

The
**UKRAINIAN
REVIEW**



I

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Yaroslav STETSKO

THE BASIC PROBLEM

"This is the greatest event since the creation of the world" — was said by President Nixon while greeting the astronauts on their return from the moon. One may be proud of such achievement of the human genius; one should and one may be proud of the achievements of one's own nation, but it is bad when the human mind attributes to itself the power which belongs to the supernatural.

The most significant event since the creation of the world was the coming of Christ and His revelation of Divine Truth. With that began a new era in the life of the human species. The world was created by God and no human achievements, which in their essence are only perceptual in character, can match His creation. The present triumph of science and engineering can be compared with the conquest of the oceanic expanses in the 15th century, the discovery of both poles, or the conquest of space. The discovery of America was a great achievement for mankind in general and Europe in particular, and its consequences were of no lesser importance than the landing on the moon. But, without degrading any human achievement, one must remember that neither the moon, nor any other planet of the solar system could be settled by man, for the atmospheric conditions there do not warrant it. And no matter how enthusiastic we have become about this latest feat of human genius, we have to get back to earthly problems, for the question of the liberation of the enslaved nations from the foreign Communist Russian yoke is still an earthly question. Therefore, we cannot turn our attention away from the basic question of our social existence, i. e., the reestablishment of a free and independent Ukrainian State.

For the last twenty years we have constantly argued in our press that technological development of the world is not going hand in hand with moral and ethical progress. On the contrary, what is progressing is the barbarization of human life, its de-humanization and de-Christianization. What a paradoxical contradiction! We are pleased that today the great British historian Arnold Toynbee is raising the same question, although from a different angle. He sees all the evil as stemming from nationalism; we see it as stemming from imperialism. What a great gap lies between the phenomenal technological progress and human achievement and the morality of

the hedonists, the conquerors, the oppressors and the perpetrators of genocide! How are civilization and science flourishing, and culture and morality sinking! Today, in full view of the world and with its tacit agreement, thousands of children are starving to death in Biafra, which fought for her statehood against the modern-day African imperialists. The Irians-Papuans of New Guinea are dying by the thousands at the hands of the present-day Indonesian imperialists. And in the Russian empire? Countless thousands of fighters — sons and daughters of the subjugated people — are suffering and dying under inhuman conditions in prisons and concentration camps of the Russian tyrants. All this is taking place before the very eyes of the civilized, but heartless world!

For this reason it was much easier to land on the moon than to solve the problem of the liberation of the subjugated peoples and to introduce a just order on earth. For this reason we are constantly returning to earthly problems, to our problems, so that while being enthusiastic about the achievements of human genius in the technological sense, we do not forget the essence: that so far the Ukrainian *Truth* has not been realized on earth. And this is also God's problem on earth.

We have often justified the uncontrollable race of human genius to discover the new, to follow in the footsteps of Dedalus and Icarus. This is characteristic of the human spirit, which is always searching, fighting for what is new, solving the as yet unsolved. But we hope that the extraordinary achievement of American science and engineering, which is the result of research and inventiveness of whole generations of intellectuals of various nations, will not overshadow the basic problem of human existence — that one billion human beings are living under tyranny, in particular 45 million Ukrainians, our brothers, sisters, parents and children are living under Russian despotism. Furthermore, the Ukrainian genius is active there as well. A Ukrainian, Kapytsia, is the father of Soviet technology in the thermo-nuclear field, and cybernetics was founded by the Kyïv scientists. But we are lacking one thing: FREEDOM AND SOVEREIGNTY, the RULE of the Ukrainian people on Ukrainian soil. And this is the central problem of our collective existence.

We would be unfair if we failed to pay due respect to the courage and self-sacrifice of the American astronauts, who landed on the moon. But, while admiring them, the world has forgotten another kind of heroism — anonymous, without publicity, without the admiration of humanity, the quiet heroism and self-sacrifice of the abused and lonely heroes and heroines in the Russian prisons and concentration camps. There are two types of heroes — those who are worshipped, who have the sympathy of the whole world, the prayers and blessings of the highest religious dignitaries, who are supported in their risky undertakings by hundreds, and even thousands of

scientists, technicians and computers, i. e., heroes who are conscious of the moral sympathy of mankind. Another type of heroes — unparalleled in the history of all times — are the Ukrainian women in Kinghir, who in defense of other prisoners threw themselves under the caterpillars of tanks driven by the Russian barbarians; these are the Kateryna Zarytskas, the Horbovyis, the Shukhevychs, the Karavanskyis, the Oliynyks; these are the lonely, the forgotten, the tortured, the martyred, the persecuted. These heroes are dying somewhere of a shot in the head, or slowly perishing in the dark jail cell or stone quarries of the tyrants — alone, without the applause of the whole world, but fanatics of the great idea of national independence, freedom, truth and justice.

Yes, there are two kinds of heroes! And each of them is risking his life and to each this life is precious to the same degree. But for the former all churches and their dignitaries are imploring God's help, while for the latter, our heroes, only their own faith, their own willpower, their own determination to fight singlehandedly for truth and freedom must suffice, while the free world is watching in forboding silence. Which of these has worked harder for victory of God's truth on earth — will have to be answered by each of us in our own hearts.

How much easier is it to risk one's life when one is conscious of all possible help from the greatest technological power on earth and the sympathy and prayers of almost the whole of mankind, but how much harder is it to be left to one's own faith and willpower, to be completely lonely, to receive only the tacit compassion of one's own subjugated nation.

A nation, which is distinguished for heroes who are drawing their endurance in the hard struggle with the enemy from the spring of their own faith and willpower, is a great nation. The heroes who, against the will of the mighty of this world, are serving their own people in complete solitude, are extraordinary heroes. We are proud of the astronauts and the achievements of human genius, in which Ukrainian genius is also participating, but we are a hundred times more proud of our lonely and forgotten heroes and martyrs, who are drawing their strength from themselves.

The task of our epoch on the universal scope is to transform the ethical and moral experiences in the heroic and altruistic aspect, to cultivate them so that humanity will be able to place technological power at the service of goodness, justice, truth and freedom. Technological progress can be directed toward either the constructive or the destructive ends. This depends on human will, on human morality, on the clearness of purpose, which is set for it by man, its creator.

Thermo-nuclear power can be a good or a bad omen for mankind. This depends on the Christianization, humanization and penetration of humanity by higher ethical and moral values, on the respect for

the rights of every individual and nation, on the victory of the national principle in the organization of the world as opposed to the imperialistic principle. In view of the powerful technological force which can be used for good or evil, one should not forget the nature of the universe, the essence of man — the soul of man and the unique spirit of every nation.

Let the human mind in its arrogance remember that it was created from nothing by the Creator of the Universe, and that due to technological progress it is faced with ever new problems, which finally will lead it to the Absolute, to the eternal secret of the universe, which a human being is never to discover, because it is the secret of the Almighty and All-embracing Absolute. This was recently the case with the philosophers. Man is the likeness of God, and a nation is "the thought of God", as was said by a philosopher. Our strength is to be found in our belief in our truth, in our indestructible determination to fight for its victory. This is the struggle of the eternal truths of the nation and the individual.

Therefore, let us remember that we are rich in such values which make humanity and nations great. In the shadow of interplanetary flights Ukraine, with her unstained morality, her indestructible revolutionary human potential, which is fighting for victory of noble values and ideas in the world, for the national principle in the organization of the world as against the imperialistic principle, for the rights and dignity of nations and men, for the equality of nations, is an ever-present revolutionary question of the world in the face of extraordinary technological achievements of great powers as well. The face of the world is not determined by technology alone; there are also spiritual values.

Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League Supports Ukrainian Liberation Fight

RESOLUTION OF THE 15th APACL CONFERENCE ON SUPPORT FOR THE LIBERATION FIGHT OF THE NATIONS ENSLAVED BY RUSSIA AND COMMUNISM

XV APACL Conference renews its unchangeable support for the liberation fight of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Caucasus nations, Baltic States, Hungary, East Germany, Bulgaria, Azerbaijan, Turkestan and other subjugated nations by Russian imperialism and Communism in the USSR and its satellites for the restoration of their independent democratic States and human rights.

XV APACL Conference strongly demands Soviet Russia to withdraw her occupation troops from all the subjugated countries in the USSR and its satellites.

Adopted by an overwhelming majority of votes. Dec. 8th, 1969.

Anathole W. BEDRIY

An Exemplary Freedom-Fighter

On the 20th Anniversary of the death of Roman Shukhevych
(Taras Chuprynka)

Roman Shukhevych, *nom-de-guerre* Taras Chuprynka, was the commander-in-chief of one of the largest national revolutionary liberation armies in world history, which was established not only without any outside help but at a time when its territory became the battlefield of two biggest imperial powers of the time. The colonially enslaved country was Ukraine. The two big imperialisms were National-Socialist Germany and Soviet-Communist Russia. The time of the story: 1907-1950.

General Taras Chuprynka-Shukhevych is not so well known in the free world as many less significant figures. The reasons for this are many, but the major ones are that Russia spends more money and effort on propagandizing its fellow-travellers, friends and spiritual disciples than any other nation in the world of today. Therefore, the name of the demagogic adventurous Communist brigand Che Guevara is known throughout the world. On the other hand, free people or even Christians in the Western world do not care a bit to learn or to inform the world about such persons as General Taras Chuprynka or Archbishop Velychkovskiy who are Christ's soldiers and true fighters for freedom of peoples and of the individual and for progress. Voluminous books appear in every free country on the atheist, dogmatic, tyrannical and imperialist Lenin, but no publishing house in the West endeavours to publish a book on Taras Chuprynka, although the former was destroying freedom of peoples and of the individual and the latter was fighting for such freedoms, although the first was combating Christ and religion and the second was its defender, although the former was practicing chauvinism, genocide, colonialism and imperialism of the worst kind, while the latter was uncompromisingly combating all these evil forces.

The future commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) descended from a well-known Ukrainian family, in which Ukrainian national traditions, Ukrainian patriotism, Christian ethics and high educational standards were the way of life. "The Shukhevych family belongs to old honoured priestly clans of the Halychyna region which played an important role in the national rebirth of Halychyna at the turn of 18th and throughout the 19th century", writes a memoirist. (Stepan Shakh, "Roman Shukhevych — Symbol of Indestructibility", in *General Taras Chuprynka*, Library of the Ukra-

inian Underground, publ. by Units Abroad of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, 1966, p. 11). His grand-grandfather was a village priest. His grandfather was also a village priest, but with university education, a writer and translator. Grandfather Volodymyr Shukhevych was a secondary school teacher at Lviv, a prominent member in the Ukrainian Populist movement at the end of the 19th century and active in the field of general public education. He is known also as an ethnographer of the Hutsul region.

The father of Roman Shukhevych, also Volodymyr by first name, graduated from the law faculty of the Lviv University. He was a reserve officer of cavalry of the Austrian army. His mother, Eugenia, was a daughter of a Ukrainian priest. Roman Shukhevych was born on July 17, 1907 in the small town of Krakovets in the Lviv region, where his father was a county judge. He went to public school there, but immediately before the start of the First World War the family moved to a larger town of Kaminka Strumilova on the Buh river. Judge Volodymyr Shukhevych soon became a leading Ukrainian public figure. In November 1918 he executed the act of the reestablishment, after 578 years of statelessness, of the Ukrainian national state, which was proclaimed at Lviv on November 1st 1918. (On Ukrainian territories formerly occupied by Russia it was proclaimed on January 22, 1918.)

As an 11-year old gymnasium pupil Roman Shukhevych witnessed the emergence of the independent Ukrainian state. He witnessed the rise of the Ukrainian national army, which had to defend the young state against the invasion of Polish and Russian imperialist forces. The Government of the West Ukrainian State stayed in the town of Kaminka Strumilova for a short while, having to leave Lviv before the advancing superior Polish army. The town changed hands several times. At the beginning of 1919 the Headquarters of the First Corps of the Ukrainian Halychyna Army were located in that town.

During and after the war prominent Ukrainians often gathered at the house of family Shukhevych, telling war stories and speaking about politics. The young Roman questioned them on war tactics and even discussed with them some of the campaign strategies. Once, when a young Ukrainian officer, Stepan Shakh, was leaving the Shukhevych house, the boy was waiting for him at the front door with his helmet. The officer took the helmet into his own hands and placed it on the head of Roman. All the present said then: "Roman can already be a Ukrainian soldier." The enthusiastic boy stood at attention, while the officer spoke memorable words: "Roman, you shall become an exemplary knight of Ukraine!" He replied: "I shall try to become worthy of it, Lieutenant!" (see S. Shakh, *op. cit.*, p. 33-34). Later, Roman received a postcard with the stamp of the Ukrainian military post from the said officer, which he kept under lock and key in his archives for many years.

During the Summer of 1919 the Polish forces under Józef Haller opened a big offensive and captured most of Western Ukraine. They immediately arrested leading Ukrainians, among them the father of Roman Shukhevych, whom they sent to the ill-famed prison "Brigidky" in Lviv. Roman moved to Lviv as well, where in the Fall of 1919 he returned to the gymnasium.

In the years 1921-22 Colonel Eugene Konovalets, who commanded during 1918-19 the best Ukrainian military unit, the Corps of "Sichovi Striltsi", was residing at the home of Roman's grandmother, where Roman was staying. In 1920 Col. Konovalets took over the leadership of the secretly established Ukrainian Military Organisation, which aimed at continuation of armed liberation struggle against the occupation powers by means of guerrilla warfare. The acquaintance of this student of the fourth year of gymnasium with one of the leading Ukrainian personalities of the times was decisive for his further life. Col. Konovalets often explained to him the difficult position of Ukraine, subjugated and divided by four neighbouring powers, the problems of her further liberation struggle and the crucial importance of military power for Ukraine's liberation. Soon young Shukhevych himself joined this secret organization. He turned his attention to the study of military strategy of the ancient Greeks and Romans during the gymnasium courses, and often went on excursions into Lviv's surroundings to see famous Ukrainian historical sites of battles of the princely and Cossack eras. His grandmother, in turn, told him innumerable stories about the historical past of his country.

During his gymnasium years Roman Shukhevych became an active member in the Scout organization and was one of the chief organizers of the first Ukrainian jamboree in 1922. He intensively read Ukrainian literature, especially historical novels. He helped to organize the war-ravaged gymnasium library. He graduated from the Lviv gymnasium in 1925 and entered the polytechnic school in Lviv where he studied architecture. While still in gymnasium, Shukhevych also became a member of "the Organization of Upper Grades of Ukrainian Gymnasiums", which published a secret magazine "Meteor" in Lviv, and where Shukhevych publicly stated some of his views for the first time. This organization was engaged in educational activities, nationalist in spirit.

Roman Shukhevych rapidly advanced in the ranks of the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO). In 1926, on behalf of the UVO, he killed the inspector of Polish occupation schools on Ukrainian territory, Stanislaw Sobinski, who ordered the liquidation and Polonization of the Ukrainian educational system. However, the Polish police never captured him for this act.

In a few years the Ukrainian nationalists realized that the existence of a purely military organization was insufficient. Dr. Dmytro Dontsov, the Ukrainian publicist, ideologist and philosopher, in

particular expounded forcefully the imperative need of a nationalist ideological organization. The majority of the UVO leadership agreed with this idea and after thorough preparations, the First Congress of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) was held in Vienna in 1929. Shukhevych became its member immediately. Already in 1930 he was made member of the Area Executive of OUN for Western Ukraine in the capacity of the head of the department of armed actions. Roman Shukhevych was influential in fully subordinating the UVO to the OUN, so that by 1933 the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists really became a political-ideological and a military organization all in one. Thus Roman Shukhevych, pseud. Dzvin, contributed significantly to the new important concept of the liberation struggle, namely, the concept of singleness of a revolutionary liberation movement, which should cover all the aspects of the national struggle (cf. Stepan Bandera, "Commander — Leader" in *Za Samostiinu Ukrainu*, publ. by Units Abroad of OUN, 1957, special ed., p. 4-5).

Besides engaging in politics and underground revolutionary activities, Shukhevych still had time to finish his studies. He received a degree in engineering from the Lviv polytechnical school in 1934. Shortly afterwards he married Natalia Berezynska, daughter of a priest, coming from the same locality from which Roman's mother came, the village Ohliadiv, Radekhiv county. His wife's brother, Yurii, was Roman's class mate since gymnasium. He also became a member of the OUN and was killed in 1932 during a raid on a Polish colonial post office at the town of Horodok near Lviv. During his student days Roman was also interested in sports, wandering and tourism. In Lviv society he was regarded as a lady's man, a fine piano player, always courteously smiling, modernly dressed, diligent in studies (see S. Shakh, *op. cit.*, p. 56; Volodymyr Yaniv, "Shukhevych-Chuprynka — Symbol and Man" in *Vyzvol'nyi Shliakh*, monthly, London, March 1955, v. 8, n. 89, p. 6-9).

During Shukhevych's leadership of the OUN armed actions section and as the result of a series of well-planned and successfully executed acts against foreign occupation organs of Ukrainian territory, the OUN quickly gained prestige among the widest circles of Ukrainian population and began to be taken seriously by the Polish colonial regime. To this series of militant acts belongs the successful preparation and execution of the political killing of the Polish parliamentarian Tadeusz Holuwko, who personified the forces of perfidious Polonization of Ukrainians and attempted to crush all their national, cultural, political and educational activities. Under his direction the Polish police commissar, Czechowski, who specialized in torturing Ukrainian political prisoners, was also killed in 1932. Roman Shukhevych later wrote about this act in Krakow, 1940, in the periodical *Krakivs'ki Visti*, under the title "From the Life of a Fighter." (It is reprinted in

Ukrains'kyi Samostiinyk, weekly, Munich, 1950, n. 45, and in Petro Mirchuk, *Narys Istorii OUN*, vol. 1, Munich, 1969, p. 291-295). This article is of high literary and dramatic value. In describing the perpetration of the attack Shukhevych was actually describing himself: "against the power and accuracy of the police stood fanaticism, contempt for death, persistence and dedication." (According to the text published in P. Mirchuk, *op. cit.*, p. 291)

In June 1932 Roman Shukhevych left Ukrainian territory for the first time. He went secretly to Prague to a conference of the Leadership of OUN. Shukhevych was among those who insisted that the UVO should be completely disbanded and transformed into a military arm of the OUN. This position was adopted. After his return to Ukraine, he planned the next important anticolonial action, the attack on the Polish post office at Horodok, in which his brother-in law was killed by the Poles.

In 1933 Stepan Bandera was appointed Head of the Regional Executive of OUN for Halychyna. The youthful and very dynamic leader concentrated his attention on the armed actions section directed by Shukhevych. The most publicized event of that year was the armed attack by OUN on the Soviet Russian consulate in Lviv in protest against the Russian genocide of Ukrainian people by means of artificial famine, in consequence of which six million Ukrainians were indirectly killed by the colonial power. Mailov, the special emissary of Stalin, who at that particular moment stayed at the Bolshevik consulate in Lviv was killed.

In June 1934 the Ukrainian underground liberation movement killed the Polish minister of internal affairs, Gen. B. Pieracki, who was one of the worst terrorizers and oppressors of the enslaved Ukrainian people. Polish terroristic police arrested many leading Ukrainian freedom-fighters including Stepan Bandera and Roman Shukhevych. In a highly publicized trial all prisoners refused to speak in Polish, for which they received additional sentences. Shukhevych was sentenced to four years in prison. He was sent to the ill-famed Polish concentration camp at Bereza Kartuzka, where during the 30's hundreds of Ukrainian freedom-fighters were incarcerated. Shukhevych was there from July 1934 till January 1935, from where he was transferred to a Lviv prison, and subsequently released.

Roman Shukhevych returned to the liberation activities with a new vigour. Stepan Bandera reported later, that the majority of membership of OUN in Western Ukraine desired in the late 30's to have Shukhevych as the Head of the Regional Executive for Western Ukraine. Although he did not obtain this post it still proved him to be an outstanding underground fighter at this early time in his life (see S. Bandera, *op. cit.*, p. 5-7).

In the autumn of 1938 Polish colonialist and chauvinistic masses organized pogroms of Ukrainian institutions in Lviv. Shukhevych

headed the organization of self-defence activities of the Ukrainian population. A short time before that Shukhevych was planning the liberation of Stepan Bandera from the Polish prison, because the Head of the entire OUN, Col. Eugene Konovalets, was murdered by a Russian agent in Rotterdam and the predominant opinion among the OUN members was that he should be succeeded by Stepan Bandera. However the plan of this prison break-out was not realized.

