalling. Those who did not lose their lives in the "great purges" (1936-1938) were sent into horrible exile, like the convinced Communist, Susanne Leonhard. Anyone who was able to do so then fled from the Soviet grip. However, all these experiences did not generally bring about a complete ideological reversal. Most of these disappointed Old Communists by no means returned to the bosom of the old bourgeoisie; they rather tried to hold on to the essence of the Marxist ideology, making clear their distinction between, as they said, an originally pure idea and its Stalinist perversion. Thus came about the literature of the disillusioned and the misused: that vast amount of reminiscences by ex-enthusiasts. For the historian this literature provides an interesting image of human ways and by-ways, aberrations and disappointments, and, in some cases, of sterling human qualities as well.

The attitudes of the German intelligentsia in the past can again be observed today, a generation later, in the intelligentsia of many developing countries, where the Communist ideology can still pose as a world-redeeming creed. Where hardly anybody has the chance of getting to know the Soviet reality at first hand, the ideology is still able to attract followers.

Since 1944/45 the presence of the Red Army in Eastern Central Europe has made the introduction of the Soviet system into these areas possible (just as happened in the early twenties in Ukraine, Georgia, Turkestan and other countries). Communism had no need to convince in these occupied countries; it was introduced by military force, although not clumsily from one day to the next. Apart from Yugoslavia and Albania, which were not occupied by the Red Army, the Communist take-over was a gradual process. Slogans of Popular Front, anti-fascism, progressivism, anti-militarism, anti-imperialism etc. generally accompanied the formation of a coalition government, headed by a respected bourgeois figure politically as innocent as possible. The Ministry of the Interior, as command post for the administration and the police, always fell to the hands of determined Communists, who also seized, wherever possible, the Ministry of Justice (in order to prevent any likelihood of counter-action by the judiciary against terrorist police methods). With the extensive executive powers of the Ministry of the Interior at their disposal, the Communists step by step destroyed all other political parties,

**THE 25th ANNIVERSARY
OF THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY
(1942—1967)**



LIEUT.-GEN. TARAS CHUPRYNKA (ROMAN SHUKHEVYCH)
(17. 7. 1907—5. 3. 1950), Commander-in-Chief
of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.).
Sculptured portrait by M. Chereshniovsky, a former
U.P.A. fighter, now living in the U.S.A.



Left:

GENERAL PEREBYINIS
(DMYTRO HRYTSAI),
Chief of Staff of the U.P.A.
until 1946.



Right:

ROSTYSLAV PAVLENKO-
VOLOSHYN (1911—1945),
Commander of the U.P.A. Rear
Areas, Member of the Presidium
of the Organisation of Ukrainian
Nationalists; killed in combat
with Soviet Russians.

until by about 1948 they were firmly in the saddle in all those countries. Having achieved absolute power, the Communists then strove to consolidate their outward gains by trying from the inside to convert the conquered and oppressed to their ideology.

In 1956, with Khrushchev's renunciation of the Stalinist system, there came a degree of relaxation. The term "liberalization", often used in this context, had better be avoided, since it can give rise to misconceptions.

In bringing about this atmosphere of relaxation in the political and ideological sphere, social-economic changes play a considerable part. The development of an industrial society with millions of technically highly qualified personnel could not fail to have repercussions upon the Party's claim to infallibility. As it happened, a "new class" emerged, which has every interest in maintaining the privileged position it has attained. Milovan Djilas has given us a masterly analysis of this state of affairs as it evolved in Yugoslavia.

In the economic sphere the relaxation shows in the endeavour to revise the clumsy economic planning of the old rigid style. The daily press has been discussing this topic for years. In the world of today the inferiority of an inflexible planned economy is as obvious as the impossibility of a profit economy devoid of social-political considerations as it once prevailed in the early capitalist period. Things have changed in both camps, more rapidly and smoothly in the West, of course, since there the entrepreneurs, carefully watching the market and its possibilities, have enough latitude to react and take the necessary measures far more quickly than the awkward bureaucratic apparatus of a centrally directed economy of the Soviet type is able to do. Today the economic debate in the Soviet Union and in the communist countries dependent on her centers on the question how commercial initiative and the profit motive of the individual can be built into overall economic state planning without jeopardising the principle of an ideologically based economic system or even having to abandon it altogether. The advocates of revision, in order not to incur the Party's condemnation, have to try therefore to re-interpret Marx here and there — that is, to criticise in the name and with the words of Marx the "Marxism" of our day.

A far more severe erosion of the Marxist-Leninist ideology can be observed when it comes to the concept of Man.

Developments since the end of the 19th century have completely refuted the old Marxism in its view on the nature of man. Marx's clumsy concept of man as "the sum of social conditions" has been recognised as an ideological figment. The bold and genuinely idealistic plan for a better, because juster, world of the future has come into collision with the recalcitrant reality of human nature, a reality which refuses to be confined in an ideological system or to be

transformed by it. The "fortress Man" proved to be impregnable. After half a century of totalitarian Soviet rule and re-education efforts there are no signs of the emergence of a "New Man", who is endowed with a new social consciousness and whose noble altruism would render the coercive measures of the State superfluous. The State is not withering away, but rather increases in power. And the innermost nature of the individual defies all attempts at ideological streamlining.

What, then, remains of the old Marxism? Certainly the tools of a scientific method for understanding the economic and some sociological facts of everyday life. Even historical research would not want to be without these tools nowadays. The adoption and discriminating application of this method made it possible for social and economic history to develop around the turn of the century into a specific academic discipline.

There remains above all a powerful impulse for social revolution and social reform — the by now irrepressible demand for an improved social order in the future, which can only be brought about in a society that offers equal rights and equal opportunities to all its members. This much must be conceded to Marxism, without detriment to our earlier observation that academic socialists and Christian social reformers likewise worked in that direction.

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“MAN IS THE HIGHEST...”

A Personal Report by Heinz GERULL

PREFACE

Only a few months after his return from four and a half years in a Soviet Russian prisoner-of-war camp, the author, a resident of West Berlin, was arrested by the Soviet secret police while visiting his parents who were living in East Berlin at that time. Arbitrarily, without incriminating material and due process of law, he was sentenced to 25 years' hard labour for alleged espionage, and spent an additional six years in the polar region of Vorkuta.

He was one of those political prisoners who was returned to his native country at the end of 1955. After many years' forced restriction as "war criminals", they were amnestied by the Soviet Russian government upon the intervention of the German Federal Republic. Free of animosity, he gives us an unadulterated account and a penetrating insight into the Soviet Russian practices which are still current.

ABDUCTION

Over the portal of the former school of music in East Berlin, now the "Cultural Centre of the Soviet Union", the Gorki quotation "Man is the highest!" stands out in large letters against a brilliant red background.