In March 1939 an independent state was proclaimed in the Carpathian area of Ukraine, which till then was annexed to the Czecho-Slovak state. Roman Shukhevych was foremost in the group of OUN which advocated full-scale participation in the build-up and defence of this young and small Ukrainian state. He arrived there in the late 1938 and was given the position of assistant chief of staff with the rank of first lieutenant. The new and small Ukrainian army sent him back to Lviv to organize large-scale help from the West-Ukrainian population in order to buy vitally needed arms abroad. But the efforts were short-lived, because late in March 1939 the Nazi-German troops occupied Czechia, while Hungarian armies overran the Carpatho-Ukrainian state.

With increased energy Shukhevych continued to organize Ukrainians to further liberation efforts. We meet him in May 1939 in the Free City of Danzig, where he organized Ukrainian students into the ranks of OUN. From there he left for Vienna shortly before the outbreak of the Polish-German war en route to a meeting of OUN as the delegate from Halychyna region. However due to the break-down of organizational communication he did not participate in that meeting.

The end of the 1930's signaled the beginning of rapidly succeeding dramatic events in international relations concerning Ukraine. Before continuing to trace further the progress of Shukhevych's life it will be appropriate to make a small digression in order to point out a very characteristic trait in his personality, which will help to understand the unusually dynamic and optimistic character of this great man, which assisted him in overcoming difficulties, enemies, changes of conditions, weaknesses and reverses. This trait was his fervent religiosity, his faith in goodness and justice of God and Christianity, upholding the Ukrainian expression of Christianity. This religiosity not only was inherited by Shukhevych from the long line of Catholic priests in his family, but was a real force in his private and social life. When Roman Shukhevych was imprisoned by the Catholic Polish oppressors he introduced the practice of common morning and evening prayer said in all cells in the whole prison at the same moment by the Ukrainian imprisoned freedom-fighters. Such a forceful expression of faith was sometimes disarming even for the Catholic-oppressors. Later on, when Shukhevych became the Commander-in-Chief of the national liberation army, he insisted on proclaiming the 14th of October (1942) as the official date of UPA's founding. This date is

also the feastday of Our Lady, the Protectress. Thus the UPA was officially brought under the patronage of Mary.

Prof. Volodymyr Yaniv described this trait of Roman Shukhevych in the following words: "This faith in the indestructibility of life gave Roman the power to survive the most direful moments: this faith explains how it came about that Shukhevych, a man of flesh and blood, could pass into the sphere of a bodiless symbol. This faith also discloses the reasons why Shukhevych, a man of action and a fighter, saw life as a problem at the same time. Every shot fired in his life, every order to carry out an action was paid at the highest price, the struggle of conscience. This bestowed upon Shukhevych the characteristics of thorough social morality and demanded that the enemy see in him a MAN" (V. Yaniv, *op. cit.*, p. 10).

In the autumn of 1939 the Polish imperial state was liquidated. Most of West Ukrainian territories were occupied by the Russian imperialist forces. Shukhevych did not return to Halychyna, but went to the Ukrainian ethnic region which was occupied by the Germans. Under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, who was freed from the Polish imprisonment as the result of Poland's disintegration, a so-called Revolutionary Leadership of OUN was formed on this westernmost Ukrainian national territory in 1940, of which Roman Shukhevych became a member. Among the OUN leadership the opinion prevailed that war between Germany and Russia would soon break out. Therefore, the main effort was directed toward the preparation of Ukrainian freedom-fighters to combat Russian invaders and to signalize the Germans that the Ukrainian nationalists would not accept the German colonial occupation of Ukraine peacefully and amicably. Shukhevych was appointed by the Revolutionary Leadership of OUN to the post of the Area Leader of OUN on Western Border Territory occupied by Germans. He concentrated his efforts on two aspects: the maximum activization of the Ukrainian population in this area and the establishment of a support base for operations against the Russian occupation forces east of the demarcation line. Writing about Shukhevych, Stepan Bandera said that this period in Shukhevych's life was very fruitful and successful, and it resulted in OUN's ability to organize a two-front struggle against the German and Russian imperialists as well as a heroic struggle of the so-called Trans-Curzon Ukraine during the years 1945-48 against Communist Polish forces (see S. Bandera, *op. cit.*, p. 11-17). In addition, Shukhevych also directed the department of communications with the units of OUN on territories occupied by Russians. He contributed much to laying the grounds for the creation of a military staff at the headquarters of OUN, revealing thereby an exceptional talent of a military organizer.

In the Spring of 1941, the revolutionary OUN under the leadership of Stepan Bandera held its Second Congress. Most of the resolutions

on military and revolutionary matters were drafted by Shukhevych at this important gathering. His most characteristic view at that time was formulated as follows: "To prepare our organizational military cadres in such a way, that at a decisive moment they would be able to perform certain military operations to organize an uprising of the broadest masses and at control of and subordination to one centre of the spontaneous revolts (of masses and Red Army soldiers), to direct military operations of insurgent detachments, to assist the Leadership of OUN to take over and to organize the government (administration and other branches of the national life) at the local level, to establish an army, militia, and other para-military formations — with the aim to control the revolutionary spontaneity of the masses and the situation so that we would have time to regulate and organize all phases of life on the territories which we have recaptured and cleared of the Bolsheviks and everywhere meet the advancing Germans in an organized manner *with arms in our hands*, so that by means of our military initiative we would contribute to the rise of the future Ukrainian Army" (From Military Instructions" in Yaroslav Stetsko *30th of June 1941*, Toronto-London, 1967, p. 57-8). The ties between military matters and politics in the revolutionary liberation movement is well explained in the above mentioned book. The central thesis of Roman Shukhevych was the imperative to establish a revolutionary armed force made up of the Ukrainian people themselves, which force must subordinate itself to the political liberation movement.

Under his able leadership several underground military schools were organized and large-scale military training of thousands of Ukrainians was carried out without or against the knowledge of the German administration. According to Yaroslav Stetsko, Shukhevych was primarily responsible for working out a strategic military complex of the liberation revolution in Ukraine at the moment of the outbreak of the German-Russian war. (See Y. Stetsko, *op. cit.*, p. 50f). Without doubt, Shukhevych was implementing this grand plan for a nation-wide revolution in later years, when he headed the liberation movement.

His efforts contributed a great deal to the training and organization of the so-called Marching Groups of OUN, composed of several thousand armed men, who went east immediately after the outbreak of the German-Russian war with the aim of establishing de facto Ukrainian state forms disregarding German policies toward Ukraine. Subsequently military unit as a manifestation of the desire of Ukrainians to establish a national state and a separate national army. Although Germans barred any talk of founding a Ukrainian army, they agreed to the establishment of a Ukrainian separate battalion, which came into being during the first half of 1941, consisting of five companies, together 1200 men. This unit was divided into two groups,

one commanded by Major E. Pobihushchyi, another by Captain Roman Shukhevych.

When war broke out between Russia and Germany on June 22, 1941, the military unit commanded by Shukhevych immediately went into action against the Russians, but simultaneously was active in spreading the ideas of Ukrainian independence. On June 30, 1941 the establishment of Ukrainian state and a temporary Ukrainian Government headed by Yaroslav Stetsko was proclaimed in Lviv on the initiative of the OUN. The military unit of Shukhevych officially took part in this event and manifested its full subordination to this Ukrainian national Government. The Germans of course were opposed to the plans of the Ukrainian nationalists and soon arrested most of the members of this government and sent them to concentration camps in Germany. The military units commanded by Shukhevych and Pobihushchyi were sent to Byelorussia to combat the Bolshevik guerrillas. They existed until the end of 1942. This period should be regarded as very important in the life of Shukhevych. For a while he stayed on the territory of the friendly Belorussian people, who were in a position similar to Ukraine's. Thus the idea of a potential common front of all the nations subjugated by Germans and Russia in the common struggle against both imperialist aggressors was realistically visible in Shukhevych's conviction. He also learned much about the organizational technics and methods of conducting guerrilla warfare, which experience he later exploited in full. Finally, he realized that the establishment of military units composed of members of the subjugated nations serving any of the powers is of no political use to these nations if the goal of national independence is not explicitly recognized by the big "friend." (Much information about this military unit of the nationalists can be found in the book *Druzhyny Ukraïns'kykh Natsionalistiv v 1941-42 rokakh*, Munich, Nasha Knyhobirnia series n. 13, 1953; S. Bandera, *op. cit.*, p. 17-20; Y. Stetsko, *op. cit.*, Lew Shankovs'kyi, *Pokhidni Hrupy OUN*, 1958).

After the Germans disbanded the above mentioned Ukrainian military unit, they placed all its officers in confinement. On the way Shukhevych succeeded in fleeing from the transport. Soon he was made member of the Supreme Command of OUN, in which he was given the post of the Director of Military Affairs. At this point the tremendous leadership capacity and statesmanlike potential of Roman Shukhevych started to unfold and be felt.

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was born in the Volhyn and Polissia regions. During the second half of 1942 Bolshevik terrorist bands began to appear in these regions and were harrassing the population. The local OUN branches organized self-defence groups, which quickly expanded into larger units. In October 1942 by the decision of the OUN led by Stepan Bandera one such unit was christened "the first company of UPA."

"The companies of UPA" were multiplying. At the beginning of 1943 a supporting battalion of Ukrainian militia went over to the insurgents. Smaller units were combining into "battallions of UPA" and these in turn into "Groups of UPA." During the winter of 1942-43 North-Western Ukraine was cleared of Russian guerrillas. On February 7, 1943 the first major armed encounter with the German occupation forces occurred, when units of UPA attacked the county seat at Volodymyrets. In the Spring of 1943 all these insurgent units were combined into "UPA-North", an area including the Volhynia and Zhytomyr oblasts. An area staff was organized led by Colonel Stupnyts'kyi. When the majority of Ukrainian militia went over to the revolutionary army, the Germans organized a police force out of Poles. A bloody Polish-Ukrainian struggle followed, which however generated the thought of the need to find an understanding between the two peoples. Such a Ukrainian-Polish armistice and even co-operation came into being two years later, when UPA-OUN concluded an alliance with WiN (Pol. Wolność i Niepodległość = Freedom and Independence) organisation.

Meanwhile, in August 1943 the Third Congress (Grand Extraordinary Assembly) of the OUN was held where Shukhevych played a significant role and in consequence was elected the Head of the Bureau of the OUN Leadership. His unity principle was carried through and he was charged with the responsibility to head the UPA as well as the military arm of the national revolutionary liberation movement.

During the Fall of 1943, the UPA units were organized in the Carpathian Mountains. They were soon combined into the area command "UPA-West" under the leadership of the famous Colonel Vasyl Sydor-Shelest. At about the same time the post of the Commander-in-Chief of UPA was formally established and given to Roman Shukhevych, who took the *nom-de-guerre* of Taras Chuprynka. (Chuprynka was the name of a Ukrainian poet murdered by Russians in the 1920's, while Taras is the first name of the greatest Ukrainian poet — Taras Shevchenko.) Also the Area "UPA-South" was formed on the territory of the Kamyanets-Podil'skyi and Vinnytsia oblasts.

In the course of 1943 the UPA established contact with various units serving in the German army against their will, composed of nationals from peoples enslaved by Russia in the Soviet Union. The UPA started a systematic propaganda campaign in these units, calling on them to desert the German army and to come over to the UPA in order to fight together for the destruction of both imperialist powers, Germany and Russia, and to re-establish their own national sovereign states. The collection of leaflets, appeals, proclamations in the native languages of these peoples can serve as fragmentary proof of this very effective political campaign. (See UPA — *Collection of Documents*, Units Abroad of OUN, 1957, Library of the Ukrainian Underground, No. 6) Soon separate national units from the allies were

organized in the UPA: Azerbaijanians, Armenians, Georgians, Byelorussians, Tatars, Uzbeks, Chuvash and others. Together there were 15 such units.

On the initiative of the High Command of the UPA and OUN and with the personal participation of General Taras Chuprynka the First Conference of the Subjugated Nations of Eastern Europe and Asia took place on November 21-22, 1943 in the Volhynia forest. The political and strategic concepts of organizing a large international alliance of all the subjugated nations was formulated. The theory of insurgent revolutionary warfare was developed. A common ideological program was evolved.

After the conference Gen. Chuprynka ordered that more attention should be devoted to campaigning in order to gain friends and allies among the nationals working under pressure with the Nazis as well. The Ukrainian underground developed positive contacts with Italians, Hungarians, Rumanians, Frenchmen, Belgians, Dutchmen, Croats, Slovenians, Serbians, Czechs, Lithuanians, Slovaks, Jews, Poles and even some Russians. (Compare Lew Shankovs'kyi, "Ukrajins'ka Povstans'ka Armiia" in *History of the Ukrainian Armed Forces*, 2nd ed., publ. by I. Tyktor, Winnipeg, Canada, 1953, p. 684-5) Armistices, neutrality and mutual non-aggression pacts were signed between the UPA on the one side and the Hungarian Sixth Army and the High Command of the Rumanian Army on the other side. During the next several years a new very effective form of insurgent revolutionary liberation warfare evolved, namely the political-military raids by the UPA into the territories of the neighbouring countries. Such raids were carried through into Slovakia, Rumania, Byelorussia, Poland, the Caucasus, Croatia, Hungary and East Prussia. The non-Ukrainian insurgent units went later on to their own homelands and spread the concepts of a common anti-Russian national liberation struggle throughout the Soviet Union. The seed of national liberation revolutions was sown.

The year 1944 was highlighted in the life of General Taras Chuprynka by two main events: the participation in the conference at which the Ukrainian revolutionary underground government was formed (the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council — UHVR) and the passing through Ukraine of the German-Russian front, when the Germans retreated westward. The First Grand Assembly of UHVR took place on July 11-15, 1944 in the Carpathian Mountains in the Sambir region. Again, Chuprynka contributed decisively to the fulfilment of the idea of establishing during the process of the liberation struggle of a representative all-national government in contrast to the Russian puppet government in colonially enslaved Ukraine, the so-called Ukrainian S.S.R. The theory of such an underground liberation government as expounded by Taras Chuprynka-Shukhevych is reproduced in translation in this magazine. (See pages 19-28) Shukhe-

vych-Chuprynka himself was elected at this Grand Assembly to the posts of the Head of the General Secretariat of UHVR and the Secretary-General of Military Affairs of UHVR. (The first is equal to the post of prime-minister, the second — minister of defence) He remained in the post of the leader of three main formations of the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement (OUN-UPA-UHVR) until his heroic death in 1950.

During the years 1944-45 the UPA reached its peak strength, around a quarter of a million of men, assisted by many millions of the population. Under his able leadership and command, the Ukrainian liberation movement achieved significant victories, although it failed to achieve the desired goal — the establishment of a sovereign national state. After the end of World War II the Russians were able to deploy many elite army divisions and brigades of NKVD forces against the Ukrainian underground. The fighting on a large scale continued for two years, for the broad masses of the population supported the OUN-UPA struggle. The best example was given in the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, in 1946 and 1947. In both events the Ukrainian underground issued proclamations to the population urging it to boycott these elections. The people responded and not more than several per cent of votes were cast in the elections.

With each succeeding year the area covered by the liberation movement extended, not narrowed. In the years 1945-50 a tremendous amount of underground revolutionary literature was printed and distributed throughout Ukraine. A new method of fighting developed — concentration on destroying the leading enemy executioners, murderers, agent-provocateurs, traitors, Bolshevik propagandists, oppressors.

Moscow decided that in order to liquidate the Ukrainian nationalist movement its base must be destroyed, namely the people. So since 1946 deportations of the population of the areas in which the UPA operated were organized on a large scale. Hundreds of thousands of people were sent to Siberia and North-Russian sub-arctic areas.

The heroic struggle of the unbreakable elite of the Ukrainian liberation movement continued however without let-up. For this reason the Russian occupation forces concentrated their efforts on destroying the core of the freedom-fighters. They decided to hunt down the leaders. Subsequently the majority of the most outstanding commanders and activists were either killed or captured. The circle around General Taras Chuprynka was narrowing. Finally, near the village of Bilohorshcha on the outskirts of Lviv. All members of his escort died with Chuprynka in battle. However, the arrangements were already made to prepare a reserve command, which immediately took over the duties of the fallen commander-in-chief. Col. V. Koval became the new leader.

In the mid-50's the late Stepan Bandera wrote: "The certainty that the Bolsheviks will not be in a position to break down the struggle of the OUN-UPA is today generally accepted... In that the greatest credit goes to the incomparable high-principledness, heroism, sacrifice and combativeness of all cadres of OUN-UPA and the Ukrainian population which supports it wholeheartedly. In the second place the credit goes to the far-sighted, wise and manful leadership of the late Roman Shukhevych and the whole leading cadre commanded by him." (S. Bandera, *op. cit.*, p. 25).

Today from the perspective of twenty years we are fully justified in agreeing with the statement of the Leadership of the Units Abroad of the OUN of twenty years ago that "the enemy was mistaken. The struggle did not stop! The invincible UPA did not lay down its arms." The main commandment of Roman Shukhevych-Taras Chuprynka is still very timely: "All freedom-loving people the world over unite in the uncompromising revolutionary struggle against the Russian imperialists for the establishment of free, sovereign national states of all the presently subjugated nations and for the establishment of security, justice and peace in the whole world!"

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General Taras CHUPRYNKA (1907-1950)

The Origin of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council

(Shortened)

The liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people in the years 1917-21 ended in failure. After 1920 a large portion of members of the Ukrainian armed forces found themselves in the POW camps in Poland and the Czecho-Slovak Republic. Ukrainian political leaders, in particular those from the Eastern regions of Ukraine, who took active part in the renewal of the Ukrainian independent state and in the struggle for it, largely emigrated. The Ukrainian territories were partitioned among the USSR, Poland, Rumania and the CSR. The Ukrainian nation again found itself under foreign domination.

The liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people (1917-21) was represented by two governments — the Government of the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) and the Government of the West Ukrainian National Republic (ZUNR). In 1918 this was caused by separate development of liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people within the framework of tsarist Russia on the one hand, and within the framework of the Austrian monarchy on the other. The unification of all Ukrainian lands into one Ukrainian National Republic, which was solemnly proclaimed by the historic Act of January 22, 1919 in Kyiv, only momentarily terminated the existence of the two separate governments. Because of specific external political conditions under which the Ukrainian people waged their liberation struggle in 1920-21, both governments continued to exist and to act independently.

After 1920 both governments were also forced to go into exile. The government of ZUNR, as a representation of West Ukraine, functioned in exile until the final settlement of the Halychyna [Galicia] question by the Council Ambassadors on March 15, 1923. The government of UNR continued to exist further, even though after the liquidation of the Union for Ukraine's Liberation (SVU), i. e. after 1930, its influence in Ukraine was rather insignificant. Here, on Ukrainian territories, in 1921-39, under conditions, on the one hand,

of intensified aggression against the Ukrainian people by the invaders, especially in view of the extremely hostile policy toward the Ukrainian people of the Russian-Bolshevik occupants, and, on the other hand, under conditions of a steady growth of the *revolutionary* liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people for national liberation, a *new order of national-political relations* began to emerge. The government of the UNR which continued to uphold its political stand of 1918-21, in no way reflected the profound changes which were taking place in the national-political life of the Ukrainian people in Ukraine, either with regard to persons composing the leadership or its views — *and for this reason it could no longer be considered a representative of this new state of national-political relations in Ukraine.*

After 1920, the Ukrainian people, driven into the yoke of the occupying powers by force, did not cease their liberation struggle. They continued it with redoubled efforts in various forms and in various branches of their national life.

The most characteristic phenomenon of the Ukrainian national life in 1921-39 *was the rise and the continued growth of the underground, revolutionary* struggle of the Ukrainian people for the Ukrainian Independent United State. The most patriotic, the most idealistic and the most active Ukrainian elements found themselves in the vanguard of the underground struggle. The ideas of the Ukrainian nationalist movement became more deeply rooted in Ukraine. Wherever they reached they indivisibly captivated the Ukrainian popular masses and various Ukrainian national groupings. The Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement became one of the most important factors in the Ukrainian national political life.

The outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 gave the Ukrainian people hope as to the possibility for the realization of their striving for independence.

In particular, the leading Ukrainian political circles decided to take advantage of the outbreak of the German-Russian war in 1941 to further the ideals of independence of the Ukrainian people. On the initiative of the Ukrainian nationalist circles on June 30, 1941, i. e., in the very first days of the German-Russian war an independent Ukrainian government was formed on Ukrainian territory called the Ukrainian State Government which proclaimed to the world the reestablishment of the Ukrainian Independent State.

In retaliation for the declaration of Ukraine's independence the Germans arrested the members of the Ukrainian State Government, numerous leaders of the Ukrainian underground movement and leading Ukrainian patriots.

The policy of terror and oppression employed by the German occupying forces in Ukraine, led, in consequence, only to the

intensification and the expansion of the struggle of the Ukrainian people. The Ukrainian liberation movement, while looking for new ways, fought and is still fighting to achieve one and the same goal — the reconstruction of the Ukrainian Independent United State.

The year 1942 in Ukraine, and in particular its second half, was marked by reinforced aggression of the Hitlerite conquerors against the Ukrainian people. The Ukrainian population of the so-called "Reichskommissariat Ukraine" was particularly hard pressed. The Germans forcefully deported all able-bodied people to Germany to do slave labour, mercilessly plundered the population of the last food supplies, burned entire villages and murdered hundreds of innocent inhabitants, including large number of women and children for the least resistance to their draconic laws, conducted mass arrests of the Ukrainian freedom-fighters and all Ukrainian patriots.

Beside the Hitlerite occupation forces, the Ukrainian popular masses, particularly the peasants, were terrorized and plundered by bands of Bolshevik partisans. These bands, moving south from Byelorussia, began to control the northern and north-western wooded areas of Ukraine. The whole "anti-German struggle" of the Bolshevik partisans boiled down to plundering the Ukrainian population of the last slice of bread, the last piece of clothing, to searches for, and reprisals against the Ukrainian patriots.

Active and militant elements of Polissia and North Volhynia, organized in the ranks of the OUN, with the aim to defend the Ukrainian masses against the terror of the Hitlerites and the Bolshevik partisans and, desiring to fight actively for the realization of the Ukrainian people's strivings for independence with arms in their hands, began to organize armed groups in the autumn of 1942. These groups were forced to fight simultaneously on three fronts: against Hitler's forces, against the Bolshevik partisans sent to Ukraine by the Kremlin, and against the Polish chauvinists. The latter, dreaming about the reestablishment of Polish domination in Ukraine, organized and armed by the Germans, themselves began to intimidate the Ukrainian people in various ways.

The armed guerilla war against the enemies of the Ukrainian people was greeted with enthusiasm by the Ukrainian popular masses. The militant groups were reinforced more and more by the patriotic, predominantly young, fighting-age elements.

In February 1943, as the result of extremely acute German terror, the armed guerrilla struggle of the Ukrainian population against the Hitlerite occupation forces became a mass phenomenon.

Guerilla detachments, which were formed after a mass crossing to the illegal positions by thousands of the Ukrainian young people, thousands of Ukrainian men and women, could no longer exist as military groups of the OUN since, besides the OUN members, they were joined by people who at times sympathized with other political grouping or in the past at times belonged to these groupings, as well

as many Ukrainian patriots without affiliations. For these reasons it came to the reorganization of all armed detachments into an *all-national, above-party Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA)*.

In a short time the newly organized UPA repulsed all German and Bolshevik attacks on the Ukrainian population of Volhynia and Polissia and confined German domination in these territories exclusively to larger towns, main highways and railroad lines. At the same time the UPA also narrowed the territories controlled by the Bolshevik partisans to individual, small wooded islands.

Thus considerable territories of Volhynia and Polissia found themselves under exclusive control of the UPA. The UPA could no longer limit itself to armed actions, but had to establish order on the reconquered territories as well as to organize the government there. The administration of the area, the school system, land affairs, and the economic life in general required immediate attention and organization. All these matters were settled by appropriate decrees of the UPA-North Command.

In the summer of 1943 the UPA expanded into Halychyna and a large part of Right Bank [of the Dniro] Ukraine. A broad armed struggle for the Ukrainian Independent United State against all forces occupying Ukraine clearly became a general expression of the aspirations to independence of the Ukrainian popular masses, the Ukrainian people as a whole. A new era was dawning in the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people, a new era in the history of Ukraine.

The retreat of the German armies, the downfall of Germany, which was becoming more and more apparent, the progressive ideas of freedom of nations and individuals which were propagated by the UPA, drew many fugitives from the German POW camps and deserters from various auxiliary military formations, organized by the Germans from among the nations subjugated by the Bolshevik Russia, into the ranks of the UPA. Many Georgians, Azerbaijanis, Byelorussians, Tatars and others found themselves in the ranks of UPA. All of them were organized into separate national detachments with their own command but affiliated to the UPA.

In order to give the struggle of the international elements in the ranks of UPA an appropriate political platform, a Conference of the Subjugated Peoples was called for November 1943 in Volhynia on the initiative of the UPA. The Conference defined common goals and methods of struggle of all the nations subjugated by Russia.

The military and political successes of the UPA aroused the interest of Ukraine's neighbours and other foreign political circles in the problem of Ukraine. The representatives of governments of other states, wishing to conduct negotiations with official representatives of the Ukrainian people with the aim to regulate a whole series of political affairs, both current and future, began to establish contacts with the High Command of the UPA. Since no such all-national

representation of the Ukrainian people existed at that time — in the winter 1943-44 these negotiations were conducted by the High Command of the UPA. Representatives of other Ukrainian political independence groupings were also invited by the High Command to participate in these negotiations.

The massive expansion of armed struggle for the Ukrainian Independent United State, which occurred as the result of deeply rooted ideas of the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement among the broadest masses of the Ukrainian people; a definitely all-national character of this struggle; the control by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army of considerable territories of Ukraine; the approaching end of the war between the occupiers of Ukraine — Hitlerite Germany and Bolshevik Russia, and in this connection, the possibility of the existence of circumstances favourable to the cause of Ukraine's liberation; a considerable growth in importance of the Ukrainian problem as the result of the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people — all these moments caused the High Command of UPA to initiate a campaign in the *direction of the creation of an all-national, all-Ukrainian political centre, which would assume the responsibility for the highest political leadership in the liberation struggle for the Ukrainian Independent United State and would represent this struggle on the outside.*

It must be emphasized, that here the question was the creation of a *new* all-Ukrainian, generally national centre — a center which would reflect the *new state of national-political affairs in Ukraine* — a state of the broadly expanded struggle and which would *satisfy all needs of such broadly expanded struggle and would be able to actively direct and appropriately represent such a struggle.* The government of the UNR, which formally continued to exist, could not be considered such a centre, since, as we mentioned above, from the thirties on it in no way reflected the deep political changes which were taking place in the Ukrainian people in Ukraine, and was completely detached from the revolutionary liberation struggle which sprang up in Ukraine in the thirties. The Ukrainian State Government which was formed in Ukraine in June 1941 also could not be such a centre for the simple reason that at that time almost all members of this Government were confined to German prisons and concentration camps.

To put the plan of creation of the all-Ukrainian, generally national political centre (this plan was born in the circle close to the High Command of UPA in the autumn of 1943) into effect, an Initiatory Committee was formed in the spring of 1944. This committee began intensive work in this direction.

At that very time, i. e. in March 1944, a large Bolshevik winter offensive came to standstill on the line Kovel-Brody-Kolomyia. Thus, Ukraine, cut by the line of battle, was under two occupations: the

greater part of Ukraine was already under new Russian-Bolshevik occupation, and a small part of West Ukraine — under Hitlerite. The defeat of Hitlerite Germany was completely evident, but the Germans did not capitulate, hoping for a miracle perhaps.

What was the political situation of Ukrainian territories which found themselves under new Russian-Bolshevik occupation, in particular East Ukraine?

Only a very insignificant part of East Ukrainian population actively joined the system of the occupant: the former Bolshevik partisans, members of the Bolshevik party, former employees of Bolshevik administration, etc. It must be emphasized that in recent times the least valuable and the most speculative element, whose life's motto was nothing more than personal gain, personal career, found itself in the Bolshevik party and the administration. No nation in the world is devoid of such element and it always fills the ranks of all sorts of secret services. It was this very element, which, in order to win favour for itself with the new regime, a few months, or even weeks, before the coming of the Bolsheviks into Ukraine joined the Bolshevik partisan detachments en masse. Bolshevik propaganda did not fail to advertise this as "widespread partisan movement in Ukraine."

The second, numerically the greatest, basic part of the Ukrainian population of East Ukraine, being formally loyal to the new occupation regime — hated these occupants from the depth of their soul.

The third, quite large, part of nationally conscious and active East Ukrainian element, fearing Bolshevik reprisals and not wishing to serve the Bolshevik occupation forces, fled to the West, into exile.

The fourth part of East Ukrainian population, included and organized by the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement, remained on native soil under Bolshevik occupation, in order to continue their liberation anti-Bolshevik struggle. Some of the East Ukrainian revolutionaries were in West Ukraine during the fighting, hoping to return immediately to the eastern regions of Ukraine after termination of the fighting. Some UPA detachments were also active in the eastern Ukrainian regions.

The political situation in Western and Northwestern Ukraine was somewhat different.

Apart from a small segment of the Ukrainian community, mainly the intelligentsia, which was either German-oriented or did not consider itself strong enough to take part in the active struggle against the Bolshevik occupants and therefore was ready to emigrate to the West — the greater majority of the Ukrainian population, being thoroughly hostile to the Bolshevik occupants, was ready to remain on native soil and to continue an active armed struggle against the Russian-Bolshevik conquerors for the Ukrainian Independent United State. The Ukrainian population of this part of Ukraine was

completely under the influence of UPA and the revolutionary underground.

If one were to analyze the state and the make-up of the Ukrainian political forces in Ukraine in the early spring of 1944 and to abstract oneself from the so-called Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine, as a clearly non-Ukrainian agency and political force, then one has to admit that the only well-organized, serious and politically active force was solely the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). The OUN was almost completely backed by the popular masses of West and Northwest Ukraine, with the exception of some groups of city intelligentsia. It was the most active in every respect. All the political activities, which were conducted by UPA up to this time, were strongly influenced by OUN ideas. The OUN was intensively preparing to fight with Russian-Bolshevik occupation forces, and with this aim in mind, left almost all its cadres in Ukraine.

The Initiatory Committee decided to create the representation of the Ukrainian people on a democratic basis. A democratic platform made it possible for all honest and nationally worthy Ukrainian patriots, regardless of their political views, to participate in the direction of the liberation struggle.

The basic points of the political platform, which was to become a foundation for the formulation of a new political representation of the Ukrainian people, were: 1) to recognize without any reservations the idea of the Ukrainian Independent United State as the highest idea of the Ukrainian people; 2) to recognize the revolutionary methods of struggle for the Ukrainian Independent United State as timely methods of liberation struggle; 3) to make known their hostile attitude toward the Russian Bolsheviks and Germans as the occupying powers in Ukraine; 4) to recognize democracy as a principle upon which the representation is to be founded. Points 2 and 3 of the platform were called forth by the fact that the initiative for the creation of a general national representative organ came from UPA, which was conducting a revolutionary struggle against both the Bolsheviks and the Hitlerite occupation forces and that this organ was to head and to direct this type of struggle of the Ukrainian people against all forces occupying Ukraine.

Taking the democratic principle as the basis for the formation of a general national leadership of the Ukrainian people, the Initiatory Committee was trying to reflect in this temporary Ukrainian parliament as best and as fully as possible all the sound national political forces existing at that time in Ukraine. In particular, the Initiatory Committee devoted much attention to bring into the planned representation representatives of the East Ukrainian community, which was opposed to the Bolshevik regime. Here particular emphasis was placed upon the inclusion in this representation of the young generation, brought up under conditions of the Bolshevik occupation, but nevertheless upholding the idea of independence.

The work of the Initiatory Committee was not easy. Of course, the greatest difficulty was caused by the need for very strict secrecy which had to be enforced with regard to this matter. This matter could be discussed only with very reliable and discreet people. Groups which openly collaborated with the Germans, which were hostile to UPA and which often used denunciation before the enemy as a method of the interparty struggle had to be excluded from this campaign. Aside from representatives from strictly political circles, the Initiatory Committee invited several prominent citizens to participate, who represented other, non-political Ukrainian community circles. In June 1944 the work of the Initiatory Committee was finished.

On July 11, 1944, far from uninvited eyes, in the Carpathian Mountains, began the deliberations of the new Ukrainian Revolutionary Parliament. An UPA company guarded the meeting place against possible attack by the Germans or the Bolshevik partisans. Representatives of all Ukrainian territories assembled together, with a particularly large number representing the East Ukrainian territories. People holding various political views came together. There were those who represented acting, organized political parties, as well as those who represented momentarily inactive political groupings which, however, could contribute something to the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people. There were also representatives of non-political Ukrainian circles.

The assembly solemnly proclaimed itself the *Temporary Ukrainian Parliament* and called itself the *Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR)*. Rostyslav Voloshyn, a well-known civic leader from Volhynia, was elected Chairman of the Great Assembly of UHVR.

The Great Assembly listened to a extensive political report about the international situation, a report about the military situation delivered by the Commander-in-Chief of the UPA and a report about the current relations of the High Command of UPA with representatives of other states.

A particularly lively discussion was called out by the report on international situation. Representatives of the older political generation clashed in discussion with a younger revolutionary camp. Representatives of East Ukrainian territories took active part in the discussions. Inspired by the idea of the Ukrainian Independent United State, the Great UHVR Assembly managed to reconcile the ideas of the older and the younger generations.

No less important was the exchange of views on the relations of the High Command of UPA with representatives of other states and, in particular, the report on relations with the Polish liberation forces.

Further, the Great Assembly of the UHVR began the task of working out the Manifesto and the Platform of the UHVR. The socio-economic part of the Platform provided an opportunity for the participants, citizens of East Ukrainian territories, to express the

opinion of East Ukrainian community on all these problems. The Great Assembly paid close attention to these ideas and accepted the proposals of "Easteners" in the socio-economic field without reservations.

Next the Great Assembly worked out the Charter of the UHVR, which reflected the democratic principles shared by the participants of the Assembly. UHVR's Charter being strictly democratic on the one hand, gave a firm basis for the existence and activity of the UHVR organs, so very necessary under hard and everchanging revolutionary conditions, on the other hand. Taking into consideration the fact that in due course new political forces can arise within the Ukrainian people, as well as the fact that the existing political groups can change their attitude towards the UPA, the Great Assembly of UHVR accepted a resolution about the possibility of co-opting new members to the UHVR, who would be the spokesmen of these forces.

On the premises that national representation of any kind is a true spokesman of the will of the people as long as it works among the people and does not detach itself from them, the Great Assembly of the UHVR resolved that the seat of UHVR should be in Ukraine and only individual UHVR members with special assignments are to go abroad. This decision protects the UHVR against being transformed into an emigré representation, as was the case, for instance, with the Government of the one-time UNR, and in politics makes it completely independent from all outside forces.

On July 15, 1944 elections of the President of the UHVR Presidium, members of the UHVR Presidium, the Head of the General Secretariat of the UHVR, the Chief Justice of UHVR, and the Chief Controller of UHVR were held.

A solemn silence fell upon the deliberation hall when the President of the UHVR Presidium placed his hand upon the Ukrainian state emblem and began to repeat the oath of office . . . The President of Ukraine was taking his oath before the whole Ukrainian nation . . .

On that day the Great Assembly of UHVR adjourned and the delegates went home each to his place of work. The Ukrainian Parliament — the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council and the Ukrainian Government — the General Secretariat of UHVR began to act.

Several months have not yet elapsed, when all Ukrainian territories again found themselves under Russian-Bolshevik occupation. The UHVR remained in Ukraine — it remained with the people to share its good and ill fate, to lead it and to direct it in its holy liberation struggle.

The call of UHVR not to submit to the Russian-Bolshevik occupying forces as earlier they had not submitted to Hitlerite ones was answered by the Ukrainian people by a fierce, heroic struggle against

the Bolshevik oppressors and exploiters of Ukraine. The Ukrainian people, guided by the UHVR, continue their liberation struggle to the present day, that is for four years, and are ready to carry on this struggle to its victorious end — to the establishment of the Ukrainian Independent State.

The liberation struggle which in recent years has been waged by the Ukrainian people under the leadership of the UHVR is the best confirmation of the fact that the whole Ukrainian nation, which is fighting against the Russian-Bolshevik occupying forces and their Ukrainian agents, *unreservedly recognizes the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council and supports it wholeheartedly.*

Particularly glaring and strong manifestation of the unity of the Ukrainian people on Ukrainian territories with the UHVR is a complete boycott of the so-called elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and likewise the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR and the local soviets, which upon the request of the UHVR and in spite of the most brutal terror of the occupying forces was enforced by the Ukrainian people on February 10, 1946, and February 9 and December 21, 1947. By boycotting the Bolshevik elections, on the call from UHVR, the Ukrainian people not only unmasked the dictatorial, totalitarian, terroristic and basically undemocratic character of the Bolshevik regime, *but also conducted a mass plebiscite in favour of UHVR and its General Secretariat — their own Parliament and Government.*

UHVR's work in the Russian-Bolshevik occupied Ukraine is going on clandestinely, unseen by the general public. The Ukrainian people hear about it very seldom, by reading its declarations, appeals, resolutions, and so forth. The fighters of UPA and the members of the armed underground hear about it when in the orders of the High Command of UPA they hear the words: "Upon the decision of the UHVR dated . . . the Gold Cross of Military Merit of the first class was awarded . . ." All those who have repeated the words of the UPA Oath composed at the Great Assembly of the UHVR know about it. And finally, all those find out about it who hear that besides the rank and file members of UPA also the members of the UHVR have fallen on the field of glory: the native of Volhynia, Rostyslav Voloshyn — the Chairman of the Great Assembly of UHVR and the native of East Ukraine — Yosyp Pozychaniuk. The remainder of political activity of UHVR for conspiratorial reason must be hidden from the general public.

UHVR — the all-national representation of the Ukrainian people exists and acts. The UHVR directs the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people, heads and represents it. The UHVR is leading the Ukrainian people through all the hurdles of struggle to the final victory — to the Ukrainian Independent United State.

[Ukraine, 1948]

WACL Conference Resolutions

DECLARATION OF THE THIRD ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE WORLD ANTI-COMMUNIST LEAGUE

The World Anti-Communist League, meeting at its Third Annual Conference in Bangkok, Thailand on December 3-6, 1969, with an attendance of 180 delegates and observers from 54 member-and observer-units, has taken another big forward stride in its endeavour to establish a joint international anti-Communist front by rallying freedom-loving forces under the banner of a crusade for freedom.

With a new decade about to begin, the WACL is doubly aware of its responsibility in the face of rapidly-changing times. The tremendous achievements in the field of scientific creation and material production, and especially the epoch-making significance of the recent successful landing on the moon, point to the possibility that the 1970's will be an era of true freedom for mankind. However, the evils of communism, the terror of slave labour and the menace of Communist aggression still threaten peace and freedom in the world.

The WACL reaffirms its conviction that it must continue its unremitting effort to wipe out Communism, destroy the slave labour system and counter all attempts at aggression until a total victory is attained by all the freedom-loving people of the world.

The WACL firmly believes that to treat the evil power of Communism as compatible with decency is contrary to all principles of justice. All endeavours to reach constructive results through negotiations with Communist aggressors are doomed to failure. The WACL wishes to solemnly remind those peoples of the free world, currently negotiating with the Communists, of their dedication to freedom and that they must forever be vigilant against double talk by the Communists.

To the free world peace-negotiators now in Paris, the WACL wishes to state solemnly that the talks must not be allowed to jeopardize the independence and freedom of the republic of Vietnam.

To the government of the United States of America, the WACL must emphasize that, unless the Communists show concrete signs of sincerity, there should not be any premature withdrawal of U.S. combat units from Vietnam such as would weaken the posture of the United States of America and its allies.

In this connection, it is noted that the United States government has agreed to return Okinawa to Japan by 1972 and that, consequently, certain American combat units would be withdrawn from the Island. In view of this, the WACL also must emphasize that sufficient measures should be taken to safeguard the security of the Republic of Korea and other adjacent areas still threatened by Communist aggression.

The WACL wishes to warn advocates of appeasement against unthinkingly giving aid and comfort to Communist designs on human freedom. Lamentably, there have been many cases of young people being exploited and utilized by the Communists to serve their own ends. The WACL calls on the youth of the world to stand bravely and resolutely on the side of freedom and join in the fight for democracy and justice.

The WACL must state that the international Communists are still bent on expansion, infiltration and subversion in Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas. Such aggression poses the greatest menace to the security and peace of the world.

For this reason, the WACL is of the opinion that efforts must be stepped up to build an international anti-Communist front, to unite all the freedom fighters of the world and to check Communist atrocities. All the free peoples of the world must support the East European and Asian peoples, still languishing under Communist rule, in their fight to regain freedom. Positive assistance must be given for the liberation of these peoples and also in countering any future Communist attempts at aggression, rooting out at the same time the evil influence of Communist ideology of whatever brand.