I was soon to learn very emphatically the real worth of man in the Soviet system. On a clammy winter evening I paid a visit to my parents in the East sector, the "democratic" sector of Berlin. I had no misgivings.

As I left the house I hardly took note of a parked car, though the street was deserted at this hour. Unexpectedly, a young man approached me and politely asked me my name. Having stated it, he requested me to step up to the car "for a moment." The car had a Berlin licence tag.

When we arrived the door was opened from inside and I was motioned to get in. As I hesitated, the young man shoved me in without further ceremony. In addition to the two of us, there were three Soviet Russians in civilian dress, officers of the Ministry for

State Security, as I later came to know. I was placed between the two officers on the backseat, while the young man, who acted as interpreter, sat beside the driver. After we had driven through the centre of the city without exchanging words, he offered me a cigarette, and interpreted that I could of course ask the justified question — where we were going. He wanted to give me an explanation straight off: it was merely a matter of a few short questions pertaining to my occupation. The questioning would definitely not last more than an hour. Therefore I need not concern myself about arriving later than expected at home and causing the members of my family to be anxious. Naturally the car would be placed at my disposal for the return trip.

Finally we passed through a restricted area screened off by a high wooden fence. After the papers of my accompanying officers had been carefully examined at several different checkpoints, I found myself standing before a well-groomed, middle-aged man in a plush office.

He requested me to take a seat in front of his desk, which was covered with a red cloth, and began to speak in perfect German: "You are in the quarters of the Soviet intelligence service. We want to discuss your activity for the American Secret Service CIA (Central Intelligence Agency). My superior has ordered that you are to be set free again, if you tell the truth.

I was thunderstruck. Had I really been dragged here on suspicion of espionage? Certainly there had been some mistake, which could be clarified. But my objections were brushed aside with an ironic smile. Apparently, a confession was expected.

"Think it over carefully", advised the middle-aged man, a captain in civilian dress and chief of an investigation group. "You have fifteen minutes to make up your mind, otherwise you will be put in a cell."

My mind worked at a feverish pace. This sudden turn of affairs irritated me. What had I to do with espionage?

When the fifteen minutes had passed, during which I had been repeatedly urged to sign a confession, he telephoned a sentry and had me led away without further ado.

In the guardroom I had to empty all my pockets, to remove my shoe-laces, belt and necktie, and then finally to undress completely. After the soldiers had searched every article of clothing for suspicious objects and documents and had even gone so far as, to cut off the trouser clasp in order to preclude any possibility of committing suicide or of escaping, I was allowed to put on my clothes again. The confiscated objects, including valuables, were carelessly emptied into a bag. The same shameless procedure was used with women. A later cell inmate was arrested together with a group of men and women who did not know one another. Under the obscene remarks of the guards, they had to submit to this degrading procedure in each other's presence.

DETENTION PENDING TRIAL

A surly sergeant ordered me to put my hands behind my back, and under his charge I was ushered out of the guardroom. Passing through various iron doors, we entered a spacious cellar labyrinth.

The passages were lined with sound absorbing rubber mats. Warning lights were located at the crossings to prevent prisoners in transit from encountering one another. A red signal meant that the guard had to wait with his prisoner. Everything took place with an uncanny noiselessness.

I was handed over to a guard in charge of a given area and locked in an empty cell. Despite the feeling of utter exhaustion which took possession of me, it was only with great effort that I complied with the command to retire immediately. It was no easy matter to get used to the glaring light above the cell door and the wooden bunk which served as a bed.

Meals in this prison consisted of a slice of moist bread and a mug of sweetened barley-coffee in the mornings, a thin cabbage or starch-containing soup at noon, and a slice of bread and a mug of ersatz coffee in the evenings. One was aroused at 5 a.m. At 9 p.m. a shrill bell announced night-rest. During the day the guards patrolling the cell doors saw to it that no prisoner lay down on his bunk. This was one of the tactics employed to harass the inmates. For three days I was left alone. One evening, shortly after the sounding of the night bell, my cell door was opened softly. A Red army soldier asked me my name in a suppressed voice to prevent the inmates of the neighbouring cells from hearing. He compared it with a slip of paper and indicated that I was to come out. My hands handcuffed behind my back, I was led to my investigating officer, who presented himself in uniform this time.

The first hearing went on for 13 hours without interruption, during which time, depending on the mood of my investigating officer, I had alternately to stand with my hands handcuffed behind my back or to sit down. When it became apparent that the hearing was not leading to the desired result, he sprang angrily from his chair and dealt me several sidehand blows in the nap of the neck. But as this still did not make me disposed to think of myself as a spy, he worked me over with kicks and fisticuffs, reviling me with foul language the while.

When I had been put back in my cell sore from head to foot — there could be no thought of sleep until evening — I began to consider whether I may not have possibly engaged in espionage in terms of Soviet conceptions. Physical and mental dejection prompted me to come to terms with my situation.

INFORMER

After I had spent three weeks in solitary confinement, interrupted by nocturnal hearings, a lanky man of about forty was pushed into my cell one day. He was a trucking operator from Frankfurt on the Oder, and had been arrested together with his family on suspicion of having smuggled refugees from Poland to West Berlin for money. Completely shattered, he complained continually of his ill fortune.

I felt sorry for the poor fellow. As well as I could under the circumstances, I sought to console him. Within a very short time, he seemed to reconcile himself to his fate. Living together in such narrow confinement, however, my fellow prisoner proved to be a disagreeable and huffy sort of chap. He had no sense of cleanliness or hygiene, and his behaviour in general was callous. My attempts to exert an influence on this primitive and unstable person were without success.

One day a violent dispute led finally to an exchange of blows, which only ceased upon the intervening of the guard who had rushed to our cell. Following this incident, we did not speak a word to each other.

Shortly thereafter he was again called out for a hearing. Hardly an hour passed before I too was unexpectedly fetched. I couldn't believe my eyes: in my investigating officer's cool room, which smelled of sweet perfume and cigarette smoke my cell inmate was waiting.

From the external circumstances I sensed that something special was intended. Contrary to past practices the room was illuminated in a downright festive mood. In addition to the officer in charge of my interrogation, there were four other officers, among them an older major.

The major requested my cell inmate to repeat what I had told him. Shaking with rage and indignation, I had to sit apart on a stool.

"Mr. Gerull told me of his cooperation with the American secret service and mentioned five other agents in this connection. Moreover, he spoke of his activity for the "militant group against inhumanity." Over and above this he stated that the times would soon change. Then you would exchange places", my fellow prisoner went on to say and anxiously avoided looking at me.

I had indeed once thrown in the last remark after having been dragged back to my cell badly beaten. Everything else he said was a downright lie.

At first there was rigid silence. "Even in prison you work against us?" the major turned on me bluntly, getting up from his arm-chair.