The WACL renews its support of the liberation fight of Ukraine, Caucasian nations, Byelorussia, Hungary, Baltic States, Turkestan, Bulgaria, Rumania, Albania, Croatia, Chechia, Slovakia, East Germany and all others against Russian imperialism and Communism, which has violated their national independence and human rights.

The WACL has decided to hold its fourth annual conference on September 21, 1970 in Tokyo, Japan.

Turmoil is ahead in the 1970's. The WACL pledges to start the new decade with determination and courage in order to make the 1970's a decade of decisive victory for freedom.

The WACL takes this opportunity to express its heartfelt felicitations to His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej of Thailand on his birthday on December 5, 1969. The WACL is convinced that Thailand has an infinitely bright future as a great free nation.

RESOLUTION IN SUPPORT OF THE CAPTIVE NATIONS AND ON THE THREAT OF RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM TO THE FREE WORLD

Whereas, Soviet Russian imperialism — after conquering Ukraine, Byelorussia, Turkestan, the peoples of the Caucasus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Slovakia, Czechia, Bulgaria, Rumania, East Germany and others, helped Communism to subjugate North Korea, North Vietnam, supported Communism on the Mainland China, in Cuba and in other countries (Zanzibar, Albania, Croatia, Serbia) brutally suppressed the liberation uprisings of Ukrainian and other prisoners in Russian concentration camps (1948, 1953, 1959), crushed the Hungarian Revolution in 1956 and the attempts of the Czech and Slovak peoples to free themselves (1968) is invariably growing with the aim of world domination;

Whereas, the present-day Russian fleet realizing the historic imperialism of tsarist Russia to dominate the seas, threatens Southern Europe, the Near East and Northern Africa and is systematically expanding to the Indian as well as the Pacific Ocean;

Whereas, by means of guerilla warfare in Latin America, Moscow is trying to establish there regimes dependent on it;

Whereas, by means of subversion of social order, general demoralization, student unrest in North America and Western Europe, and in the USA through racial conflicts provoked by it, Moscow is trying to conquer these parts of the world from within;

Whereas, Russian and Red Chinese aggression against independence and the reunification in freedom of Vietnam and Korea through their support of North Vietnam and Viet Cong and the support of subversion in South Korea threatens the independence and freedom of the Asian people;

Therefore the Third World Anti-Communist League Conference resolves:

1. To continue the political support of the national liberation struggle of all nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism in the USSR and outside its borders for the restoration of their free and independent states and for human rights;

2. To appeal to the governments of the free world:
 - a. to initiate a policy of liberation of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism, which constitute the Achilles' Heel of the Soviet Russian prison of nations supported by the free world the national liberation revolutions and uprisings capable of toppling the the Russian Bolshevik empire and the Communist system and preventing the thermo-nuclear war;
 - b. to support the struggle for the reunification in freedom of countries divided by force;
 3. To condemn:
 - a. the endless Russian Communist policy to grasp, aggression against ever new countries, the subjugation of numerous nations and the violation of human rights and planned perpetration of genocide of peoples;
 - b. the Russification of life of the subjugated nations, the destruction and burning of cultural, historical and religious monuments, archives, museums and churches by Russian chauvinists in the subjugated countries;
 - c. the maintenance of concentration camps and the imprisonment in them of intellectuals, clergymen and faithful of various religious beliefs, for freedom of speech, thought, conscience, and national and human rights.
 4. To appeal to the free world to urge Russia:
 - a. to release immediately all political prisoners, in particular, all imprisoned priests, Catholic and Orthodox, Protestant ministers, Moslem and Jewish religious leaders, and especially, the Archbishop of the underground Ukrainian Catholic Church, V. Velychkovskiy, if he is still alive, and generally all prisoners-fighters for human rights and the independence of peoples;
 - b. the abolishment of all concentration camps in the Soviet Russian prison of nations and individuals, and in the whole Communist sphere of influence;
 5. To urge that the leaders of all nations of the free world condemn the USSR and its satellites as the most cruel prison of nations and work for the expulsion of the USSR and its satellites from the United Nations and other international organizations for violating the UN Charter and for the breaking of relations with this empire;
 6. To appeal to the public of the free world to urge their respective governments to change their policies toward the captive nations from the so-called peaceful coexistence with Russia to the policy of liberation; to combat the Communist fifth columns within the free nations; to strengthen patriotism, the heroic concept of life and social justice; to protest and demonstrate against Bolshevik crimes, aggression and genocide, against the violation of the rights of individuals and nations.
- Adopted unanimously, Dec. 6th, 1969.

RESOLUTION AGAINST EXTERMINATION OF CULTURAL LEADERS AND DESTRUCTION OF MONUMENTS IN UKRAINE

Whereas the extermination and Russification policy of Moscow towards the Ukrainian people in all spheres of life — cultural, religious, economic, national and political — is being intensified;

Whereas the Ukrainian people is invariably and painstakingly continuing the struggle for its own free and independent state and human rights;

Whereas Moscow' persecution of the Ukrainian cultural leaders and the Ukrainian Catholic and orthodox underground Churches is becoming more brutal and intensive;

The Third World Anti-Communist League Conference resolves:

1. To render its full political support to the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people for the restoration of its free and independent state and for human rights;
2. To condemn most strongly the destruction and burning of cultural, historical and religious monuments, archives, museums and churches in Ukraine and in other subjugated countries (e. g. the burning of priceless archives in the church of St. George in the Vydubitskyi Monastery in Kyiv, the library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR, the destruction of a synagogue in Odessa with valuable archives, etc.);
3. To condemn the gradual poisoning of food which is served to prominent Ukrainian intellectuals (M. Horyn, I. Kandyba, L. Lukianenko and others) incarcerated in concentration camps, the 25-year confinement in the Vladimir prison of Ukrainian underground Red Cross volunteers (K. Zarytska, O. Husak, H. Didyk and others), the imprisonment by the decision of the KGB without any trial of Ukrainian jurists, in particular Volodymyr Horbovyi, LLD, who is confined to a concentration camps for 23 years, the imprisonment of the Ukrainian Catholic underground priests, with Archbishop V. Velychkovskyi at the head, as well as Orthodox and Protestant clergymen, — annihilation of fighters for freedom and independence of their homelands, forced Russification, Communist murders of fighters for freedom and independence in the free world (1959 — Ukrainian revolutionary leader, Stepan Bandera, 1949 — 1969 Byelorussian, Azerbaijani, Turkestanian, Hungarian, Slovak, Croat and other fighters for freedom) — are invariably continuing and are being systematically intensified, and to appeal to the conscience of the free world to exert every effort in order to stop this terror, genocide and destruction of cultural monuments in Ukraine and other subjugated countries and to obtain immediate release from the prisons and concentration camps of the Ukrainian political prisoners and prisoners of other nations subjugated in the USSR and in the so-called satellite states and the liquidation of all concentration camps.

Adopted unanimously. Dec. 6th, 1969.

RESOLUTION ON COMBATING THE "BREZHNEV DOCTRINE"

Recognising that the "Brezhnev Doctrine" which violates both the spirit and letter of the United Nations Charter was used to crush the struggle of Czecho-Slovakia for freedom.

It is hereby resolved:

- (1) To strongly condemn this doctrine.
- (2) To appeal to the free peoples of the world to repudiate the intent of the "doctrine" and its implied recognition of spheres of influence and the acceptance of the status quo in Communist influenced countries.
- (3) To urge the United Nations to closely examine the "doctrine" in relation to the United Nations charters.

Adopted unanimously. Dec. 6th, 1969.

RESOLUTION ON COUNTER-ACTION AGAINST THE CELEBRATING OF THE LENIN CENTENNIAL

Considering that the Kremlin is making plans to celebrate the Lenin Centennial in 1970 throughout the world with a view to inspiring communists and their fellow-travellers all over the world with optimism and courage:

Be it resolved that all member units organise counter-action in their respective countries by exposing the evil ideology of Lenin's teachings and the tyrannical rule and genocide that has ensued, and also to counteract steps taken by UNESCO and other Free World media to observe this event.

Igor SHANKOVSKY,
Asst. Professor,
Department of Foreign Languages,
Southern Illinois University.

THIRTEEN SHORT STORIES BY V. SYMONENKO

Symonenko, young Ukrainian poet, left behind thirteen short stories. From the study of all available sources it can only be presumed that some of Symonenko's short stories appeared in print while he was still alive.¹ Ten short stories were printed posthumously in Soviet Ukrainian periodicals.² In late 1965 the only book of Symonenko's prose was published in Soviet Ukraine.³ This little book contained only thirteen short stories.

What is a short story, as viewed in Soviet terminology? In a recent book on theory of literature we find, among others, one statement with which we agree:

A short story is a very important aspect of literary prose, which demands great skill from a writer, for here, extensive contents must be presented in concise form. In a short story it is not possible to describe exactly, to narrate, like in a novel. Here every word must carry considerable charge.⁴

To "carry considerable charge" words must be frequentative or contain supplementary semantics. Symonenko effectuates the principles of the above definition in a masterly way.⁵ "Polysemy of a

¹ Vasyl Symonenko was a young Soviet Ukrainian poet who died of cancer at the age of 28 in December, 1963. After a search of all major Soviet Ukrainian periodicals such as *Vitchyzna*, *Dnipro*, *Zhovten'*, *Zmina* and bi-weekly *Literaturna Ukraina* (*hazeta*) for 1960-1965, no short stories by Vasyl Symonenko printed prior to January, 1964 could be located.

² The following short stories appeared posthumously: "Duma pro dida", *Zmina*, (January, 1964); "Vyno z troyand", "Kukurikaly pivni na rushnykakh", "Chorna pidkova", "Vin zavadzav yii spaty", "Vesillya Opanasa Krokvy", *Dnipro* (January, 1964); and "Neimovirne interv'yu", "Psykhologichnyi poyedynok", "Posmishky nikoho ne obrazhayut", "Siriy paket", *Literaturna Ukraina* (April 10, 1964).

³ Vasyl Symonenko, *Vyno z troyand* (L'viv: Kamenyar, 1965).

⁴ P. K. Volynsky, *Osnovy teorii literatury* (Kiev: Radians'ka shkola, 1962), 265.

⁵ The definition, as quoted above, was consciously selected from P. K. Volynsky's book: *Osnovy teorii literatury*. This book, at the time of publication perhaps the only book on theory of literature published in Ukrainian during the early sixties, must have been well known to Symonenko, whose most accomplished period of creativity was achieved in 1962 and lasted until his

word is basal if a language is to be material for creation of an image¹⁶ — says a contemporary of Symonenko and author of several books on literary criticism in Soviet Ukraine. Anyhow, in the limited frame of a short story, Symonenko succeeded in revelation of polysemy in many a word of the Ukrainian language, particularly in characterization of his personages. His heroes, although ordinary people, come alive in a very extraordinary way to win the reader and remain memorable. His images are immediate as only a direct to individual experiences can be. The dialogues, external and internal (rarer) monologues, streams of consciousness in Symonenko's prose are presented in conformity to his literary style in an open, matter-of-fact manner; his narrative is in such exact precision, containing its own rhythmic structure, that not a single word could be omitted without damaging the content. Symonenko uses words sparingly, they become ponderable and national in his short stories. Often a few words reveal a complex situation, only a few phrases the meaning of a complex plot. Let us examine the essence of characterization as demonstrated by the narrator's elaboration on Olga in the first short story:

Even staid old men were lost in contemplation of her and seldom a young fellow would not survey her from head to foot. Some had in their eyes gleaming admiration, some — undisguised lust, still others feasted their eyes on her like on a chef-d'oeuvre of beauty. When she threw black braids over her resilient breasts and drifted across the village with a mattock over her shoulder, the boys used to go mad. They came diffidently to her gates and spoke with inspiration about love and she would only listen and keep silence. Nobody dared as much as touching her, as if afraid to defile the beauty. She scorned no one, never scolded, just asked bidding good-bye:

untimely death in 1963. The above observation of Volynsky about short story as a genre can be worth accepting. Volynsky is well versed in his subject matter. For similar definitions and discussions of short story as a genre see: V. Tsvirkunov, *Siuzhet* (Kiev: AN URSR, 1963), 219-226; Vasyl Fashchenko, *Novela i novelisty* (Kiev: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1968), 3-13; L. I. Timofeyev, *Osnovy tyeorii lityeratury* (Moscow: Prosvyshcheniye, 1966), 346; I. V. Gutorov, *Osnovy sovyetskogo lityeraturovedeniya* (Minsk: Vysheishaya shkola, 1967), 305; G. L. Abramovich, *Vvedeniye v lityeraturovedeniye* (Moscow: Ministyerstvo Prosvyeshcheniya, 1961), 272-273; Jack London, "Neizvyestnoye pis'mo", *Lityerturnaya gazeta* (January 11, 1966), 4; Jack Fields, *A Study of the Short Story* (Wichita, Kansas: McCormick-Mathers Publishing Co., Inc., 1965), 1-3; William Flint Thrall and Addison Hibbard (Authors), C. Hugh Holman (Ed.), *A Handbook to Literature* (New York: The Odyssey Press, 1960), 456-459; Kenneth Burke, "Semantic and Poetic Meaning", *The Southern Review* (Winter, 1939), 501-523; Caroline Gordon, "Notes on Chekhov and Maugham", *The Sewanee Review* (Summer, 1949), 401-410; René Wellek, "The Mode of Existence of a Literary Work of Art", *The Southern Review* (Spring, 1942), 735-754; René Wellek, "The Parallelism between Literature and the Arts", *English Institute Annual: 1941* (1942).

¹⁶ H. K. Sydorenko, *Osnovy literaturoznavstva* (Kiev: Kiev University Publishers, 1942), 108.

— Don't pay court to me anymore. Okey??

There is nothing unusual in this passage at first sight, many a Ukrainian writer devoted attention to village beauties, plots involving countryside are nothing new in Ukrainian literature. New in this passage is the phenomenal condensation; what used to take some writers pages, indeed, paragraphs to relate, is passed here to a reader in six sentences. The point is: Symonenko's mastery of the genre is embodied in his rigid condensation.

Comparative literature analyses creative works in boundaries of the same genre (short story versus short story, novel versus novel, poem versus poem), therefore, Symonenko's short story can be compared to none of the preceding short stories by the Ukrainian writers, for none of his forerunners achieved such economy of words, such condensation of meaning in a few lines. I am not the only one to make a similar observation about Symonenko's mastery in the miniature genre, almost all of the critics (their opinions will be shown later in this essay) reached an agreement in underlining the economy of his prose, praising his delicate feeling for the polysemy in words of his selection. How appropriate psychologically motivated is the attitude of men toward Olga in the village, shown in one sentence (some, some, others), how considerably charged is the word "drifted" in picturing the rhythmic way of walking by a village beauty. The equal amount of polysemy in the provided passage (some of these words create entire scenes in one's imagination) can be found in: "survey", "throw", "diffidently", "keep silence." In six sentences of the above passage Symonenko showed mode of life in a typical Ukrainian village. Every village in Ukraine has its own "beauty", an object of common admiration and Symonenko showed it without unnecessary pathetics, without folkloric undersoil and sentimentality of Hryhor Kvitka-Osnov'ianenko, without deliberate dramatization and detail of Mykhailo Kotsyubynsky, without dialectal peculiarity of Stefanyk and Cheremshyna; with economy of words accessible by none of them.

A very important device in Symonenko's short stories is his ability to involve the reader, to make him a part of the story. Although such seems to be the aim of every writer, in genres of small form this aim is very difficult to achieve. Symonenko succeeds with this device because he could foresee response of a reader, gifted with above average psychological insight. At the very beginning in each of the thirteen short stories a reader gets to know the heroes, becomes to be tiny part of what is happening, feels, loves, and hates with them. Symonenko's skill is obvious. He not only introduces the reader to the heroes of his short stories, he re-creates their prototypes from his own experience of the *typical*, Symonenko's heroes are alive, they

7) Vasyl Symonenko, *Vyno z troyand* (L'viv: Kamenyar, 1965), 3. The opening story by the same name. From now on this source will be quoted in the following manner: V. S., *Ibid.*, and page number. All translations are by the author of this essay.

bear no likeness to one another within the plots but they do bear likeness to their prototypes from real life. Similar people were encountered by the reader in his own surrounding, meeting them he behaved somehow in a given situation, formed his own, certain opinion about them and therefore Symonenko is successful in pulling the reader to within the story. This proves his mastery in typification not accessible by many a writer. Let us examine a psychological tension between two young people in the shortest of Symonenko's stories and therefore provided here in translation in its entirety:

A Black Horseshoe

The clouds were creeping so low that people seemed to appear out of them suddenly and to fade away just as abruptly. The girl raised her head up, as if wanting to pierce the foggy gloom. She was touching the cloud-corners with her long eyelashes, her eyes were the only blue spots in the pre-storm gray.

— I do not love you, — she said, looking into the sky. — You have lied to me...

— I did not lie to you...

— You didn't love me.

He was looking at the ground and didn't see what was happening above them.

— I do love you, — the boy scraped nervously a little green hump with his shoe, and already knocked out an impression of a black horseshoe in it. — I do love you...

— You're simply afraid to lose me, to be left alone.

— Nonsense! — his temper rose sharply. — If I have become indifferent for you, then...

She threw at him two blue bolts of lightning.

— Why are you looking at the ground all of the time?

He lifted up his eyes as if they were two cannonballs and glanced at her, but a second later they fell back to the grass.

— It does not matter where I look.

— You never look directly at me. You were always avid and impatient, — she was fusillading his suspicions. — You didn't wish to be happy with me, you simply wanted to bestow happiness upon me.

All of a sudden she began to cry, and it took much of her effort not to fall into his arms.

— I also would like to make at least one person happy, — she stamped her heel into the soft ground angrily and ran.

— Wait, — he started after her.

The thunder let out sporadical coughing and large, hail-like raindrops started to punish the leaves. Then clouds released the two of them. They were holding hands as they ran directly for cover under a maple tree. They stopped, out of breath, wet, and happy to find such a thick crown of maple.

— Look, a horseshoe! — shouted the boy.

They bent over the black arc soldered into the green craziness. Somehow, unintentionally, their eyes met, then hands, and lips.

— One finds a horseshoe for happiness, — whispered her lips.

Those who find horseshoes never think about those who lose them.

The typification of the two young people is done here, to great extent, by focusing attention on their *eyes*. The girl is gifted with "two blue bolts of lightning", the boy with "two cannonballs." The girl "threw" them at the boy, the boy "lifted" his, but a second later "they fell back to the grass." This seems to indicate that the girl is more aggressive than the boy. The dialogue between such two could have taken place anywhere in the world, between two young people of any nationality. It is this universal mirror of human psychology by a writer, who left behind him only thirteen short stories, that proves a successful debut of an untimely silenced talent. Therefore, Symonenko must be regarded as a beginner in prose, who immediately mastered the miniature genre.

In order to see what importance polysemy plays in words selected for creative work in miniature genre, let us quote a reminiscence, about his own blunder, by one of the prominent contemporary Soviet Ukrainian writer:

... The poet and literary critic Ya. Savchenko opportunely had scorned a factitious, up to the point of frenzy, picture in one of my works: "Again outside, just like yesterday, just like three days ago, gray, blind, colourless and tiresome like *typical intelligentzia* clouds were roving."

... After some time, when I have read Chekhov's: "The wistful August moon was shining, wistful, because Autumn was near", and noticed that this short, simple phrase created a picture of pre-Autumnal night and had set me to a minor key, only then I have understood, that after turning over tons of wordly ore upon the paper I have not mined a single gramme of new word radium out yet...⁸

In such a manner one of the masters of contemporary Soviet Ukrainian short stories is submitted to selfcriticism. Justly so, for: "just like yesterday", "just like three days ago" (if "gray" then why "colourless"!?), "like *typical intelligentzia*" — are superfluous statements in the quoted phrase. If one, at this point, should attempt to submit Symonenko's phrases to similar criticism, it would be discovered that such an endeavour is not simple after all and perhaps impossible without seriously damaging the short story. For instance, in "A Black Horseshoe" polysemy of the word "fusillading" obviously contains "to convince", "to change one's mind", "to destroy" (doubts). "She was fusillading his suspicions" ... how understandable, without any commentaries, is this phrase considering the circumstances. It is

⁸) V. S., *Ibid*, 14-15.

⁹) Borys Antonenko-Davydovych, *V literaturi i kolo literatury* (Kiev: Molod', 1964), 175.

no secret that in similar manner quite a few writers were "convinced" in USSR, in matter of fact anybody who ever had "suspicions" or "doubts."

As a representative of the latest generation of Soviet Ukrainian writers, popularly named "shestydesyatnyky" (Poets of the Sixties), Symonenko offered a new point of view, quite rebellious against the usual norms of "socialist realism", namely: innovatory search in high realm of thoughts. In the short story "Vyno z troyand" (The Wine of Roses) the hero who wins the love and admiration of beautiful Olga is not a "true representative of socialist youth", but a hopeless romantic in love with flowers, an idealist with a fairy-tale world of his own, and a cripple at that. In "Vin zavazhav yii spaty" (He Disturbed Her Sleep) the narrator entering Hnat's stream of consciousness says: "Some time ago he used to make fun of the positive heroes in cheap novels. He always used to dream that a workbench or a tractor were positive."¹⁰ In "Posmishky nikoho ne obrazhayut" (Smiles Insult Nobody) a representative of Soviet "neo-Victorian prudery" scolds two youngsters smiling at each other:

... — But we don't even know one another! — smiled the girl.

He almost turned into a stone monument from the shock.

— What? You don't know one another? And you dare to sit side by side and smile to one another in broad daylight?

I thought he would burst from anger as he continued to daub us with banalities, even the sun lost its footing and stumbled over the blade of a poplar tree. I wanted at that point to shut my ears and shoot away wherever I might hit, but now again spoke that gray-gray man.

— For devil's sake, why do you bother these youngsters? Let them smile, that could insult only hippos.

— Yeah, connivers like you are responsible for what is happening with our youth, blasted back the defender of chastity at the gray-haired with bile of self-righteousness.

— Why don't you beat it, before I call a cop, — tiredly retorted the other. Sickening.

— It's you who should be taken to the police station! Impudents! — wailed out the insulted, but decided it was time to move on and a while later his figure, filled with contempt and copy-book maxims, disappeared behind the hedge.

We sat again and smiled. The sky above us was even bursting with laughter so hard that one could see its pink gums.¹¹

Here, again, we notice the importance of strategically placed words containing polysemy. They are: "daub", "hit", "defender", "bile", "copy-book maxims", to name only a few; all of them contain in the above passage more than their dictionary value. Metaphors, like: "the blade of a poplar tree", "pink gums of the sky" also intensify the

¹⁰) V. S., *Ibid.*, 16.

¹¹) V. S., *Ibid.*, 34-35.

emotional involment in this episode. Attention to detail (by which concentration of a plot is achieved) and use of metaphors are essential in a short story. This is how a Soviet Ukrainian critic sees it:

... Detail is not the only important element in a short story. A short story, like literary work of any genre, is saturated with distinct epithets, accurate similes, ponderable metaphors, precise synonyms and other figurative devices, selection of which is motivated in each separate case by lofty thematic contents, and, while carrying maximum charge is subordinative to the task of revealing an image...¹²

Symonenko was above all a poet. This fact allowed him to enrich the genre of short story with devices borrowed from poetics, quite often entire lines in his prose have distinct iambic intonation: "... the shade had reached already grandpa's knees ... 'p. 235, "... but look, what I from rabbit brought ..." (p. 28), "... a storm had washed away the tired feeling ..." (p. 32), "... we were returning from the railroad depot ..." (p. 37). Such patterns are plentiful in Symonenko's prose, other metrics can also be found: "... Phantoms came to vestibule, they stamped ..." (p. 44, trochee), "... the mornings of autumn uneasy like nightmares ..." (p. 10, amphibrach), "... when the train will be pounding the distance ..." (p. 36, anapaest), "... lips burnt with fever Omélko had twisted ..." (p. 49, dactyl), to name just the basic ones. Rhythmic patterns, present in each one of Symonenko's short stories, are partly responsible for that intimate tie between word and music in his prose, that certain link between reality and discriminative handling of words. This link might well be imagination.

Art is always only an imitation of reality. It uses symbols to express, and it uses stylistic devices to impress. Our aim is also to view Symonenko's short stories as a reflection of his age and the contemporary state of affairs within Soviet literary society, life of Ukrainian people, which Symonenko, as a young Soviet Ukrainian poet simply could not ignore and often vigorously criticized. Perhaps this criticism is one of the main reasons why Symonenko, primarily a poet, ventured into other genres (short story, fairy tale). At least on one occasion it could be presumed that the word "fairy tale" carries additional semantic value with Symonenko, namely, in addition it could stand for "reality." In the short story "Vyno z troyand" (The Wine of Roses) Andrew tells the following fairy-tale to the children:

... He was telling them that he sees flowers in his dreams, how they whisper to one another with gray stars, thought out fairy tales about strange lands, where flowers not only smell but can talk, and walk, and play hide and seek, and fade only then, when in the given land an unhappy human should appear.

— Flowers love happy people. In our land they do not fade on sight of unhappiness but cry. Did you see how much dew they carry in the

¹² M. Biletsky, *Opovidannya. Novela. Narys*. (Kiev: Dnipro, 1966), 42.

dawn? That's their tears. Who would find on a dewy dawn a flower without tears he will be very happy.

— Did you ever find a flower without tears?

— No, I never did, perhaps I never will...¹³

Is it at all possible to find "a flower without tears" in the land that under "socialism" understands "governmental capitalism" and happiness is a luxury afforded only by the ruling circles? Andrew tells about lands, "where flowers not only smell but can talk, and walk, and play hide and seek . . .", and what seems to be the reality of Andrew's surroundings? "In our land they do not fade on sight of unhappiness but cry."

The above seems to indicate that Symonenko symbolizes a "human being" by a "flower." The entire excerpt then could be understood in the following manner: There is no happiness in our land, for it is impossible to find a flower without tears (human being without tears). This analogy could be widened out: Because the reality of Andrew's surroundings takes place in a Ukrainian village, real happiness could be found there only in a "fairy-tale."

All that was said about Symonenko's short stories so far indicates also strong ties between *language* and thoughts in his creative process. While reflecting what he regards as "objective reality", in the subjective cognition of whatever such "objective reality" should be, the language of Symonenko's short stories covers and blends in his own psychic experiences with "objective reality." This in turn could be viewed as the *function* of or creativity within such "objective reality."

Almost all Symonenko's short stories reflect various problems facing the Soviet Ukrainian youth. An exception is the short story "Vesillya Opanasa Krokvy" (The Wedding of Opanas Krokva). All others are about or involve youth — youth which seems to detach itself from the "established criteria" of official views.

Very little has been written about Symonenko's short stories in the Soviet Ukrainian press. Nevertheless, on rare occasions of attempted interpretation, Ukrainian critics, book reviewers, even readers are all in cautious agreement voicing admiration and praise.

Here is what was written in an article called "Voice of a Reader":

Our periodicals began to devote more time and effort lately to literary works of truly talented young writers. I would also like to add my voice about works of one young writer that sounds up until now so sincerely, spontaneously, exciting. The sound of a young poet, who is among us no more, it is.

One must mention him for reason that his short but garish creativity, deep world of associations, ardent love of native nature, trust in high civic ideals, thoughts about a place for a human being in society up until now received no critical evaluation.

¹³) V. S., *Ibid.*, 5.

Not long ago a talented lyric poet, a man of great civic courage, a poet of pure, tender sounds and deep thoughts — Vasyl Symonenko, has left us.

He left us, but fine memory he left behind, a remarkable mark in literature (in poetry and prose). It was already said about V. Symonenko's poetry. But now, in magazine "Dnipro" (1, 1964), posthumously, there were published these amazing, sincere attempts of V. Symonenko in prose.

Here, too, he remains a true poet. His short stories "The Wine of Roses", "A Black Horseshoe", "The Wedding of Opanas Krokva" are being received as a poetical requiem to human beauty, human courage and nobleness, purity and faithfulness of love, like an anthem to life, though the writer himself knew already about his incurable illness.

The language of his short stories (like that of poetry) is imaginative, melodious, in portraying nature he appears as a true and accomplished artist...

Later the reader concludes:

... The heroes of Symonenko's short stories are sincere, inspired, beautiful people, people one wants to remember and imitate.

The short stories contain sound folk humour, lyricism and true sincerity that immediately build bridges between readers and the author.¹⁴

Two years later the same magazine printed the following thoughts on Symonenko's prose:

... The book contains thirteen short stories and in every one of them Symonenko remains a poet — a poet of a great civic sound and salving aesthetic effort. In his works there are no conditional beauties or purely stylistic effects. His language is laconic and in this laconism the mighty elasticity of a bow-string is concealed. At first, it seems, that Symonenko doesn't need much to, for instance, portray the external and the internal side of his hero, to convey action. But it only seems so, for in his text one can not omit even one word, one cannot even switch them around or replace one word by another...¹⁵

There was a short mention in S. Adamchuk's article about contemporary Soviet Ukrainian prose:

... Beautiful people, perhaps not as much on the outside as on the inside live in talented poetical stories of Vasyl Symonenko. They are our contemporaries...¹⁶

Another mention in the form of a book review, again, almost two years later, in the same newspaper:

In the book "The Wine of Roses" there is no story which would fail to bring a "strange yearning in one's heart", though author is far from melodramatics or sentimentality. Quite the opposite, both in tragic and

¹⁴ Ivan Hryshaj, "Slovo chytacha pro prozu V. Symonenka", *Vitchyzna* (September, 1964), 215.

¹⁵ Ivan Matsenko, "Poeziya v prozi", *Vitchyzna* (April, 1966), 192.

¹⁶ S. Adamchuk, "Nevelyhki rozpovidi pro velyke zhyttia", *Literaturna Ukraina* (January 31, 1964), 2.

in touched by good-natured irony episodes, he remains stern and even merciless when it concerns those or that, which shades human beings or life...¹⁷

To great regret the same author arrives in his deliberations to such subjective banality:

... Party line, communist position of the artist is shown distinctly in both confirmation and denial. Vasyl Symonenko does not fall victim to chamber-tone, does not divide people into "individual" and "civic" and does not play one against another. He is interested in a whole human being, united in its individual and civic responsibilities. It becomes easy to reveal heroes he likes, they are present in every short story...¹⁸

To arrive at a conclusion that Symonenko approached his works from "party line, communist position" is a total absurdity. Exactly the opposite is true, not even one of his "official" personages can claim Symonenko's benevolence. That can be documented by words and deeds of the same "heroes", who the reviewer claims are so "easy to reveal." The entire "communist position" of Symonenko, based on all of his works known hereto, is culminated in two separate lines and in poetry, not prose, at that. In one line Symonenko claims that he might find strength to continue along "the path prescribed by Lenin"; in the second he, more pathetically than seriously, writes: "Oh, my communist joy!" These two lines, considering the entire heritage, is indeed too little to talk about "party line" and "communist position." Symonenko's prose contains no reference to communism at all. But one can surely find enough "reference" to "bureaucrats" existing and surviving handsomely in communist society, like one Nicolas Panasovich Krekoten':

... He is the child of his times. Once, somehow, he had raised himself, they had lifted him and sat him down on this here chair. And he keeps on sitting. He'll continue to sit without any complaints until they pick him up and re-sit into another one. As it always happens with people of low culture and poor mind the conscience does not bother him. He even keeps on looking down on people, especially restless ones, and considers himself irreplaceable. Indeed, it is hard to replace emptiness...¹⁹

This is about all one can say about Symonenko's prose at present. Perhaps future researchers will be able to find more than the existing thirteen short stories. But those available now place Symonenko, at least in the field of polysemy in selection and word economy, somewhere near the top of contemporary Ukrainian short story. Such view was until now voiced by all who ever wrote about Symonenko's prose, considering the specific difficulty of miniature genre.

¹⁷ Ivan Doroshenko, "Mova talantu", *Literaturna Ukraina* (January 7, 1966), 3.

¹⁸ Ivan Doroshenko, *Ibid.*

¹⁹ V. S., *Ibid.*, 58-59.

Olexa WOROPAY

CUSTOMS OF OUR PEOPLE

(Continuation — 2)

Part II.

In the Autumn time...

The First Prechysta

In the Ukrainian autumn calendar there are three days devoted to the Holy Virgin. They are popularly known as the First, the Second and the Third *Prechysta* (literally "the Purest Virgin") feasts.

On 28th August falls the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, or the First *Prechysta*. The peasants sow their winter rye about this time, so the folk proverb says:

The First Blessed Virgin sows the rye,
The Second waters it with rain,
The Third covers it with snow.

After the First Blessed Virgin's Day, the village girls have little hard work left, so another proverb says: "Come the first *Prechysta*, girls become idle talkers."

About this time fruit is gathered in the orchards of Ukraine. As the girls gather fruit they sing:

The Blessed Virgin was gathering pears,
She lost her bag in the garden there.
Lord God passed by, and found it alright.
"O Saviour, Father,
Give me back my bag,
I shall not go into your garden again."

If married women are working in the orchard they are not supposed to climb the trees for it is folk belief that if they do the tree will dry up and die — so only children or unmarried girls are allowed to climb the trees to gather the fruit.

"The Easter of horses"

The last day of August is devoted to Saints Flora and Laura. No horses are worked on this day because it is "The Easter of horses" — who neglects this day will never have very good horses.

Martyrdom of Saint John the Baptist

The Day of the Martyrdom of St. John the Baptist falls on September 11th. On this day a strict fast is observed and the Ukrainian peasant goes even without his *borshch* — an old proverb says: "There is no dinner without *borshch*."

Some people will not take a knife into their hands — remembering the beheading of the great martyr — bread is broken, never cut.

Folk legend says that if the head of a cabbage is cut on this day there will be a drop of blood on the knife. It is considered a sin to take, not only a knife, but an axe, or any sharp instrument in the hand on this day.

One folk legend tells a story of a peasant who on the "Baptist's" day was driving his horse and cart to the town. On the way, a piece of wood from the batten of his cart fell off. The peasant stopped his horse and sprang from his cart. He scratched his head wondering what he should do. "Only the father of all the devils could have broken my cart today", he cried. It was impossible to drive on because he was losing all his goods through the large gaping hole. Sorely tempted he took his axe and went into the nearby forest and chopped the wood necessary to repair the damaged cart. After his work was finished the peasant wanted to speak to a passer by. He opened his mouth, he moved his lips — he was completely dumb — it was as if his tongue had been cut out — he bellowed like a beast.

For a long time the peasant was dumb, but after much prayer and penance God gave him back the use of his tongue — so once more he was able to speak as a man.

St. Simon's Day

The folk legend says that on St. Simon's Day (14th Sept.) the swallows hide themselves in a deep well where they stay until the spring. On this day all the sparrows that fly to the reeds by the river are captured by devils, who fill a huge basket with them — when the basket is full the devils let the remaining sparrows free but those in the basket they keep for themselves. That is considered the reason why the swallows and very many sparrows vanish in the autumn.

In medieval Ukraine an interesting custom was observed on St. Simon's Day. A young boy prince was put on a horse and with much ceremony escorted to the church, and when the service was over a bishop with great ritual cut the child's hair.

Later, in Cossack times, this custom spread through Ukraine. Little boys had their first hair cut on this day — not in the churches, and not by bishops but as a general rule by the child's godfather. Even so it was a great occasion. The entire family went to church together. When they returned home the godfather spread his sheep-skin coat on the floor, lifted the little boy on to it and taking scissors cut his hair first over forehead, then at the back and finally over the temples — when this was finished the godfather carried the child outside and put him on to a horse, saluted him as a "Young Cossack!" Then everyone drank the health of the child — "To the young cossack!"

St. Simon's Day closes the season of out-of-doors singing parties which have been held since Easter. The young people now hold their parties in their homes. It is the season of evening parties called "vechornytsi."

In the good old days in Ukrainian villages, on St. Simon's Day the weavers started to make carpets — during the day they worked very hard, and the evening was spent in the inn, where they "sat through the evening." This "sitting through the evening" lasted for one week, from St. Simon's day till the second "Prechysta" — The Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

The Miracle of St. Michael

The great miracle of the Archangel — his conquering of the devil is marked in Ukraine on 19th September. The season for hunting wild beasts commences from this day. If by St. Michael's day (21st Nov.) hunting is successful, hunters go to church and light candles before his icon in thanksgiving.

This is not one of the churches most important festivals — but "folk belief" says that he who works on this day will be punished.

One legend tells of a peasant who on the day of the Miracle of the Archangel went to the field to sow rye. On the way he met an unknown man who stopped and said:

— Why do you sow today? Today is the feast of the miracle of St. Michael!

— It will be a miracle if I could finish my sowing! — replied the peasant.

He started to lift his harrow from his cart, but in some mysterious way the harrow got lifted over his head — and so he carried it all day.

Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary

On 21st September is the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, or, as the folk say, the Second "Prechysta." On that day, childless women prepare a very elaborate dinner for poor people and beseech Our Lady in whose honour the birthday party is given to bless them and all childless women with children.

Several days before our Lady's birthday lovesick maidens rise very early and go to the fields or the forest to gather special herbs wet with dew. There herbs are used as love charms.

As the girls search for the bewitched herbs they say:

"Holy Adam ploughs, the Lord God gives the seed,
Jesus Christ the seed doth sow,
The Mother of God gently waters it,
All Christian people gladly give,
To help the poor, for this great deed.

"Elevation of the Cross"

A week later the birds fly away to "Vyriy." This is a legendary Paradise of the birds and reptiles. The reptiles seek the protection of their rests in holes for winter, but the earth protects only good reptiles.

Those that have attacked people are frozen to death — this is God's punishment for their misdeeds. Another legend says that vipers who have attacked and bitten anyone are not allowed the shelter of a pit. They creep on to the roads on the day of the Elevation of the Cross (27th September). There they lie and wait for death under the wheels of carts. This suicide is preferred to death by freezing.

A folk legend says: "It is very dangerous to go to the forest on this day, because one is likely to fall into a viper's pit. This is the day when all reptiles gather into their pits for the winter, whoever falls into one of these unsavoury places must remain there until the spring without food, merely sustaining life by licking the reptiles' stone together with his unpleasant room mates. Ignoring this warning a young girl went to the forest on the day set aside for the Cross' Day. She was walking happily, running and jumping when she suddenly fell into one of these pits. There the poor disobedient girl was obliged to stay until the spring. Disgusting reptiles sucked her blood — she had no food, and to keep herself alive she had to lick the viper stone. At last the spring came, 4th March, when the earth awakens from her winter sleep. The pit was opened, the young girl climbed out, and dragged her weary body to her home— she was very weak and barely able to relate to her family where she had spent the winter before she died."

The cuckoo is the first to fly away to Vyriy, she was the first to come back from there too, because she holds the golden key of this enchanted country, this paradise, where all the birds may go when the rivers are frozen and the fields covered with snow.

Folk legend says that Vyriy is a country beyond the Black Sea, where the sun is near to the earth making it warm, a land of perpetual summer, where all illness disappears if one bathes in the warm enchanted well. In that fair land the birds make their home in the valleys and the reptiles dwell in the hills. The people of Vyriy are so small that their beds are only half elbow in width and made of scented flower petals.

"Pokrova"

**(The Day of the Omophorion of the Holy Mother of God —
"Our Lady of Protection")**

The 14th October is "Pokrova" — the Day of the Omophorion of the Holy Mother of God, which can be described as the Day of Our Lady of Protection. This Church feastday has been introduced to

perpetuate the memory of the miraculous intercession of the Mother of God and the help She gave to the Christians during the siege of the city of Constantinople by the fierce Saracens in A.D. 909.

The Ukrainian people have since ancient times honoured this Feast. There was a Church at the chief fortress of the Ukrainian Zaporozhian Cossacks, the "Sich", built on an island on the river Dnipro, dedicated to this Feast, and a venerated icon of the Blessed Virgin Mary with an Omophorion was kept in this church.

The Ukrainian *duma* (historical song) about the Cossack leader Samiilo Kishka mentions this church:

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

The legend is told that after the destruction of the Zaporozhian Sich by the Russian army of Catherine II in 1775 the Cossacks who went into exile beyond the Danube to seek the protection of the Turkish sultan, took with themselves also the icon of Our Lady of Protection.

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) which came into existence during the second world war to fight against both the Nazi German and Communist Russian occupation adopted the feast of Our Lady of Protection as its Army Day, having submitted themselves under the Protection of the Blessed Virgin.

In the ordinary life of the Ukrainian village the Feast of *Pokrova* occurs at the time when the work in the field has ended, the corn is threshed and the winter sowing done. The fruits of the orchard and garden are all gathered. There is frost in the early morning, a cold wind blows — the sky is overcast — rain is not far away. This is the season for courting and weddings. The girls who were afraid of being left spinsters used to pray:

"Our Lady of Protection, cover my head,
Let me not be a spinster."