"Major", I began, having regained to some extent my self-possession, "in the physiognomy of this man, you must see that he is a creature who is ready to purchase his freedom for a cigarette. This time it is to be purchased at my expense. I can refute his assertions by assuring you that I mistrusted this fellow from the first moment. Just ask him what he knows about my background. The fact that I told him nothing concerning my personal life, is certainly proof enough that I by no means would have divulged espionage secrets."

In the first instant my explanation appeared to hit home, nonetheless I was soon subjected to even worse maltreatment. After the informer had been led back to his cell, the padded double doors were deliberately shut and the curtains drawn. Now they began to lay upon me in earnest to force the names of the alleged five other agents out of me. The officer in charge of my interrogation had prepared a surprise: a steel rod, which he had appropriated from the Gestapo, as he cynically explained. When they had beaten me half unconscious, they desisted and had me taken away and placed in a different cell.*

At intricate hearings an interpreter was used. Tania, a buxom girl with black hair and a pock-marked face, was in her early twenties. She made an obvious effort to dress smartly in Western dress. Her bearing was that of a convinced young Communist. Once she demonstrated furious passion, picked up her skirt in front of me like a clumsy can-can dancer, and mimicked my "black soul" with movements which were as plain as they were vivid.

The hearings went on for 93 days and always followed the same pattern. Though they were commenced objectively, maltreatment and reprisals were soon employed when the required results failed to materialize. For instance, they once threatened to arrest my mother if I refused to sign a confession. On another occasion I was received amiably, offered cigarettes and given a meal which was delicious for prison standards, and urged, at least for the sake of my health, to put an end to my denials.

What made me even more weary than the incessant hearings was the prison atmosphere. The brutal guards, the desperate screams of the tortured men at nocturnal hearings — screams which were all the more maddening because one could not come to the aid of the maltreated person — or the innocent crying of the babies who were left with their mothers. The Soviet Russians unscrupulously arrested women who were far advanced in pregnancy, women who then had to give birth in prison; newly wedded couples still in bridal dress and old people. All of them were "spies."

A description of the Soviet prison in Berlin-Hohenschoenhausen would be incomplete without touching upon the special punishment

*) Various treatments are used to get information out of prisoners. The bastinado (cudgelling especially on the soles of the feet) is the most mild.

cells. A low-temperatured cell with a concrete floor and no wooden bunk; an enclosure more like a closet than a room, into which a prisoner was penned in standing up; a dark cell, in which one had to stand in water up to one's ankles; a clink which was heated by strong lamps, into which a prisoner could be shoved in as into an oven. One's detention in such cells did not exceed more than a few hours because one soon lost consciousness; but in the other special cells, in which male prisoners wore only undershorts and female prisoners a thin chemise and were given minimum rations, the period of detention was stretched out to several days. Until they appeared docile.

In the past the West has often puzzled over a person who had disappeared without a trace and the Soviet Russian authorities assured their allied colleagues that the missing person was not being held in Soviet custody. Yet, very often, the tortured missing man or woman was confined together with innocent people from all nations in a Soviet Russian jail.

DEPORTATION

At the conclusion of my hearings, during which I resolutely refused to sign a confession admitting espionage, I remained for an additional five months in a common cell with four other fellow sufferers.

One afternoon, a soldier fetched me from my cell and brought me before the warden, a captain. I had to post myself in front of his desk. After he had ceremoniously read aloud my personal file and had correctly put on his service cap, he rose to his feet to inform me that I had been sentenced to 25 years' hard labour on charges of espionage by a special tribunal in Moscow. I was given a cigarette by way of consolation and led back to my cell.

Twenty-five years' hard labour! For what? A decision reached by a tribunal in far-away Moscow. A ridicule of every trace of administration of justice! Five years after the war.

Indeed: "Man is the highest."

TRANSPORT

A few days later I was fetched from my cell with my few personal possessions. In the passages other prisoners were already standing ready with their belongings, men and women. After receiving their verdicts, the men's heads had been shaved. A macabre sight!

"What's up?"

"Transport!"

Some hundred men and women were shoved into a large room. There was a great deal of commotion. Officers came and went with thick parcels containing files and documents; Red army soldiers were posted at the doors with their submachine guns pointed at the wretched prisoners. In this motley hubbub, names were called out, padded clothing was distributed, registrations were made. There was no longer much doubt that we were to be transported to Soviet Russia. The women were the bravest. Standing together in small groups, they remained composed, despite a few tears.

Outside in the prison court, the starting of truck motors mixed with the plaintive barking of the watchdogs could be heard. We were called out one by one. My gang consisted of 30 people, of which six were women. Of all things we were loaded onto American trucks — how grotesque! The alleged spies were handcuffed together in pairs and had to sit. Several soldiers were posted on the rear gate with loaded submachine guns, two of them with watchdogs. After the accompanying officer had issued a warning that the soldiers had orders to fire without hesitation on the slightest suspicious movement, the truck convoy began to move.

The humid autumn air, the metal floor of the vehicle, the body organs which had endured undue deprivation over long periods of prison confinement, soon made the discharge of various organs imperative. The guards said that we would have to wait until we had reached our destination. As the journey progressed, a few prisoners began to suffer pain. A young fellow prisoner, a locksmith who had also been dragged away from his workshop in his work trousers "for a brief questioning", suddenly came up with a solution: he pulled off his rubber shoe and placed it at everybody's disposal. An embarrassing incident occurred when a young girl, handcuffed to the man sitting beside her, also was forced to make use of this shoe under the derisive laughter of the guards. On the charge of having belonged to the Nazi *Wehrwolf* organization, she had been sentenced to ten years' hard labour. Her father had been deported by the Russians in 1945.

When we arrived at the converted, heavily-guarded freight station in Berlin-Lichtenberg, we were met by a lively commotion. Hastily we were searched once again, trouser seams recklessly ripped open, coat padding cut out, shoe soles torn off, etc.

A mail car of the "German Railway" had been placed in readiness on a railway sidings. No one supposed that it had been cunningly turned into a prisoner transport with cells hardly a square meter in size. In each of the miniature cells, in which one could sit only with cramped muscles, three prisoners were squeezed. They reeked of cold sweat. Lastly, the prisoners who had been condemned to death were placed in special cells which were covered with blankets. When the slave-freight had been loaded, an engine pulled the car out of

the restricted area and hung it onto the "Blue Express", which runs regularly between Berlin and Moscow.

In Brest-Litovsk we shifted to the Russian wide-track. In a 50-ton special-constructed prison car, the journey continued to one of Moscow's transit prisons. Following another search, not excluding private body parts, and a characteristic delousing, the "contingent" was locked into a collective cell containing some hundred people. A number of Ukrainians and Russians made up the prison gang. In the Soviet Union one must also adapt oneself to other dimensions in prison life.