In Ukraine all married women wear a cap or head scarf always — only young girls and spinsters are ever seen with heads uncovered.

After 14th October the Ukrainian villages are joyful places, because all hard work is ended. Youth is free, with time for jollity — music plays — girls sing and boys with great abandon perform the "fast and furious" national dance of the Cossacks.

The late autumn

During the autumn the village people remain in their homes. All have their various tasks. The women and girls spin, embroider or weave linen on a handloom. Their men and lads repair and oil their agricultural implements and look after the animals.

As Saint Dmytro's day draws near, the betrothal season is over because advent is approaching — the period of fasting before Christmas — during which time neither marriage ceremonies nor engagements are celebrated.

The unengaged girls therefore consider the season as "lost" for them. Folk proverb says:

Until the day of St. Dmytro
The lady spins her web so
To catch a husband she doth try,
As cunning spider to a fly,
After Dmytro if she no husband found
She looks for love from any man around.

St. Dmytro's (St. Demetrius) day

Saint Dmytro (8th Nov.) brings the winter; folk song says:

A silver trumpet has Saint Dmytro
Gently on it he will blow
Hill and dale and lofty mountain
Will be covered with white snow.

On St. Dmytro's day the peasants speculate about the weather: if the leaves are still on the trees, then the winter will be very cold with too much snow and the ensuing summer will bring a plague of caterpillars and midges.

On the Saturday prior to St. Dmytro's Day all Ukrainian people remember their dead kinsfolk — it is All Souls' Day.

There is an interesting old belief attached to this day. If one is curious to know if one will die during the coming year, then the night must be spent in the Cemetery, sitting alone under the trees the watcher must wait until midnight to know his fate. If death is to occur within the year, as the clock strikes twelve the shades of his kinsfolk will appear and walk slowly past him — the ghosts will all be arrayed in long transparent white dresses.

St. Paraskevia's Day

The 10th November is dedicated to the Great Martyr St. Paraskevia, personification of Holy Friday.

On that day Ukrainian women were supposed not to spin, or sew, or embroider. A folk legend says that Holy Friday appears to people as a very poor woman whose body has been mutilated with needles, spindles, knives and nails. These terrible wounds have been inflicted on her by people who worked on Holy Friday.

(To be continued.)

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RYLEYEV AND UKRAINE

(Conclusion)

In *Voynaróvskiyi* (published 1825), his first long romantic narrative poem, (dedicated to his best friend, A. A. Bestuzhev), Ryleyev masterfully describes the slow moral death in the dreary Siberian wilderness near Yakútsk, of the exiled Cossack, Colonel Andriy Voynarovs'kyi, nephew and follower of the Ukrainian Hetman Iván Mazépa (ruled from 1687 to 1709), defeated with Swedish King Charles XII at Poltáva in 1709. The unfortunate exile was found in the snowy wild *tayga*, in 1737, by a German explorer, the historiographer, G. F. Miller (1705-1783), who, in the service of the Russian Academy was surveying Siberia (1733-1743).²⁴ There, Voynarovs'kyi related to the astonished Miller his tragic life story: his youth, his battles with the cruel, plundering Tartars, his marriage to a Cossack girl who saved his life and was later reunited with him in Siberia, Mazépa's liberation war against Tsar Peter, Voynarovs'kyi's European exile, his capture by the Germans in 1716 in Hamburg (upon his return home from a reception at Countess Aurora Koenigsmarck's) and his extradition to Peter's agents, and finally his bitter anguish in Siberia.

All of these scenes, and especially the landscape of Siberia, "that desolate, vast prison of captives", are beautifully described, and many of the verses with their simplicity and beauty of imagery evoked the admiration even of Pushkin. The romantic Voynarovs'kyi, bearing his grief with silent pride, depicted in Byronic spirit and style, and the main theme revolving around the love of liberty and hatred of oppression, make this poem Ryleyev's best literary achievement. Masterful and heart-rending are the descriptions of Voynarovs'kyi's wife, wandering in the Siberian snows in search of her husband. Finally she finds him, only to perish shortly afterward from tuberculosis and exhaustion.* Upon her deathbed, this heroic "citizeness and wife" consoles her husband with the hope to see him once again in a better world, where "there are no executions, no banishment, no separation."

²⁴) Polevoy, P. N., *Istoriya russkoy slovesnosti* (v 3-ekh tomakh), t. I, St. Petersburg, (Marks), 1900, p. 610; Ryleyev, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

*) The role of Voynarovskiy's wife in his poem is merely a *licentia poetica*. In reality, Anna Voynarovs'kyi, nee Myrovych, lived in Sweden during that time. See A. Jensen, "Rodyna Voynarovs'kykh v Shvetsiyi", *Zapysky NTSh*, Vol. XCII, bk. VI, pp. 170-193, L'viv, 1909. See also Wynar, L., *Andriy Voynarovskiy*, Munich, 1962, p. 98 ff.

It seems as if Ryleyev foresaw the heroism of the Decembrist wives (e. g. Volcónskaya, Muravyóva, and others), who soon followed their husbands to Siberia. This last passage sounds like the poet's own consolation to his wife and daughter before his execution.

After his wife's death, Voynarovs'kyi's life became aimless. In his misfortune and nostalgia, all that were left for him were memories of the happy past. And yet, his last words to Miller were, "I have to live . . . Our former liberty will rise once more!"

From the entire context, it is evident that in Ryleyev's treatment of the theme, Mazepa and Voynarovs'kyi are the ardent champions of freedom, enemies of autocracy, and fighters for Ukrainian independence: Mazepa assured his nephew that "to save Ukraine from her chains, I am ready to sacrifice honour." He realized, however, that "the struggle for freedom against autocracy will not be easy, success is not certain", and he was awaiting "either glory or disgrace." At Poltava, Mazepa and Charles XII were defeated (1709) and they both fled to Bendéry in Turkey. But Ryleyev's Mazepa refused to despair and "to be the slave of destiny." As long as he lives, he will always try "to help his native country." Undefeated in spirit, the Hetman firmly declared his sacred right and duty to fight for the liberty of Ukraine, just as Tsar Peter had fought for the greatness of Russia:

As he — so I live for the might,
For the benefit of our native land.

Then the Cossacks brought two prisoners from Ukraine, who told him:

The people are blessing Peter . . .
But you, Mazepa, as a Judas
Are condemned by Ukrainians everywhere.
And your once famous name, now
Is an obscene and offensive word!

Mazepa, sitting under an oak at night (as in Byron's poem), only smiled bitterly and bent his head without a word . . .

The Soviet critic, A. G. Tseytlin, in his book, (page 113), thinks that through this scene, Ryleyev actually condemned Mazepa through the lips of the Ukrainian people. Mazepa's bitter smile is, for him, a silent admission of his guilt before his people. We think this reaction is rather an expression of the Hetman's pity for those who did not understand him, and too easily accepted the enemy's propaganda. That silent smile could rather have said: "Forgive them, for they know not what they do."

Soon, however, Mazepa died at Bendery. King Charles, the Swedes and the Cossacks paid their last respect to "the leader of Ukraine . . . All of them sensed that with Mazepa, the freedom of Ukraine was buried." But Voynarovs'kyi's spirit, even in Siberian exile, was not broken: "I have to live . . . Perhaps a friend of the people will save my unfortunate country." This was *Voynarovsky's* legacy, not only

to the Ukrainian people, but to the Russian Decembrists as well. To them, was also addressed the inspiring description of the Cossacks' rise against Peter, a comparison of their wild cavalcades with the spring ice breaking on the Lena River and the rushing of its waters to the sea:

So we shattered our chains of submission
At the cry of our country and leaders,
After trampling down all barriers
Rushed to defend our ancient rights
In our beloved native steppes.

Tseytlin is right when he says: "The character of Voynarovs'kyi is conceived and carried out as an apotheosis of patriotism."²⁵ That is why the character of Voynarovs'kyi was so readily accepted by the Decembrists and other patriots. Ryleyev's friends called him "a noble exile" and N. A. Bestuzhev wrote: *Voynarovsky*, regarding his thoughts and action stands above all (romantic) poems of Pushkin...²⁶ Pushkin himself liked this poem, and in a letter to his friend, A. A. Bestuzhev, on January 12, 1824, he wrote: "Ryleyev's *Voynarovsky* is undoubtedly better than all of his *Dúmy*; his style has grown in maturity and is becoming truly narrative, something we have not yet attained."²⁷ There were, however, some serious disagreements between the two Russian poets, not only regarding Mazepa, but about poetry in general and especially Byron's civic and political poetry. "In contrast to Pushkin, Venevitinov and Vyázemsky, Ryleyev treasured Byron's political saturation of his poetry, its liberation pathos. This was understandable and natural for a Decembrist revolutionary."²⁸ *Voynarovsky* is strongly influenced by Byron, especially by his daring poems, *The Giaour* (1813), *Parisina* (1816), and *Mazeppa* (1819).

It is interesting to note Ryleyev's change of attitude toward Hetman Mazepa. In his *dúma*, *Peter the Great in Ostrohozhsk* (1823), the poet still treats him distrustfully, but "gradually, under the influence of close personal contacts with the Ukrainian intelligentsia, this view of Mazepa began to change"; in *Voynarovsky*, he already appears "a sincere patriot and defender of liberty of his country", says Maslov.²⁹ Historian, A. O. Kornilovich, and poet, A. A. Bestuzhev, prefaced *Voynarovsky* with an "official" interpretation, where Mazepa's attempt to liberate Ukraine from the Russian yoke was presented as an evil, selfish act, and Mazepa himself was portrayed as "a traitor of the Russian tsar." "There is no reason", says Tseytlin, "to prefer

²⁵) Tseytlin, A. G., *Tvorchestvo Ryleyeva*, Moskva, (AN SSSR), 1955, p. 118.

²⁶) *Ibid.*, p. 133.

²⁷) Pushkin, A. S., *Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy* (v 10-ti tomakh), t. X, Moskva, (AN SSSR), 1966, p. 78.

²⁸) Ryleyev, *op. cit.*, p. 636.

²⁹) *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 595; Maslov, *op. cit.*, p. 305.

this 'interpretation' (made evidently, with the direct participation of the vigilant censorship) to the text of the poem itself, in which Mazepa's civic courage is spotless. Mazepa's portrayal in *Voynarovsky* is an image of an ardent fighter for his fatherland:

... Let destiny
Threaten our native country with ill-fate;
The time is at hand already, the struggle is near,
The struggle of liberty against autocracy."³⁰

In the unfinished sketches of the tragedy in verse, *Mazepa* (1822), our poet also repeated, in his outline, the official phrases about the "hypocritical old Hetman." But in *Song of Mazepa* (which paraphrased Mazepa's own poem, entitled *Dúma*), Ryleyev put in the Hetman's mouth the most notable and patriotic battle cries, such as:

Let us strike courageously
With the Cross for freedom;
Either we will return the people's rights,
Or we will die with glory!³¹

The sentence on the "glory" of the hard-won "rights by the sabre", was written by Mazepa himself:

Be it known to all forever,
We have freedom by the sabre.*

Ryleyev beautifully (although more verbally) translated it into Russian:

*Pust' gremyáshchey býstroy slávoy
Raznes'ót vezdé molvá
Chto mekhóm v bitvákh krovávykh
Priobr'ol kazák pravá!*³²

Indeed, one must admire the civic courage of the Russian poet, Ryleyev, who dared to write positively, even if only to propagate the revolutionary ideas of the Decembrists, as A. G. Tseytlin thinks, about such an unpopular subject as Mazepa, who had been condemned by the all-powerful tsars and excommunicated by the Russian-Orthodox Church. Small wonder, that such a chauvinist as P. A. Katenin, wrote about Mazepa in *Voynarovsky*: "The strangest thing to me is to picture the villain and rogue, Mazepa, as a counterpart of the Roman patriot, Cato."³³ But, Katenin's interpretation was echoed four years later in Pushkin's *Poltava*.³⁴

The Decembrists, however, cordially welcomed Ryleyev's *Voyna-*

³⁰) Ryleyev, *op. cit.*, 615.

³¹) Oksman, Yu. G., *K. F. Ryleyev*, Moskva, (khudozh. lit.), 1956, p. 345.

*) The original text in Ukrainian is:

*Nekháy víchna búde sláva,
Zhe préz shábli máyem práva!*

(Pelensky, Ye. Yu., *Mazepa*, Cracow, 1943, p. 30).

³²) *Ibid.*, p. 346.

³³) "Pis'mo P. A. Katenina k N. I. Bakhtinu", *Russkaya starina*, 1911, No. 6, p. 595.

³⁴) Pauls, J. P., *Pushkin's "Poltava"*, New York, (Sh SS), 1962, p. 25.

rovsky, as a necessary and inspiring poem,³⁵ although obviously none of them could share Mazepa's ideal of a Ukraine independent from Russia. Ironically, sixteen months later, one hundred twenty of the Decembrists, flower of the Russian intelligentsia, themselves followed Voynarovs'kyi's bleak footprints in snowy Siberia, and a few of their wives, such as Princess Volkónskaya and Chernyshévskaya, also went there (Nerchinsk near Yakutsk) voluntarily, just as that brave Cossack woman, wife of Mazepa's nephew, did in Ryleyev's poem.

Ryleyev's *Voynarovsky* provoked Pushkin to write his *Poltava* (1829), in order to rebuff those writers (in the first place the author of *Voynarovsky*, Ryleyev), who "wanted to make a hero of liberty, the new Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi" from Mazepa.³⁶

Reaction to Ryleyev's poem in the Russian Empire was quite positive. In Ukraine, *Voynarovsky* influenced the poetry of A. Yakovliv (*Chernyhiiv's Cossack*), A. Podolyns'kyi (*Haydamáky*), some works of V. Zabyla, A. Mohyla, O. S. Afanas'yev-Chuzhbyns'kyi, etc. In the romantic poetry of the Russian Decembrists of 1820-1830, one finds a close affinity to *Voynarovsky*, in A. A. Bestuzhev-Marlinsky (poem, *Andrey Pereyaslavsky*), N. F. Zaikin, N. I. Muravyov-Apostol, V. F. Rayevsky. *Voynarovsky* also marks the beginning of the historio-revolutionary theme, so richly represented in Russian realistic literature, in the stories of A. I. Herzen, in the poems of N. P. Ogaryov, and N. A. Nekrasov (*The Russian Decembrist Women: Volkónskaya, Trubetskáya*, 1872).³⁷

Ryleyev found an imitator also in the German poet of French origin, Adalbert von Chamisso, who wrote *Die Verbannten*, 1832, in which free translation of *Voynarovsky* was combined with memoirs of German professor, Adolf Ermann, on his Siberian meeting with Ryleyev's friend, A. A. Bestuzhev-Marlinsky.³⁸

Ryleyev's own fate is so prophetically foretold in his *Nalivayko's Confession* (March 18, 1825), where his Cossack leader says:

I am aware: doom awaits him
Who will be the first to rise
Against the people's oppressors;
My destiny holds only ruin for me.
But where and when was it attained
Liberty without sacrifice?
I shall die for my country —

³⁵ Bestuzhev, A. A., & Ryleyev, K. F., ed., *Polyarnaya zvezda*, Moskva-Leningrad, (AN SSSR), 1960 (reprint), p. 495.

³⁶ Pushkin, *op. cit.*, t. VII, p. 190.

³⁷ Tseytlin, *op. cit.*, p. 133 f.

³⁸ Kuleshov, V. I., *Literaturnyye svyazi Rossii i zapadnoy Yevropy v XIX v. (1-aya pol.)*, Izd. Moskovskogo Univ., 1965, pp. 358 ff. 425 f.; Alekseyev, M. P., "Nemetskaya poeziya o dekabristakh", *Bunt dekabristov*, (Yub. sb.) Leningrad ("Byloye"), 1926.

I feel that . . . I know that,
And gladly, oh reverend father,
I bless my martyr's fate!

After Ryleyev read this passage to his friend, Mikhail Bestuzhev, he was shocked by its "prophetic message" and exclaimed: "You wrote that prediction for yourself and for us with you . . ." "Believe me", answered Ryleyev, "that very day convinces me of our future doom, by which we shall buy our first attempt at liberty for Russia and with that will set an example for the future awakening of sleeping Russians."³⁹ This was indeed Ryleyev's confession. "This was Ryleyev himself", as Herzen once said. On July 13, 1826, Ryleyev and four other Decembrist leaders were hanged for fomenting an uprising and for "the planning of tsaricide and extermination of the Imperial family."⁴⁰

Where the moderate Decembrists failed, the totalitarian Bolsheviks succeeded. A watchmaker from Tomsk, a Chekist, Jacob Unshlikht-Yurovsky, slaughtered the Emperor Nicholas II, Empress Alexandra and their children in Yekaterinburg (now Sverdlovsk) on June 17, 1918; and yet the lot of the people was not bettered. Imagine Ryleyev's horror, had he witnessed the Russian Revolution of 1917, the mass executions, the bloody purges, the new enslavement of the peasants and the loss of civil liberties for all the people. How well Stalin's daughter, Svetlana Alliluyeva and Anatoly Kuznetsov could provide us with a multitude of details on this now.

Alas, the tragic experience of all the peoples of the Russian empire, the first victim of the abortive Marxist ideology, did not serve as a timely warning to other nations, for instance, China and Cuba. In spite of that senseless blood bath, the Neo-Communists of the West, who, for obvious reasons, prefer to hide themselves under the more innocent name of the "New Left" are burning with zeal and fanaticism to try new sadistic experiments on human beings, under the banner of "pure Marxism" this time. Unfortunately, they might succeed, because the complacent Western man ignores the bloody history of the East, and looks at the menace of (as the American journalists call them) "idealistic youths" as the new search for truth by "the brightest of our kids". Needless to say, Dostoyevsky's remark (in his *Diary of a Writer*, 1877): "The evil lurks deeper down in humanity than the socialist physicians reckon . . . in no order of society will you eliminate evil . . ." will certainly remain unheeded.*

But let us return to Ryleyev. In a letter of February 25, 1825, Ryleyev wrote to Pushkin: "I am glad that you like my *Voynarovsky*. On the same pattern, I began *Nalivákyo* and I am making plans for

³⁹) Kasprovich, E. L., ed., *Materialy dlya biografii K. F. Ryleyeva*, Leipzig, 1875, p. 6.

⁴⁰) Oksman, *op. cit.*, p. 420.

*) These sad thoughts came to mind after listening to Kuznetsov's ordeal, on American television, September 2, 1969.

Khmel'nitsky. The last one I want to write six cantos; otherwise you cannot express everything."

The theme of this unfinished poem, *Nalivayko* (influenced by *Istoriya Russov*) is the struggle of the Ukrainian Cossacks against the oppressive Polish nobility, for an independent Ukraine (end of the sixteenth century). Judging from the published fragments in 1825 (*Kiev, Death of the Chyhryn's Starosta, Nalivayko's Confession*), unpublished sketches (*Pictures of Ukraine: Nalivayko's Impression, The Cossack March, Camp of the Poles and Cossacks, Nalivayko's Prayer*, published only in 1888), and from the memoirs of Ryleyev's friend, V. E. Yakushkin, it is meant to be a socio-political poem, in a broad sense. Nalivayko, the real avenger of the people's oppression and their humiliated national dignity, began a popular uprising against foreign oppressors, because:

There is no truce, there are no pacts
Between the tyrant and his slaves . . .

Nalivayko hates both tyrants and slaves. In his confession, he is not afraid of hell:

For me, it is hell to see Ukraine enslaved.
To see her free is paradise!

Thus, he stoically accepts his tragic doom, because there is "no freedom without sacrifice." Ryleyev's appeal to the Decembrists is so well expressed by Nalivayko's words:

I started war not for glory
I raised my sword for my native land.

And everywhere he goes, the Cossack leader is obsessed with one thought:

It is time! whispers my inner voice,
The time is now to strike the enemies of Ukraine! . .

Later, similarly, but more convincingly, the call to arms is voiced by Pushkin's Mazepa:

Without precious liberty and glory
We have bowed long our heads
Beneath the wing of Warsaw
And despotism of Moscow.
The time is now for Ukraine
To be an independent state:
And the bloody banner of freedom
I raise against Tsar Peter.

In contrast to the romantic picture of Mazepa painted by many writers and artists, such as Byron, Ryleyev, Hugo, Pushkin depicted him as "an ambitious person, inveterate in evil deeds and craft", over whom the Russian autocracy justly triumphed. The Soviet critic, N. V. Bogoslovsky thinks that *Poltava* is, to a certain extent, a compromise with autocracy, after the suppression of the Decembrist revolt and

after many of Pushkin's good friends were banished to Siberia or condemned to death.⁴¹

The Russian critics of the 1820's welcomed with great enthusiasm, the exquisite fragments of *Nalivayko*, as a mirror of Ukrainian heroism in the struggle with Poland. They liked the subtle Decembrist tendencies (in the struggle of the Cossacks, they visualized the future struggle with autocracy). But most of all, the reviewers saw in it, powerful ideas, true poetry, swift action and enchanting description of the beauty of the Ukrainian landscape:

The shining spring came; by its breeze,
As if by magic touch

The oppressed country revived . . .

While Ryleyev was writing *Nalivayko*, he was also working on sketches in verse on *Khmel'nitsky* and *Paliy*. Now he utilized more freely the poetical elements of the folksongs, taking, at times, whole episodes from them:

Suddenly like a horrible whirl-wind,
Like a heavy shower from the clouds,
Sahaydachnyi struck the Tartars
With his detachment of wild dare-devils.

Already in January, 1825, Ryleyev published a short poem, *Paliy*, which (according to Yu. G. Oksman) together with a longer fragment, *Gaydamák* (in Ukrainian *Haydamáka*), was meant to be a part of the long narrative poem, *Mazépa*. As proof of their connection, Oksman cites the name, *Paliy*, an adversary of *Mazepa*, appearing in both fragments. Tseytlin argues (not very convincingly, however), that *Haydamaka* is a part of the poem, *Khmel'nitsky* (promised to Pushkin to be "in six cantos"). Later, for some unknown reason, the poet decided to utilize this subject in a tragedy. Begun still in 1823-1824, the poem *Mazepa*, (after aggravating difficulties with censorship while still publishing *Voynarovsky*), perhaps was given up completely now by Ryleyev, who decided to try his talent in a new kind of literary form, the drama. For the subject of this drama, he chose a popular theme in Russia, *Khmel'nitsky*.

Haydamáka, a daring Ukrainian warrior of the steppes, is depicted here in the mysterious Byronic spirit. During an autumn night, in the desolate steppe, two Zaporozhian Cossacks are sitting by the fire, near a mound and anxiously awaiting their missing friend, *haydamaka*. His arrival is long overdue, but, trusting his never failing exceptional bravery, they are sure he will return soon. Now they talk about him; they like him, but actually know little about this murky, mysterious warrior:

Danger, blood, battle noise,
They only are pleasure for this man . . .

Only at daybreak, the lonely black horse of *haydamaka* comes

⁴¹) Bogoslovsky, N. V., *Pushkin — Kritik*, Moskva, (AN SSSR), 1961, p. 54 f.

galloping back, recognizes his friends, stops at the fire and falls dead at their feet from horrible wounds.

But where is the *haydamaka*,
Beauty and glory of the free Sich?
Perished . . .

The artistic value of these fragments is quite remarkable: a well-outlined picture of the steppe's dare-devil. The writing flows like words in a Cossack folksong:

Night is passing . . . with morning glow
The gloomy east is burning . . .

In Russian: "... *i vot zaréyu zanyálsya sumráchnyi vostók* . . ." is reflected even in Pushkin's *Poltava*: "*Gorít vostók zaréyu nóvoy.*"

Paliy, has even more artistic merit. The great Pushkin wrote to his brother, Lev, (January-February, 1825): "If *Paliy* progresses as well as it began, then Ryleyev will be minister" (of Mt. Parnassus).⁴² The swiftly flowing narrative style, the lightning actions, economy of expression, present a superb picture, describing the galloping *Paliy* from the encircling enemy.

Through the density of enemy throngs
Gallops *Paliy* like a mountain wind.
Now right, now left, and then to the river . . .

Or those beautiful negative comparisons borrowed from historical Ukrainian folksongs (*dúmy*):

'Twas not the clouds that cover the sun,
Not the winds storming in the field:
It was *Paliy* with a handful of Cossacks
By hosts of unrelenting enemy
Encircled in the desolate field . . .

The first two lines are taken from a Ukrainian *dúma* about the death of Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi from a collection by Tsertelev.⁴³ There are also many folksongs (one was quoted by Ryleyev) about brave Colonel *Paliy* (Semén Húrko) of Khvastiv, whom the Decembrist poet, in his note to the text called a "daring raider, scourge of the Poles, terror of the Tartars . . ." and whose character is typical of "wild chivalry: open in friendship and cruel in vengeance, energetic and keen-witted in war . . ."⁴⁴

In the autumn of 1825, Ryleyev gave up the poem and began the tragedy, *Khmel'nitsky*, in blank verse, even hoping to visit the places "where this Hetman fought." He wrote, however, only the *Prologue* to his tragedy. It takes place on the square in Chyhyryn in about 1635. The scene is realistic and historically accurate.

⁴²) Pushkin, *op. cit.*, t. X, p. 124.

⁴³) Tseytlin, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

⁴⁴) Ryleyev, *op. cit.*, p. 293. See also: Polons'ka-Vasylenko, N., *Paliy ta Mazepa*, Augsburg, (UVAN), 1949, 10 p.

A group of Ukrainian peasants are begging the leaseholder, Yankel', "to be merciful, and to open their church", even if now, before the harvest, they cannot pay "for the keys", they surely would pay later. For six weeks their church had been closed. Father Karpo was not permitted to baptize children, perform marriages or administer the sacrament of holy communion to the dying.⁴⁵ "Not your words, I need your money!..." retorted the greedy leaseholder and suggested that they "borrow" at night from the barn of a neighbour, Pylyp, who had just returned from Sich "with rich booty." Svyryd had already been deprived of everything by the exploiters, and is indignant that the sly leaseholder of the landlord Czapliński is simply "robbing, cheating, tormenting and teaching them to steal." He warns: "There is an end to suffering... We are as patient as bulls, but also like bulls, we can become enraged against our enemies..." The leaseholder's wife, Rakhil', became scared and, pretending to bring "the keys to the church", stealthily called instead the Polish centurion, and he, with his squad, took Svyryd into prison as "a rebel, who tried to kill Yankel'." The dismayed peasants remarked, "one more is perished" and left to go "beyond the Dnieper" to join the Cossacks, because:

Everything in Rus' is owned by strangers,

In our own country we cannot live.

No strength to stand this anymore...⁴⁶

Their only wish now, is to have a leader like Sahaydáchnyi, then the people would not suffer anymore.

⁴⁵ Hanover, N., *Abyss of Despair* ("Yeven Metzulah"), New York, (Bloch), 1950. In his Introduction, the translator of this Hebrew chronicle of the 17th century, Abraham J. Mesch, attempts to place the blame for the terrible mistreatment of the Ukrainian people solely on the Polish landowners, by saying, on page 1: "Many Jews had been employed as overseers, administrators and tax farmers by the wealthy Polish landowners... Gradually, the Jews became the virtual masters of the peasants and the sole administrators of the large estates..."; p. 2: "The continuous demand for money by his employer forced the Jew to appear as the peasants' tyrant and oppressor... The contemporary historians relate that the Pans would levy a tax for the baptism of each peasant child, for the marriage of each peasant daughter, for the burying of their dead".

An eye-witness of the 1648 Revolution, the pious Rabbi Nathan Hanover, understandably boils with Ukrainophobia, but still honestly admits here and there his people's guilt and the most desperate situation of the Ukrainian people, by saying, e. g., on p. 27: "And the masses that followed the Greek Orthodox Church became gradually impoverished. They were looked upon as lowly and inferior beings and became the slaves and the handmaids of the Polish people and of the Jews." On p. 28: "The nobles levied upon them heavy taxes, and some even resorted to cruelty and torture with the intent of persuading them to accept Catholicism. So wretched and lowly had they become that all classes of people, even the lowliest among them, [Rabbi H. means here, the Jewish people] became their overlords." Sometimes Rabbi H. distinguishes between the Cossacks and the Ukrainian civilians, who aided the Jews in their plight: (p. 58) "The Ukrainian inhabitants of the city (Tulczyn) dealt kindly with them (Jews) and sent them away."

⁴⁶ Oksman, *op. cit.*, p. 350.

This short *Prologue* reflects accurately the historical situation in Ukraine, before the appearance of Khmel'nyts'kyi, the liberator of the common man, and the revolution of 1648. The popular leader, Severyn Nalyvayko, suffered a terrible defeat at Lúbni, 1596, and was executed by quartering, but Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi won liberation from Poland at least for eastern Ukraine.

Ryleyev's friends, such as N. A. Bestuzhev, realized that "new works, begun by Ryleyev, carried the seal of the most mature talent. One could expect that experience in the literary field, elevated ideas and greater discrimination, would bestow upon us the most exquisite works..."⁴⁷ Tseytlin, insists that "in the *Prologue to Khmel'nitsky* for the first time, history began to speak, whereas all other Decembrist writers of that time, created pictures serving as standard bearers of revolutionary ideas."⁴⁸ Ten years later, in the same vein, appeared *Tarás Búl'ba*, by N. V. Gógol' (Hóhol').

The Ukrainians acknowledged Ryleyev's elevation of their history most respectfully. The Ukrainian poet, Mykola A. Markevych, (1804-1860) September 25, 1825, wrote to Ryleyev: "(...) Permit me to write to you as a good citizen of my beloved country, as a good Ukrainian... Can I read *Voynarovsky* and *Nalivayko* indifferently? Accept my own and all my compatriots' thanks... Rest assured that our gratitude is sincere, and that we, from the bottom of our hearts, respect your works, which bring glory to you and to our ancestors. We didn't lose yet respect for the deeds of the great Ukrainian men. In many of our hearts, the previous power of feeling and devotion to our native country did not diminish. You will still find alive in us the spirit of Polubótok. Accept the thankfulness of all of us. You accomplished much, very much. You glorify the whole nation. Woe to those who try to suppress whole countries, who attempt to treat with contempt whole nations, and they will repay him with contempt... But glory to those who praise the greatness of the human soul and to whom all people ought to feel everlasting gratitude. *Nalivayko's Confession* cut deeply into our hearts, and in my own too."⁴⁹

Ryleyev replied in a similar vein, writing from Petersburg on October 18, 1825, after discussing literary matters: "(...) Now permit me to thank you for the complimentary ending of your letter. I am a Russian, but have lived in Ukraine for three years: not enough for myself, but enough to fall in love with this country and its fine inhabitants. Moreover, Ukraine bestowed upon me a rare, incomparable wife. Already six years my good Ukrainian wife brings joy to me; and my emotional attachment is combined with cordial gratitude eternally to Little Russia. I wrote what I felt and never thought that my weak works would earn such complimentary acclaim from the descendants of Khmel'nitsky and Nalivayko. Not

⁴⁷) Tseytlin, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

⁴⁸) *Ibid.*, p. 170.

you alone, but many of your compatriots praised me as highly as yourselves. This is such a reward that it puts me constantly in debt to your Fatherland. May God give me the strength and opportunity to return your kindness."⁵⁰

What Ryleyev meant by "to return your kindness", we do not know. Perhaps he had in mind here, his tragedy *Khmel'nitsky*, which he had no more "opportunity" to finish, because, less than a month after he was arrested, and eight months later he was hanged in Kronverk of the Petropavlovsk fortress. Ryleyev remained popular in Ukraine at all times. When his writings were forbidden in print, they were circulated in handwritten copies, so that, according to the testimony of M. P. Drahomanov (1841-1895), "still in the 1850's *Voynarovsky* and *Nalivayko's Confession* were secretly copied together with the works of Shevchenko (1814-1861) and were read with the same enthusiasm."⁵¹

Alexander Brueckner called Ryleyev "a hero, whom all Literature must envy the Russian; his name is a watchword, the aureole of political martyrdom ensures him a place high above the mass of literary men."⁵² Brueckner meant here, his noble character (which is so apparent in his letters), his deeply religious and highly idealistic spirit and civic virtues. The heroic Ryleyev, in sight of the gallows, did not fear death, but forgave and prayed for all — even his enemies. His last poem before his execution (July 13, 1826), written on maple leaves, sounds like a gospel:

Blessed is he whom our Father chooses, who shall propagate
the Truth! . . . Blessed is he whose spirit rules his flesh,
who firmly proceeds towards Christ's cup! . . . Blessed is
he who gaily receives the cup of suffering over the sea
of torments, the flood of tears; Christ will lead him as
He did Peter! Pure in heart, righteous in soul, he is
sainted even in life, and beholds, like Moses, the Promised
Land . . .⁵³

It is small wonder such a poet understood and proclaimed the right to independence of a people other than his own. Moreover, he did not hesitate to place a laurel wreath on the head of the anathematized Ukrainian leader. In Mazepa, Ryleyev saw, not a traditional "villain", but indeed a Ukrainian "Cato."

The short time spent in Ukraine, Ryleyev utilized for diligent research, intelligent observation, and friendship with the Ukrainian people. He took their cause deep into his heart and repaid his friends with a gift *aere perennius*. Friends such as Ryleyev should not be forgotten.

⁴⁹⁾ *Russkaya starina*, 1888, No. 12, p. 588.

⁵⁰⁾ *Lit. nasled.*, op. cit., p. 153 f.

⁵¹⁾ Tseytlin, op. cit., p. 154.

⁵²⁾ Brueckner, op. cit., p. 157.

⁵³⁾ Kasprovich, op. cit., p. 96.

Anathole W. BEDRIY, M.A. M.Sc.

LENIN FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE RUSSIAN IMPERIAL RULE IN UKRAINE

One of the most important motives which influenced Lenin in becoming a politician was his conviction that the tsarist regime was leading the Russian empire to an inevitable fall and therefore it was necessary to *save the empire*. This idea became Lenin's mission. As early as 1897 in an article entitled "The Tasks of Russian Social Democrats" he wrote: "In the democratic, *political* struggle... the Russian working class does not stand alone. *Side by side* with the proletariat stand all the opposition elements of the bourgeoisie, or of the nationalities or religions and sects which are persecuted by the absolutist government." Not a word was said about the need to liquidate the Russian empire. On the contrary, Lenin was striving to create a political force which would be capable of ruling this empire.

At the beginning of the 20th century ideas of national independence became popular in Ukraine. They were spread by the Tarasivtsi (Taras Shevchenko) Brotherhood, the newly created Revolutionary Ukrainian Party and Mykola Mikhnovskyi in particular. The tsarist occupation regime conducted mass arrests in Ukraine and Lenin called "for liberation of the people from despotism" (See the article, "Induction of 183 students into the army", 1901). His aim was to turn the brunt of Ukrainian liberation nationalism away from the empire as such and to direct it against the bad regime in this empire.

The policy of the preservation of the Russian empire was expressed very clearly by Lenin in 1903 in the work "To the Rural Poor": "The first demand is that a *national assembly of deputies* be convened with the object of *establishing a popular representative government in Russia instead of the present autocratic government*." By "Russia" Lenin meant the Russian imperial state in which Ukraine had the status of a colony. Thus, the popular representative imperialist regime, the Russian national assembly, which would be sovereign in Ukraine as well, would take the place of the tsarist imperialist regime.

That same year Lenin wrote an article for the newspaper *Iskra* in which he tried to prove that "it is not the task of the proletariat to preach federalism and national autonomy. It is not the task of the proletariat to advance such demand, because they inevitably lead to the demand of forming an autonomous class state. The task of the proletariat is to try to unify the broadest masses of workers of all and various nationalities, to unite them for the struggle on a widest arena for a democratic republic and for socialism... on our part we take up the cause of self-determination of the proletariat of each nationality, and not of people and nations. In this way, the general,

fundamental, prerequisite program of the Social-Democracy of Russia will always consist only of the demand of full legal equality of citizens (regardless of sex, language, race, nation, etc.) and the right to free democratic self-determination." In 1903 Ukraine was a colonial province of the Russian empire. The above stand signified that Lenin was against Ukraine's liberation from Russian bondage, that is, against the reestablishment of the sovereign Ukrainian state. His conclusions were directed toward the cementing of "the one and indivisible" imperial state. Ukraine and Ukrainians were treated by him as an integral part of Russia. In his well-known work entitled "The National Question in Our Program" Lenin tried to prove that "disintegration of Russia" would mean the "disintegration of the forces of the proletariat", in other words, "Russia"-empire cannot disintegrate!

The 1903 program of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party, drafted by Lenin, included the possibility of giving "broad local self-rule for localities which are distinguished by peculiar customary conditions and composition of the population..." — within the framework of the Russian empire, of course.

This program was explained by Lenin as follows: "We included in our draft Party program the demand for a republic with a democratic constitution that would among other things assure 'the recognition of the right of self-determination to all nationalities contained in the state'" ("National Question in Our Program"). In other words, the indivisibility of the Russian empire must be protected; this state will be changed into a republic, and all the subjugated nations will be granted local self-government by the will of the imperial sovereign, which will continue to exercise sovereignty over these nations. This sovereign is Russia.

Taking a stand against the Polish Socialist Party, Lenin stated: "This is nothing more nor less than sacrificing the most vital interests of the proletariat for the bourgeois-democratic interpretation of national independence. The disintegration of Russia, the P.P.S. desires, in contrast with our aim of overthrowing tsarism, is and will remain a hollow phrase as long as economic evolution continues to unite the different parts of a political whole more and more closely..." (Ibid.) Without the slightest hesitation Lenin expressed his determination to preserve and strengthen the Russian colonial empire in Ukraine.

In 1905 Lenin again manifested his resolution to keep the Russian empire intact: "The revolutionary government is indispensable for political leadership of the popular masses... in the whole state" ("The Revolutionary Army and the Revolutionary Government"). He was only concerned with "political transformation" in the Russian imperial state, i. e. with the "overthrow of the tsarist government and its replacement by a provisional revolutionary government" ("Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution", 1905). In Ukraine the Russian "revolutionary" government was to

replace the tsarist government. Nevertheless both governments were Russian imperialist governments due to the fact that Russia had sovereignty over Ukraine.

In the article, "Struggle of the Proletariat and Servility of the Bourgeoisie", Lenin motivated the inevitability of the replacement of the tsarist regime by the proletarian regime as follows: "Otherwise we shall never achieve liberty, otherwise Russia will meet the fate of Turkey: protracted and painful downfall and decay, particularly painful for all the toiling and exploited masses of the people." Lenin's greatest worry was the threat of the fall of the Russian empire. He was the strongest opponent of Ukraine's national liberation from the Russian colonial yoke.

The goal of the revolution which Lenin was conducting was "the break-up of old superstructures, and the independent action of different classes, each striving to erect the new superstructure in its own way" ("New Tasks and New Forces", 1905). Lenin considered the indestructibility and the indivisibility of the Russian empire as both a dogma and a commandment and the "revolution" was to deal only with the so-called superstructure, that is, the regime.

In the years 1911-13 the national liberation trends have considerably grown and intensified in Ukraine. They caused anxiety to Lenin and made him very attentive to this problem. In the article "How Bishop Nikon Defends Ukrainians", (1913) he gave his formula for the preservation of the empire: "No one can be freed from national oppression without consistent realization of a wide local and regional autonomy and the principle of deciding *all* state questions by the will of the majority of the population (i. e., the principle of consistent democracy)." Lenin proposed to solve the question of Russian imperial and colonial subjugation of Ukraine by giving greater local self-government to localities and regions and to prevent the political unification of Ukraine by dividing her into many small administrative units. Such autonomous self-governing regions were to have been the means for combating Ukrainian liberation nationalism. On the other hand, the imperial regime was to decide *all* (underlined by Lenin) questions relating to Ukraine, which would have a bearing on the preservation of Russia's absolute rule over Ukraine. By the "will of the majority of the population" Lenin meant primarily the Russian people together with small groups of "proletarians" of other nations to whom he promised the right of "self-determination", for he failed to grant this right to the subjugated peoples in general. Therefore the Russian people were to become the real sovereign in the Russian empire in place of the tsarist regime, at a time when the sovereign in the empire was actually a tiny segment of the Russian people.

In the work "Critical Notes on National Question" (1913) Lenin compared the Russian colonial empire to Switzerland, thus attempting to change this empire into a Swiss-type state, i. e., a one-nation state with several culturally autonomous regions. He demanded that Ukra-

inians be given equal rights with Russians in the Russian imperial state. "But it would become an un-socialist and stupid policy, also from the point of view of bourgeois 'national tasks' of Ukrainians — to weaken the bonds and the union of the Ukrainian and the Great Russian proletariat." In other words, all attempts to liquidate the Russian imperial state and to establish a sovereign Ukrainian state must be combated at all costs.