Our new fellow sufferers, highly cultivated people, expressed no small wonder at the new arrivals. Anxious to be of help, they searched in their bags for sugar, dry bread and margarine, and in no time we were a small community.

An older man pulled me aside. He wanted to know how things stood in the West. Communication was difficult. After I had informed him of the situation as best I could, he said reflectively: "Look, my hair turned grey in the battle of Stalingrad. As colonel and commander of a regiment, I fought for my country, wore 18 medals and decorations and was for 30 years past a member of the Communist Party. Now I have been sentenced to ten years' hard labour for "anti-Soviet propaganda", because I dared to voice the opinion that the Americans are superior to us in the technical sphere. My merits are no longer of any account. Five petitions for clemency remained unanswered. Only now do I see the disastrous errors of my life", he added bitterly.

The anathema of the Polit-inquisition had also caught up with him, apparently.

After several days' layover at this remarkable Moscow human transfer depot, the transport was continued, a few "mild cases" having been sorted out beforehand.

Despite a stopover at an almost romantic prison from the tsarist times, the journey was to become once again a torture. This time it was not a matter of space-shortage, but of water-shortage.

Meals consisted of dry bread and salt fish. Everybody had but one desire — water! Two buckets per day had to supply 40 persons.

The last stage between Vologda and our destination began. This eight hundred kilometre railway line had been laid only ten years before by prisoners. Later we were told that every tie of this line had cost a human life, so pitilessly had the construction of this important connection to the coal region of the arctic circle been forged ahead. The dilapidated camps along the railway line were anything but Potemkin villages, and gave us an all-too-clear intimation of what was to be expected ahead.

The crossover from the taiga to the tundra was rapid. Visibly, the virgin forest began to thin out. The trees became more and more sparse and finally shrubby, and soon we had reached the arctic zone. As far as the eye could see — snowfields, nothing but snowfields...

Each had his own thoughts. So it was Vorkuta, that god-forsaken region at the end of the world, that the Soviet Russian government, with the approval of the regime in its occupation zone of Germany, had picked out for our isolation and thralldom.

Finally, we had reached our destination. The accompanying officer gave the command to make ready, and instructed us to protect face, hands and feet against frostbite on the march into the camp. The iron gates were opened, and the guards shouted unintelligible commands. We had to climb out one by one and form ourselves into a column. A close line of sentries with wolfhounds and rifles with fixed bayonets and submachine guns in firing position, cut off any possible escape.

It was about four o'clock in the afternoon and already dark. The temperature was 50 degrees below zero, and the smoke rising in a straight line from the barrack chimney into the starry polar sky created a ghostly sight. So it was here that we had to face a sad end in the coalmines.

My hat, the last remnant of Western dress, was not at all fitted for this degree of latitude, as I soon found out. With half frozen fingers, I pulled a handkerchief from my pocket and bound it over my ears as protection against the severe cold.

Our gang was marched into the Vorkuta transit camp. From there we were soon dispatched to the individual coal camps.

Before the door of the camp to which we had been dispatched, we were again called out one by one, and had to give our identification, including the term of our sentence. Our faces were compared against the photos attached to our files, and following another search of our belongings, we were shoved indoors. The inmates had already gathered at the entrance and were most anxious to hear what we had to say. Many of them spoke German when they learned our nationality. During the war they had fought in German voluntary units, as a result of which they had been sentenced to 25 years' hard labour.

Hardly had we set aside our bags and begun to discuss the new situation, when the first thieves stole into the barracks and went about appropriating our articles of clothing with amazing dexterity. Consequently, we were forced to post guards at the barrack doors. But their "professional code" prompted them to continue their trade undismayed. Especially, for instance, when we were led to the mess-hall, they tried to achieve their purposes by threatening our guards

with daggers. It was not until we had beaten one of them half dead that they came to realize the hopelessness of their designs.

Those of us who still possessed things, soon exchanged them for money, tobacco or food, in order to put an end to these harassing disturbances. In the meantime we had been furnished with badly worn, stinking cotton padded clothing.

VORKUTA

The penal colony of Vorkuta lies some 100 kilometres north of the arctic circle in the extreme northeastern European corner of Soviet Russia. The town of Vorkuta, located on the Vorkuta river, forms the centre of the colony.

During the reign of the tsars a polar expedition discovered rich coal deposits in the region of present-day Vorkuta. In the 19th century, when Nicolas I was approached with the proposal to settle this area, he declared: "Where no bird sings, no man can live."

Stalin did not share this view, and he ordered that prisoners sentenced to hard labour be employed to work these coal deposits.

Thus, in the Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, located on the 68th degree of latitude, the town of Vorkuta sprang up, and rapidly became an industrial centre with some 150,000 inhabitants and roughly 100,000 prisoners in more than forty coal camps. A segment of the so-called "free" population consists of ethnic Germans, who were driven from their villages at the beginning of the war and forced to settle in Vorkuta.

Following the annexation of the Baltic countries, the number of forcefully resettled persons was increased by the deportation of Latvians, Estonians and Lithuanians. These various nationals, who have been assimilated into the Soviet structure over the years, constitute the basic element of the Vorkuta population. The census is constantly on the increase owing to the fact that some prisoners are not found worthy of returning to their native countries at the completion of their prison terms. They are forced to settle in Vorkuta and are permitted to receive visits only from the members of their families.

The numerous personnel of the Ministry for State Security and the employees of the Ministry for Coal with their families, make up the upper class of this slave city.

The tract of land of each coalmine and the prison camp belonging to it, constitute one of several complexes, which is sealed off by barbed wire fences and is heavily guarded. The administration of the coalmines which falls under the jurisdiction of the Ministry for Coal,

hires prisoners from the Ministry for State Security and pays a certain sum for them to the camp administration. Depending upon the size of a coalpit (which extract from a depth of 100-450 meters), the adjoining camp billets from 800 to 5000 prisoners. The pit is separated from the camp by a restricted zone.

CAMP LIFE

Following a superficial medical examination in the transit camp, I was assigned together with 35 fellow countrymen to a newly constructed camp, which billeted 2000 prisoners. The coalpit which was still in the process of construction was to be completed in two years and to become Vorkuta's largest with a yearly output of one million tons.

The barracks of the camp were uniformly built. With roughly two hundred men at any given time, they were overcrowded, so that three prisoners were forced to sleep on bunks designed to accommodate two persons. In order to create more sleeping space, planks had been placed across the upper berths of two rows of bunks. Each bunk was supplied with a scanty straw-mattress and a cotton blanket. Two primitively built tables with stools and a brick stove were the only furnishings of the barracks.

Brigade-leaders, old-time inmates of a barrack, persons of authority among the criminals — the "camp aristocrats", in short — had their own comfortable single bunks in the corner, with white sheets and embroidered pillows, two blankets and a night table. To question the position of these "aristocrats" was highly dangerous.

On the afternoon of our arrival, I got to know my fellow workers when they returned from their shift. The chief of the brigade-leaders was a stocky Russian in his mid-thirties, who boasted of having spent 12 years in prisons and hard labour camps, and of having committed four murders within this time. There was a cheap sense of arrogance in his nature. Contemptuously he took note of me. The brigade-leaders consisted of men from six different nations, Europeans as well as Asians.

A Latvian made the most agreeable impression. During the war he had fought with the Germans in a voluntary division. He invited me to drink a cup of tea with him and gave me a slice of bread, a magnanimous gift for prison-camp standards. We exchanged views on the latest events. He became a valuable friend, who protected me against maltreatment on a number of occasions when I failed to comprehend the instructions of the brigade-leaders owing to an insufficient knowledge of the language.

On the evening of my arrival I received an unexpected visit from three fellow countrymen. Until then, they had been the only Germans in the camp, having been deported to Vorkuta as early as 1946; they had heard of our arrival and were anxious to hear the latest news from their native country. Their faces showed the all-too-evident marks of camp life in the arctic region and long-years of dull acceptance of misery and injustice. With clear-cut features and reddened frost-bitten spots, the poor fellows had long since forgotten how to smile.

I asked how they had been able to endure their lot. "We, too, wonder that we have not croaked yet", remarked their spokesman, an East Prussian by birth.

"Thank God, the worst is behind us. Only a few survived those first years. The present camp conditions no longer consecrate a man to death, but the severe climate takes care that one catches "motten" (tuberculosis), if one is here too long. You will have to get used to nine months a year of hard winter and three months mild winter. Temperatures of 52 degrees below zero wouldn't be so bad, if it were not for the cursed snowstorms, which howl and tear across the bare plains of the tundra and draw the oxygen out of the air; it is not seldom that persons suffering from a heart disease are suddenly struck dead. Until two years ago a star-shaped cable was stretched from the individual barracks to the messhall to prevent one from losing one's orientation in a raging snowstorm. Last winter a storm on the tundra took an outdoor brigade with their guards by surprise and snowed them in. It wasn't until last spring that their rigid, frozen and mangled corpses were found.

"Oh, well, the most abominable life is still better than to vegetate to death in a Russian labour camp", added a former law student from Berlin.

"It's not only the climate. Until 1948, men and women lived together in the same camps. Toilets were used in common. Then separate camps were finally constructed, when the birth rate had increased to an alarming degree and production began to bog down almost to a standstill.

"It is not seldom the case that one or several members of a special detail assigned to one of the two women camps, are attacked by female criminals, locked into the barracks and literally raped.

"Did you ever see women, whose breasts and abdomens had been tattooed with pornographic pictures and jokes? Here it is the usual thing."

One would have to have good nerves to survive, that much was clear to me. In Vorkuta the primeval symbol for the end of the world received tangible meaning.

"Is there no possibility of escape — for instance, to Finland or to Turkey?" I asked.

"If there were, we would have been in Finland or Turkey long ago!"

They described the rigid control. The restricted zone had been sealed off with a signal system and spring-guns in the barbed wire. The watch towers were connected by telephone. High-voltage spotlights and lamps lit up the restricted area at night. Moreover, wolfhounds trained to capture men prowled on the other side of the barbed wire. An attempt to escape would be pure suicide. With its sparse vegetation, the tundra offered an open, clear view for kilometres; inevitably one must get caught in one of the threefold security zones, which were interspersed with camouflaged guard outposts over a wide circuit of the entire area. Over and above this, the Komis, a nomadic tribe which is the sole inhabitant of the tundra, received a premium of several thousand roubles for every refugee whom they captured and turned over to the militia. Despite all this, desperate attempts to escape were made.

CAMP TYPES

The criminals, who are divided into two hostile gangs, the Blatnyye and the Suki, play a special role in the camp. The "blatnyye", criminals who have declared uncompromising war on the state, are bound together by a strict, unwritten law at the risk of their lives. Their insignia is a large breast tattoo, which depicts a flying eagle carrying a naked woman in its talons. A "blatnoy" regards himself as a noble representative of true stealing tradition. He is forbidden at the penalty of death by his guild to do any kind of work. An elected leader possesses unrestricted authority of command. These rules are observed with amazing consistency and steadfastness. I have seen members of this gang open their veins with a piece of glass from a broken window pane, inflict wounds on their body, sew buttons on their bare breasts or nail their scrotum to their wooden bunk, as a protest against the pressure of the camp commander to put them to work. They would sooner meet their death as a result of their lawless freedom than submit. They let themselves be cudgelled half to death, dragged to work with manacled hands and feet — it was of no use. And if they finally did consent to go to work with a brigade, then they sooner leaned on their shovels eight hours at a stretch, at temperatures of 35 degrees below zero, than do a stitch of work. No one who valued his life would have dared to lay down the law for them. Their great strength was known far and near: their unswerving unity and fellowship. Thus no stretch of the imagination is required to understand that now and then a member

of these bandits armed with a dagger held a whole camp at bay. Had one dared to kill them, one would not have escaped the blood revenge of their guild. In the constant coming and going of prisoners in every camp and through the illegal communication network which functioned amazingly well, such acts of revenge were not infrequent.

Their position of power which was only too well known to the other inmates of the camp, enabled them to exert pressure on whomever they wanted. A "blatnoy" demanded what he wanted from the kitchen. If the cook refused to comply with his demand, he was discovered with a knife in his body on the following morning. Thus, the bandits are not interfered with. In the long lines of the barber shop one was appraised with a glance, when one of them appeared and calmly took his place at the head of the line. They lived from theft and dice throwing; they smoked opium and provided themselves with alcohol through bribed civilians. When this plan did not work, they drank Eau de Cologne to intoxicate themselves. The camp authorities know all this, but they are powerless to do anything.

For instance, in a camp in which the commander took a vigorous stand, four "blatnyye" were in the habit of whiling away their time in dice throwing. They gambled for all possible sorts of stakes. When one of them literally lost the shirt off his back, his next stake was the head of the camp commander. Once again he lost. He had no other choice than to find some pretext to get an appointment with the camp commander the next day, and with an axe hidden under his jacket to kill him in an unguarded moment. No one had to push him to commit this murder, for he knew well enough that if he failed to carry out his intention, his leader would have had him unceremoniously liquidated as an unreliable element.

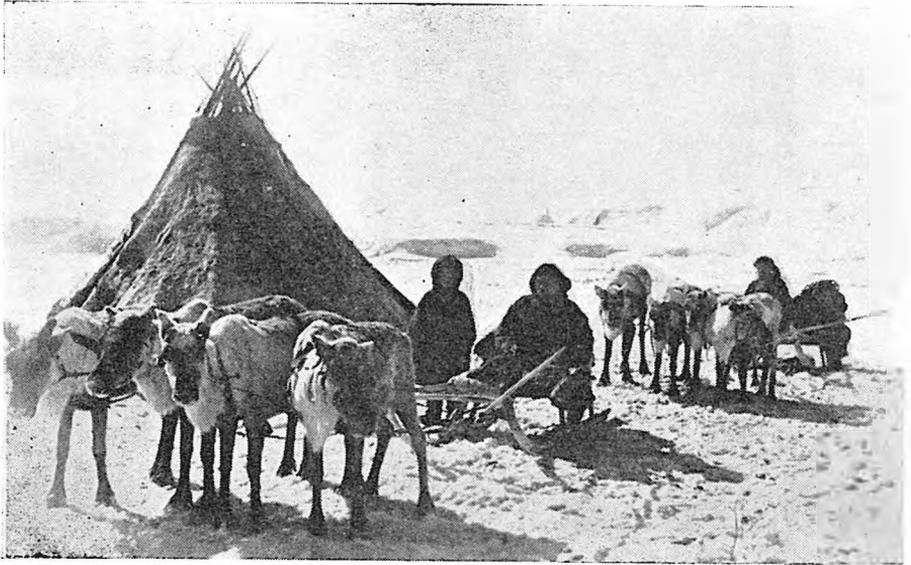
In another case, which I witnessed personally, two "camp aristocrats", informers supported by the camp authorities, regularly exploited Balts who often received packages. One of them was the head of the employment office and the other was prison commander. Their underhand practices soon became known, and the "blatnoy" leader ordered two of his men to finish off the two parasites.

MURDER

Without the slightest bickering, the two men who had been picked for this action took their daggers, which the "blatnyye" have at their side even in sleep, and made their way in the early morning hours of the next day to the barrack of the commander, who in accordance with his rank occupied a separate bunk. Since their code forbade them to kill an opponent in sleep, the two "blatnyye" woke him up with the words: "Get up, we've come to take your soul." Before the still drowsy informer had a chance to grasp the situation, he reeled to the ground with numerous dagger wounds in his body.

“Man is the highest...”

by Heinz Gerull



KOMIS — NATIVE INHABITANTS OF THE TUNDRA
IN THE REGION OF VORKUTA SLAVE LABOUR CAMPS



BARBED WIRE AND WATCH TOWERS
surround the slave labour camp



INSIDE THE CAMP AREA



THE "USUAL ESTABLISHMENT" FOR A CAMP OF 1,200 PRISONERS.

Now they made their way to the barracks of their next victim. The barrack prisoners aroused upon the switching on of the lights, were ordered to cover their heads with blankets. However, the head of the employment office woke up in time and put up a fight. Following a violent struggle, in the course of which the finger of one of the "blatnyye" was severed, the head of the employment office fell to the ground in a pool of blood with 64 (!) dagger wounds.

An order had been carried out, a vehmic sentence had been executed. The two murderers calmly made their way to the camp headquarters and gave themselves up to the sentry on duty. He told them to come back later. Apparently, he was on duty alone and was worried about his own safety.

They returned to their barracks and began to eat breakfast with the greatest composure. In the meantime the other barrack prisoners had been aroused. When four alerted soldiers appeared shortly thereafter to bring them to camp headquarters, they did not budge an inch. Not until an officer was called in did they give up their weapons and let themselves be led away "in accordance with their rank."

At the public trial which was held two months later in the camp, one of them received a sentence of seven years hard labour. The three years of a 25-year sentence which the other had already served were annulled. In short, he received three years sentence for the murder.

Numerically stronger than the "blatnyye" are the "Suki", hardened thieves without "political" principles, who have adapted themselves to the state apparatus. A "Suka" (bitch) has made a compromise consenting to work, but only in higher positions, as brigade-leader, etc.

The members of the two gangs are hostile to one another. Where they chance to meet, they fight, in the truest sense of the word, "to the finish." The camp administrators often exploit this hostility for their own purposes. When the criminals get out of hand, they are simply packed off to a section of the camp where it is known for certain that their opponents are already on the lookout for them. Only when one group is numerically weaker in a camp, does it bide its time in suppressed rage, until a fresh transport brings reinforcement. Periodic attempts are made to master the bandit nuisance in Vorkuta by scattering the cliques throughout the various prisons of the country or shipping them to the extermination camp of the Arctic sea island of Novaya Zemlya, which can be reached by ship only three months of the year and by air during the rest of the year. The climate and conditions of life there drive these elements to mutual extermination.

Homosexuals are another type of camp anomaly. The Asians are the most passionate among them. It is a rigid custom in their native countries that a girl must not give herself to a man prior to marriage.

This explains this abnormality, which is encouraged all the more for only men are in the camp.

Since these races are gifted by nature, they hold many key positions, which they not infrequently exploit for their own private purposes.

They had a special weakness for young Germans, whose dire straits they cleverly exploited. By providing them with additional food and tobacco and by promising them easier work, they were not always without success in realizing their intentions.

The religious prisoners of all faiths and creeds cannot be compared with the other categories; they represented one of the most incongruous phenomena of camp life.

From the very beginning the Soviet government has disregarded the religious feelings of the peoples and has carried on an irreconcilable war against the church. True to the Marxian precept that religion is the opium of the people, the greater number of the churches, synagogues and mosques in the Soviet Union has been unceremoniously closed under the pretext that they were in need of renovation, and turned into warehouses and workshops. Only a few "propaganda churches" still exist to deceive foreign countries into believing that "free" religious practices are accepted, and that the state is tolerant towards the church.

Just how minute the success of 50 years of anti-religious propaganda among the subjugated peoples has been, can be readily noted in the hard labour camps. Despite severe persecution until just a few years ago, these men and women of all faiths and creeds and of all ages, became more and more firm in their religious fervour reaching pitches of fanaticism. *Their atheistic opponents might succeed in rooting them out, but they will never succeed in converting them.* These men and women celebrated improvised masses in removed parts of the camp and prayed throughout half a day or night with strict regularity. Called to account by the guards, they submitted patiently to torment or confinement. Quiet and unassuming, always friendly and ready to help, they were the only truly human men and women whom I came across in that country.

I came to know an older prisoner, a member of the Jehovah's Witnesses, who, notwithstanding 27 consecutive years of confinement, had remained unbroken. In the same camp were the 69 year-old Metropolitan Anissimov and the 72 year-old archbishop Lemeshevski, who had already been held for 22 years in the invalid camp of Potma (Mordvinian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic). In 1954, he was promised freedom if he would publicly renounce his faith and become a Marxist. He resolutely refused.

(To be continued.)

WORLD ANTI-COMMUNIST CONFERENCE

The First World Anti-Communist Conference took place in Taipei (Formosa, National China) between 25th and 30th October, 1967. Representatives from 72 countries and 14 international anti-communist organisations took part in it.

The Conference was opened with a speech by the President of National China, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. Members of the diplomatic corps, about 250 delegates to the Conference from various parts of the world, and several hundred representatives of the political, cultural, social, military and economic life of National China took part in the opening ceremony. In the chair was Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, Chairman of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL). His deputies were Señor Jose Figueres, former President of Costa Rica, and Dr. Jose M. Hernandez, General Secretary of the APACL (Philippines). The Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) was represented by Mr. Jaroslav Stetzko, President of the ABN Central Committee, former Ukrainian Prime Minister; Prof. Lajos Katona, permanent representative of the ABN to the APACL in Taipei; and Mrs. S. Stetzko, editor of *The Ukrainian Review* and *ABN Correspondence*. ABN was also indirectly represented through the European Freedom Council whose official delegates to the Conference were: Mr. Ole Björn Kraft, former Danish Minister; Mr. Jaroslav Stetzko (Ukraine and ABN); Prof. Ivan Matteo Lombardo, former Italian Minister. A representative of the Croat Liberation Movement was a member of the Australian delegation. Representatives of the U.S. Captive Nations Committee — Professor Lev Dobriansky and Mr. Volodymyr Chopivsky — took part as members of the US delegation.

Messages of greetings to the Conference were received from heads of State of many countries, especially from free Asian States, the Near East, the Pope, various organisations and

political figures from all over the world. Many greetings were received from various Ukrainian and Croat organisations in the Western world.

The Conference worked in plenary sessions and committees. Heads of all delegations addressed plenary sessions. Their speeches were reprinted in three languages (English, French and Spanish) for all the participants in the Conference and the press. The Conference was also televised. Mr. Jaroslav Stetzko addressed a plenary session on behalf of the ABN and Ukraine. Mr. Stetzko also gave several interviews to the press.

Five committees worked during the session: the political, economic and cultural, youth, organisational and editorial. The ABN delegation took part in the work of the political and organisational committees.

The final plenary session adopted a number of resolutions, including one condemning the aggressive plans of Moscow, Peking and North Korea, the resolution supporting the Chinese people in its fight against communism, the resolution demanding the liberation of Cuba, the resolution in support of the Vietnamese people in its fight for the liberation of all Vietnam, the resolution on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of Bolshevik counter-revolution, the resolution advocating the observance of the Captive Nations Week, the resolution concerning the exchange of experience between members of the World Anti-Communist League, the resolution condemning trade with communist regimes, the resolution opposing admission of Red China to the UN, an appeal to the youth of the world, and resolutions proposed by ABN demanding the dissolution of the Russian empire and support for the revolutionary movements of the nations enslaved by Moscow, condemning the crimes of Moscow against cultural leaders in Ukraine and other enslaved countries. A series of organisational and practical matters were settled and a Declaration of the World

Anti-Communist League was adopted. The political principles of the WACL are reflected also in the Declaration which contains *inter alia* an important point, adopted at the suggestion of the ABN, that the future world order be based on the restoration of national state independence of all the nations enslaved by Russian imperialism and communism.

The Conference delegates were received by President Chiang Kai-shek and Madame Chiang. There were also a series of receptions given by the Vice-President, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Speaker of the Parliament, President Ku Cheng-kang, the Mayor of Taipei and other dignitaries of National China. The ABN delegation was received by President Chiang Kai-shek, and Madame Chiang received from the Ukrainian delegation a gift

— a wood-carving representing Ukrainian national emblem, the Trident, and the book, *Russian Oppression in Ukraine*.

After the conclusion of the First World Anti-Communist Conference there took place the 13th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL). Unanimously it adopted a resolution proposed by ABN and supported by the delegates of Ceylon, India and China demanding the dissolution of the Russian empire into independent national states.

The delegates had the opportunity to watch the manoeuvres of the Chinese national army.

Below we publish three resolutions adopted by the First Conference of the World Anti-Communist League and the 13th Conference of the Asian People's Anti-Communist League.

RESOLUTION ON THE OPPRESSED NATIONS IN THE SOVIET RUSSIAN SPHERE OF POWER

Recommended by Committee I

Chairman: Korea

Co-Chairmen: Malaysia, Vietnam

Rapporteur: Sweden

The World Anti-Communist League:

Considering that the Soviet-Russian empire has been maintained by force through the oppression of other peoples who previously enjoyed their own independence, and by forcing on them the Communist system, which they did not want to have;

Considering also that all Communist dictators even outside the Russian sphere of power owe their rise and continuance only to Soviet Russia, which never ceased to pursue its plans of world conquest;

Resolves at its First Conference that:

(1) The League support the re-establishment of the national independence and freedom of all nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism, and declare its solidarity with the national liberation movements in their own countries;

(2) The League urge that every assistance be given these subjugated peoples who are fighting both inside and outside their ethnographic boundaries to cast off Russian colonial rule and to break up other artificially created states;

(3) The League declare its support for the reunification in freedom of all countries divided by force and the establishment of a universal world order, based on freedom, national sovereignty, human dignity and social justice, and for peaceful and harmonious cooperation between all nations on the basis of equality and mutual respect.

RESOLUTION AGAINST THE SUPPRESSION OF FREE THOUGHT AND PERSECUTION OF WRITERS AND ARTISTS

Recommended by Committee I

Chairman: Korea

Co-Chairmen: Malaysia, Vietnam

Rapporteur: Sweden

The World Anti-Communist League:

Believing that all over the Soviet Russian empire the symptoms of a latent revolutionary national movement are increasing, and that the movement is directed against Russian domination as well as against Communist despotism and terror;

Manifesting itself in the suppressed peoples' ever-growing aspirations after national independence and unequivocal expression recently represented in the work of intellectuals, who want in their work to reflect the genius of their own nations, to cherish their traditions and cultural heritage, and to express their belief in God and homeland;

Resolves at its First Conference that:

1. The League condemn in the strongest terms the Communists' cruel persecution of writers and artists and the misuse of quasi-judicial proceedings against basic and inalienable human rights which have for thousands of years been fundamental to human progress;

2. The League protest the odious practice of locking up "inconvenient" personalities in lunatic asylums in an effort to quell the growing rebellion against Communism in the field of culture;

3. The League appeal to intellectual workers everywhere in the free world, and especially to Nobel prize winners, to raise their voice in protest against the draconic measures to which Ukrainian writers and representatives of the cultural life in all subjugated countries are subjected, and to demand the immediate release of the victims deported and imprisoned for the struggle for human rights and independence of nations;

4. The League call upon all those who hold sacred the freedom of thought, speech and religion and the idea of national independence, to exert their influence on the forum of the United Nations, on the governments of their respective countries, in order to bring about the indictment of the USSR and all Communist states for their violation of human and national rights.

RESOLUTION ON LIBERATION OF ENSLAVED PEOPLES

Sponsored by Ceylon, India and China

Approved by Committee I

The 13th APACL Conference:

Recalling resolutions adopted at previous conferences supporting the struggle for liberation by peoples enslaved by Russian imperialism and Communism;

Resolves that:

The League reaffirms its stand in support of national liberation struggles of all peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism, and in their aspirations for national independence and basic human liberties.

THE VULNERABLE RUSSIANS

by

Lev E. Dobriansky
Georgetown University

AN AMERICAN ANSWER TO THE "50th" — THE FRAUDULENT RUSSIAN BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION

Reveals strategic importance of all the Captive Nations
to U.S. and Free World Security and Peace

*With an Introduction by
The Hon. Edward J. Derwinski, Member of the
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VOICES IN DEFENCE OF UKRAINIAN CULTURE

Some time ago we reported on the transformation of the "Republican" Ministry for Education of Soviet Ukraine into a Union-Republic Ministry. In actual practice this means that the Ministry for Education has been placed under Moscow's direct supervision. In Ukraine, this step has been received as an additional Russification measure, and has provoked strong reaction, which has also found an echo in the press.

It would be misleading, however, to represent this reaction as a separate and isolated act of rebellion, for as a matter of fact it is really another link in the chain of the Ukrainian cultural revolution which began some years ago. In past issues we have often occasion to refer to this.

For some years past, there has been increasing evidence of a tendency leading away from Russophilism, which was imposed upon Ukraine by the regime, and towards traditional Ukrainianism. This tendency is evident in all layers of the society, but above all among the intellectuals and students (apart from this, the rural population has always been conservative and traditional).

This tendency finds its expression in the revolutionary poems of Vasyl Symonenko which have been illegally circulated over a large segment of the population in hand-written copies; in the resistance of the Ukrainian intellectuals which led to the arrest and condemnation of more than 70 Ukrainian scientists, artists and students over a year ago; in the spontaneous celebrations in honour of prominent Ukrainian personalities which, despite police injunctions forbidding them, were organized by the Ukrainian students; and last but not least in censor-restricted articles, which, though timid, are outspoken enough in view of the conditions

prevailing in Soviet Ukraine. Indeed, the Russians themselves, by glorifying the reign of the tsars, by glorifying Ivan the Terrible, Peter the "Great," by making films such as "War and Peace" based on the novel by Tolstoy, encourage the Ukrainians and other non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union to turn to their own glorious past. The intent of all this of course is to hold up Russia's history as a model worthy of emulation, and thereby make the leadership of the Russian people in the Soviet Union more palatable. Precisely the opposite is achieved, however: the pride and national consciousness of the non-Russian peoples are awakened, for the history of Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia and other non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union is much older and much more glorious than the history of Russia, which, if anything, has been more successful than theirs.

At one time the Bolsheviks were merciless in running down the cult of the tsars — now they have begun to glorify their reign. What wonder, therefore, that influential non-Russian personalities celebrate their own great men?

As an example of this we should like to quote from an article printed in *Literaturna Ukraina*, no. 47, of June 1966. In this article entitled "That future generations may not reproach us," Dmytro Kryworuchko, chief architect of the Kyïv municipal building projects, demands that in the execution of building projects, monuments commemorating Ukrainian history should be preserved, and that important events of Ukrainian history should be reflected in the naming of streets. Above all, the streets of Ukraine's capital should be named after famous Ukrainian architects, artists and scientists.

To be sure, these demands are made in a timid manner, and they touch upon only such matters for which no persecution on the part of the Soviet Russian secret police is to be feared. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that these demands were made at a time when, in Lutsk, Lviv, Ternopil and other Ukrainian cities, indictments on similar charges were made against Ukrainian intellectuals.

D. Kryvoruchko's isolated demand found an echo some months later in Zaporizhia. In the October 28, 1966 issue of *Literaturna Ukraïna*, Dr. Stefan Samilenko, Dr. Yuri Schulte, Victor Chabanenko and 16 others, demanded that the island of Khortytsia on the Dnipro, in the vicinity of the city of Zaporizhia, where once the Zaporozhian Cossacks had their military base and headquarters, should be immediately transformed into a historical site and that the streets of the city should be named after famous Cossack chiefs, military leaders and princes from Ukrainian history. This demand was approved by the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic.

We do not know whether these demands have any effect. We do know, however, that the voices speaking out for national interests are increasing and growing stronger.

In the April 11, 1967 issue of *Literaturna Ukraïna*, a letter to the editor was printed, from which we append an excerpt:

"In your newspaper, you often write about Ukrainian national songs, historical monuments of the people and similar matters. We are of the opinion that the concept "historical monuments" does not only include old buildings, works of sculpture and paintings... but also songs, fairy tales, legends, stories and customs of the people, and also its language — the eternally living, eternally young and invaluable memorial of past generations and our testament to future generations."

The text also includes a demand directed to the Ministry of Education, that is to say, that Ministry which was placed under Moscow's direct control

in December of 1966, to introduce native folklore as a compulsory subject in secondary schools. This subject should be taken up even in kindergarten and elementary schooling.

Similar demands are often to be read in the newspaper *Literaturna Ukraïna*, for instance, in letters to the editor, such as those by Borys Shlapak from Moldavia or Vira Hryshchenko from the Sumy area. Especially worthy of note, however, is an article by Vasyl Kozachenko entitled "In the name of the Contemporaries," which appeared in the April 18 issue of this year. In his article, the author criticizes the condition of the book market. He writes:

"In the years 1965/66, only four new libraries were opened in the Kharkiv area, though 13 new libraries had been requisitioned. There are 12 less bookstores... Only one third of the required space for storage of books is available... In Sumy, one book store has to provide for some 7 thousand customers. Because of improper storage, books valued at 100,000 rubles were lost... pupils, however, do not have the necessary textbooks, not even those which are listed as compulsory subjects in the school curriculum. Above all, there is a pressing shortage of books on Ukrainian classical and modern literature."

In short, they are voices that will not go unheard, at least not among the Ukrainians. They will also have to be heard elsewhere! To be sure, these voices are still timid, irresolute; they don't attack the principal offender, Great Russian chauvinism with its Russification policy. For the time being they merely bear witness to the fact that also in this sphere there is an intense upheaval; these voices will become stronger and stronger, more and more numerous, more and more resolute, until the whole world is forced to take note of them, and the oppressors are forced to stop their ears. The Ukrainian will no longer let themselves be intimidated, as was the case under Stalin's reign; and fear is a part of Ukraine's conquered past.

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