In order to clarify all ambiguities pertaining to his negative stand on the question of Ukraine's liberation from the Russian imperial rule Lenin wrote a letter in 1913 to the Armenian Bolshevik Shaumian in which he clearly stated: "The right to autonomy"?! Again wrong. We are for autonomy for all parts, we are for the right to separation (but not for separation of all!). Autonomy — is our plan of the constitution of a democratic state. Separation — is not at all our plan. We do not preach separation at all. On the whole, we are against separation." Hence, all subjugated nations will have autonomy within the framework of the Russian imperial-colonial state. This is a paradox, for to be subjugated and to have autonomy are contradictions in themselves. Leninist autonomy is direct opposite of national sovereignty of Ukraine, because all sovereignty would remain in the hands of the imperial state. By the word "separation" Lenin defined the concept of national liberation. Being against separation, he was against the liberation of Ukraine from Russian domination.

In the aforementioned work "Critical Notes on the National Question", basing his arguments on the Marxist economic theory, Lenin tried to prove that "as long as various nations compose a single state, Marxists in no case shall advocate the federative principle or decentralization." On the contrary, "a large centralized state is a tremendous historical step forward, in comparison with medieval parcelling, in the direction of future Socialist unity of the whole world, and a way to socialism other than *through* such a state (indivisibly bound with capitalism) does not exist and cannot exist." In Lenin's opinion the Russian colonial and imperial state was very advantageous and therefore it had to be not only retained but reinforced in its monolithic form. All forces which worked for its destruction, that is, the national liberation movements of the subjugated peoples, had to be mercilessly destroyed.

The following year in the article "More about Nationalism" Lenin asked: "Why is it not possible to reinforce the unity of Russia by means of the autonomy of Ukraine?" The might of the Russian empire constituted a doctrine for him, and the autonomy of Ukraine was the means to put it into effect.

In the work "On the Right of Nations to Self-determination" (1914) Lenin again emphasized the steadfastness of his views: "We, the Great Russian proletarians . . . are fighting on the basis of the given state, we are uniting the workers of all nations of the given state, we cannot safeguard this or that road of national development, we are

moving towards our class goal over *all* possible obstacles." The doctrine of the indivisibility and the preservation of the Russian colonial empire was sacred to Lenin. He acknowledged that he was not ready and would never be ready to give its statehood back to the Ukrainian nation at the expense of the Russian nation (Ibid.).

In the article "Liberal Bourgeoisie and Social-Opportunists in the National Question" Lenin broadened his imperialistic dialectics to such a degree that he agreed to grant the Ukrainian people the phrase about the right to separation, for he realized that such abstract formula would not weaken the Russian empire one bit, as long as there would be no opportunity to put it into effect. But he was definitely against its realization. The goal of this fictitious formula was to preserve and strengthen the Russian colonial empire: "the recognition of the right of secession diminishes the threat of the 'falling apart of the state'."

In the article "Cultural-National Autonomy" Lenin used the fictitious Marxist economic theory as an argument in support of the preservation of the Russian empire: "If economics unites the nations living in a single state, then the attempt to separate them once and for all in the sphere of educational questions is absurd and reactionary... proletariat... will never agree to this absurdity of refined nationalism."

From the nations subjugated by Russia Lenin demanded: "... we must raise political questions not from the 'Cracow', but from the all-Russian point of view." ("On the Right of Nations to Self-determination.")

In the article "War and Russian Social-Democracy" Lenin restated his views in relation to Ukraine: "In Russia... the task of the Social-Democracy is, as heretofore, to achieve the three fundamental conditions for consistent democratic reform, viz., a democratic republic (with complete equality and self-determination for all nationalities)..." "Russia" is the Russian empire in which many subjugated nations are to be found. Such "Russia" must have a democratic-republican order, i. e., a new order in the existing Russian colonial state in Ukraine.

The consistency of Lenin's imperialistic policy is to be found again in the article entitled "Lecture on the 1905 Revolution", written in 1917, shortly before Lenin ascended the imperial throne. In a speech on the national question (1917) Lenin clearly expressed his desire to keep the Ukrainians in the Russian prison of nation. In "Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution", a program statement of the new — Soviet government in Russia, Lenin emphasized: "The proletarian party strives to create as large a state as possible... it strives to bring about *closer ties* between nations and the *further fusion* of nations..." In other words, Lenin's policy of imperialism and genocide toward Ukraine must be even harsher than the tsarist policy. The Russians must strengthen their attack on the strivings of Ukrainians toward independence and statehood.

Lenin gave an "alternative" to Ukraine: "... objectively there is not and cannot be any way out, except either in a dictatorship of the Kornilovites or in a dictatorship of the proletariat" ("A Letter to the Comrades"). In his opinion, Ukrainians must forget about any kind of independent national existence and must submit to the domination by either the Russian monarchists or the Russian communists.

In an extensive work "State and Revolution" (1917) Lenin used Marx and Engels in support of his Russian imperialistic objectives: "Engels, like Marx insisted on democratic centralism, on one indivisible republic. He regarded the federal republic either as an exception and a hindrance to development, or as a transitional form from a monarchy to a centralised republic..."

The entire Bolshevik policy toward the Ukrainian Central Council was conducted in the strictly "one and indivisible" spirit. On behalf of the Russian state Lenin published the "Draft Declaration of the Rights of Toiling and Exploited People" on January 16, 1918 which says: "Now, at last, the new state structure of the Socialist Soviet republic has been recognized as a federation of the free republics of various nations which settle Russia." The fundamental principle is the indivisibility of the Russian imperial state and the forced imposition of Russian sovereignty on other nations.

Lenin never reconciled himself with the existence of the sovereign Ukrainian national state. This assertion is particularly true of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations. The objective of his policy was the realization of Ukraine's total subjugation by Russia. At a time when a true Ukrainian state, although not completely sovereign, but relatively independent from Russia, existed in 1918, Lenin said: "Let us assume that there are fifteen million peasant households in Russia, taking Russia as she was before the bandits deprived her of Ukraine and other territories" ("Comrades Workers, Onward to the Last Decisive Fight").

At the end of 1918 Russia again started an aggressive war against Ukraine. Lenin immediately issued a "decree" which said: "... by virtue of the nullification of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, Ukraine is no longer recognised (as an independent state) by the Soviet Government of the Russian Republic..." The decree goes on to say that the Ukrainian people will be considered as citizens of the RSFSR and that Ukraine as a whole will be considered an integral part of the Russian state. In the beginning of 1919, a Ukrainian Communist, V. Shakhrai characterized Leninist policy toward Ukraine as follows: "The party of the Bolsheviks took the position of retaining the whole, one and indivisible Russia..." ("Do khvyli", Saratov, 1919).

During the last few years of the life of this Russian conqueror-imperialist Ukraine fought bravely against Russian aggression, but could not withstand it. Lenin achieved his goal: the reestablishment of the Russian empire under a new name. But his most important goal — the fusion of the Ukrainian nation with the Russian nation was never achieved.

ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION IN THE USSR

Letter

To the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CC CPSU) L. I. Brezhnev from the Council of Relatives of the Evangelical Christian-Baptists, who are suffering in the USSR for the word of God.

(Editorial Note. This letter was sent by the relatives of the imprisoned Baptists to Brezhnev in 1967. Copies of it were sent to all important Soviet newspapers. The document, in which facts about the persecution of Baptists have been collected is one large act of accusation of the Soviet government. From clandestine literature that has reached us, we know that similar methods of terror and violence are used by the regime with regard to all those who are fighting against national discrimination and against great power Russian imperialism. Thus the Baptist protest and Ukrainian political liberation literatures complete one another, giving the picture of a fight for freedom and against the arbitrariness of a totalitarian system).

With deep sorrow we again note an increase in repression and persecution of faithful Evangelical Christian Baptists (ECB). Large numbers of letters from various places testify to the use of all kinds of refined methods, physical and psychological, for the destruction of believers.

On 3rd November 1966 we personally were compelled to visit the headquarters of the CC CPSU in this connection, but the chief of the reception department comrade Stroganov refused to see us. On the same day when we phoned the letter department of the CC we received the answer that our letters concerning the abolishment of a ruling, on the basis of which God's Church was being persecuted, were not being examined by anybody and that we shall not receive any answer. Meanwhile raging atheism directed by you, but which by far exceeds an ideological struggle, has surpassed every generally accepted human standard and has caused much misfortune among believers. The St. Bartholomew's night will soon be repeated in a different form in all parts of our country. There is no doubt that this is a centralized directive, because the means and methods in all places are the same and happen at the same time. This also proves that after a short "breathing spell" a fierce attack with the aim of annihilating believers has begun again.

In December 1966, we personally sent you, Leonid Ilyich, a telegram requesting you to see us. And we asked for an answer whether we shall be received or not. We were informed that the

telegram had been received but no answer came, although we asked for a meeting, not in a personal matter and not in our name, but at the command of those who are close and dear to us: parents, children, husbands and mothers sent to prisons and concentration camps, and condemned to death, which will be proved by the below mentioned facts.

This ignoring of our many appeals to you, to the CC CPSU, to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and to prosecuting organs, the reluctance to even listen to us, confirms again that you, as the secretary of the CC CPSU and a member of the Politburo, are directing in all possible ways this course for the suppression of thought and the desire to realise the word of God. All this is going according to the programme of the CC CPSU, the aim of which is to destroy religion and is based on the illegal decision of 8. 4. 1929, which was made contrary to the basic law about religious cults — contrary to Lenin's decree of 23. 1. 1918 and what is more important in violation of the international convention about human rights. This silence and the cruel actions against believers clearly indicate that you consider us lambs destined to be slaughtered. The arrests of believers are not being stopped but are being continued: just as previously, families with many children are being left without bread-winners. And this in view of new conventions about human rights, which were printed in the *Izvestiya* of January 11th of this year [1967] and in the magazine *Novoye Vremya* of February 1967. The arrests clearly point to centralized orders and direction and this gives good reason to think that the source of everything is the leadership, the CC CPSU. We, mothers, fathers, wives and children cannot but wonder when pleasant words about the attentive treatment of believers, about the attempts not to hurt their feelings, are coupled with cruel reprisals, including persecution and beating of believers.

Faithful ECB members are being arrested at prayer-meetings, at their places of work, in their homes, and even kidnapped from trains and buses, etc. When they leave their homes they cannot be sure that they will return there. Article 127 of the USSR Constitution about the inviolability of a person does not in fact extend to believers. They are caught whenever somebody feels so inclined. In connection with the general centralized course and only as a consequence of it (e. g. in the form of a later legalization) is it subsequently sanctioned by the prosecutor's office.

The following people were kidnapped: member of the Church Council Dubovyi S., members of the ECB: Ovchinnikov L. D. from the town of Kursk, Demina Valentina from Novomoskovsk of Tula region, Lepeshkin L. A. from Tula, Nychai N. D. from the town of Sumy, Peters Peter from the city of Perm, and others.

The faithful, who are practically deprived of civil rights, are constantly being watched and followed in the streets and even in their own homes.

Forced Committing Of Believers To Psychiatric Hospitals

- a) On 21st June, 1966 the member of ECB, Sofronov Porfiri Ivanovich, was arrested in the town of Ryazan. On 29th September of that year he was taken to the Serpsky Psychiatric Institute in Moscow, later on the basis of political Article 70 he was sentenced to 6 years' imprisonment.
- b) On 17th October, 1966 a member of the ECB, Kolesnyk V. D., appeared in your headquarters for a personal meeting with comrade Shelepin concerning the stopping of his pension upon the orders of the secretary of the Synelnykove city committee of the Communist party of the Dnipropetrovsk region, comrade Davydenko. From your headquarters he was directed to the Ministry of Health where he was asked to wait. In two hours time he was taken not to a clinic for his disease (rheumatism) but to the Psychiatric Clinic No. 15 in Moscow where he was questioned about internal ecclesiastical matters.

Finally they threw him a ticket and he was sent against his will to his home with the words: "If we let you go, you will go and complain to the CC CPSU again."

- c) In Kyiv, the believer Slynko V. I. was placed in a psychiatric clinic twice in 1964. Both times he was declared sane. These facts are the gravest offences against humanity.

Interrogation Of Children And Their Persecution In Schools

We have many letters from mothers about the interrogation of young children. A letter of protest was sent to you by 22 mothers in Alma-Ata (we received a copy) about the fact that workers in the prosecutor's office visit schools and question children, taking them away from their lessons: e. g. in the school No. 101 — Kabernyk Ira; Baranovskyi — 3 children; school No. 17 — Shtabel Yasha; school No. 71 — Klassen Midr. These illegalities are compelling them to warn you that if this persecution does not end they will be forced to stop their children from going to school. The responsibility for these consequences undoubtedly lies upon your shoulders.

On August 4, 1966, in the town of Cherkesk of the Stavropol territory, in school No. 4. the investigation judge Borovyi lured 13 children into school through a teacher Fysenko under the pretext of handing out text-books. They managed to avoid interrogation but afterwards were called out again one by one. All of them were questioned with the use of threats and fistshakes. The questioning of each child lasted over 2 hours. The childrens' ages range from 6 to 15 years. They were children of religious parents.

In the village of Razdolnoye of the Maritime region [Far East — Ed.] the believers Sironovi have 13 children. Of these children the younger ones who attend the 1st and 2nd forms are being beaten by the school teachers; the latter pull the children's hair, bang their heads against the wall, and threaten to put their parents in prison;

the children come home crying and with headaches. Complaints to the village Soviet have proved fruitless. Parents have asked for help in finding ways to guarantee the children's safety. The children of the believer Kalmykov V. are subjected to intimidation and threats in school No. 1 in the town of Sumgait, as are also the children of the believer Torusov in school No. 2 in the town of Khachmas of the Azerbaijan SSR .

Here are some typical examples of persecution of believers' children: Khrin Nelia, a pupil in the 1st form of school No. 1 in the town of Lutsk was frightened by her teacher Nadia Trofymovna. During vaccination she told the nurse: "Give her 10 injections, because she believes in God." Afterwards she told Nelia: "Don't come to school if you continue to believe."

In the town of Shakhty in the Rostov region a pupil of the 4th form, Oliynyk Lionia, was called to the prosecutor's office to see the investigator, comrade Shakun, who questioned him about internal affairs of the church. Lionia refused to answer. Then Shakun showed him a photograph of a body, nailed to the wall with the eyes taken out, arms cut off and so on, and said "Look, see what we do to people like you, who refuse to sign the protocol."

In the town of Lutsk in school No. 15 in December 1966 the son of religious parents Shtundiuk Volodia, a pupil of the 8th form, was beaten up by hostile classmates because he believed in God: they broke his collar-bone and he collapsed onto the school desk. The teacher Riaba Liubov Leontievna saw this, but offered no help. With great difficulty he managed to get home, from where his parents called for medical assistance.

In the town of Zhytomyr a long interrogation of two children Veniamin and Victoria, pupils of the 4th and 5th forms of the 32nd school was carried out. The interrogation was conducted by an unknown person. During the inquiry the children recognized him and he introduced himself as the major of the militia. Veniamin was called to the school on the pretext that the school aquarium had been stolen. The interrogation was carried out face to face with an unknown person about internal Church affairs and about many believers of other towns. It was suggested that the children should sign the minutes of the interrogation. They refused. At the end of May 1966 the same children were again dragged to school for interrogation, which was conducted by the senior investigator Yevtushenko.

In 1966, in Tashkent, the Prosecutor's office staff member and other people went into the house of Khrapovyi. The mother was not in the house at the time, only the niece, whose arms they began to twist when she tried to stop them at the door (of the house). The children hid under the bed. The prosecutor's office workers applied force: they pulled the pale, shaking children from under the bed and teacher of school No. 30 Polunina said: "Oh, aren't you pale! They

don't feed you!" They began to ask questions, but the frightened children were silent.

In the very same town, the co-workers of the Prosecutor's office began to carry out a search of the house of Harasymiv without permission from the prosecutor. Harasymiv's wife tried to stop them but, disregarding the fact that she was holding a small baby, they began to twist her arms so as to get the key to the wardrobe. They demanded that she should let the children go for interrogation but they hid in the other room and after the frightening scene the mother had great difficulty in asking them to come out.

In Leningrad, 11 year old Liuba Makhovetska was constantly terrorized for her unwillingness to wear a neck-tie [of the Young Pioneer's — Editor]. As a result of this she had a nervous condition which affected the eye. Her brother Pavlyk was hit on the head with a piece of wood, after which twitching in his eye increased and he became extremely nervous. In the hospital the doctors were angry at such incidents, but they were told by the school: "You can be grateful to us for not setting the children against your children."

In 1964, in Zhytomyr, in school No. 30, a pupil of the 5th form, Volodia Dovbysh, was kicked at the gates by the teacher on duty because he came to school without his [Young Pioneers' — Editor] neck-tie.

We have many facts about the mocking, accusing and questioning of young children from Cheliabinsk, Pruzhany, Kyiv, Kryvyi Rih, Uzlovaya, from the Tula region and many more towns and villages, but it is impossible to list them all today. There are too many children whose parents are in prison.

All this boils down to the fact that children of religious parents are not only exposed to ridicule but also to beatings in schools, organized by teachers, directors of schools and atheist agitators. An important role is played by slander in newspapers and by the fanning of hatred among the population. This again testifies to the effort to physically break down not only the adults but also young children of a whole group of the population — religious members of the ECB.

We would like to inform you of lawlessness, which is carried out in defiance of our laws about the family and marriage and also contrary to the international laws and the convention "On combating discrimination in the field of education", about the kidnaping of children.

On 10th February 1967, in the village of Nova Tytarivka of the Dins'kyi district, Sliusarev Vitia the 14-year old son of religious parents, Sliusarev Mykola Pylypovych and Yevdokiya, who now live in the Krasnodar region in the village of Afipsk, 20 Avtonomna Street, was called to school No. 34 in Nova Tytarivka from where, with the agreement of the headmaster of the school, he was kidnapped and taken away by an unknown person. The parents do not know

about the whereabouts of their son to this very day. They cannot see him or even exchange letters.

We are also giving the facts about the kidnapping of 13-year old Kureybin Vira, which happened on 28th March, 1967 in the town of Tomsk. The girl also was kidnapped from school where she had been called before, under the pretext of decorating the classroom. The girl was accommodated in a children's home. For a long time her parents were not allowed to see their daughter. Finally a meeting was arranged and was held in the presence of strangers. There was no private meeting with the girl. Vira's parents live in Tomsk, 32 Karnovsky Street.

Is it possible to ignore such blatant facts of lawlessness? The children of Sliusarev and Kureybin should be returned to their parents without delay.

Trials and sentences without a base which violate legal procedures

An analysis of accusation and sentences of many condemned prisoners, according to routine, reveals only religious grounds for the accusing and condemning of faithful members of ECB; the trials are not well grounded, the witnesses are not unprejudiced, legal proceedings are full of violations from the beginning to the end: atheists — false witnesses are encouraged, while true witnesses are either not allowed or their testimonies are not taken into account. Without paying any attention to the information at trials believers who are completely innocent are found guilty by the court. Their only guilt lies in the fact that they believe in God. The Prosecutor should upon your orders carry out an investigation of the trials, of legal proceedings and sentences in the light of basic laws of the country. The time is ripe for this essential investigation.

The sentence in connection with Kozoriezov Oleksiy, born in 1933 in the town of Omsk. There should be an immediate inquiry into his sentence of three years imprisonment on the basis of article 142* of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR. At the moment he is in the town of Vladimir in a cell without daylight, without the right of personal visits, without having his personal wishes granted, without the right to go outside. The sentence is severe even for a terrible criminal, but his only crime is his refusal to belong to the State Church AUC ECB* and his sincere faith in God. He has 9 people to keep, among them 8 children between the ages of 9 years and 4 months.

As a result of staying in extreme conditions he developed heart trouble. When he was arrested he was completely healthy. Justice, legality and humanity demand his immediate release.

At the present time members of ECB are being subjected to torture during and after trials as before.

1. On 11th June 1966, in Odessa, a member of ECB, A. Y. Pavlenko, was arrested. He was tried on 11th August 1966. He was tortured during interrogations and after one of these tortures he lost con-

*) All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians-Baptists.

sciousness and did not regain it till he was on the operating table at the hospital. While in prison he was ill with a temperature of 39°C but when he asked for medical treatment all they did was to beat him till he lost consciousness. He told this publicly at his trial (as stated by the Odessa members of ECB sent to the Head of the Supreme Court of the USSR, comrade Gorkin).

2. We have informed you several times about the persecution of the member of ECB, A. I. Kovalchuk, from the town of Rivne, who was deprived of his means of livelihood when after torture in 1963 he was rehabilitated and set free. In June 1966 he was arrested again by the same investigator who had tortured him before. Kovalchuk managed to get free but no notice was taken of his numerous pleas and neither his passport nor his pension pass-book were returned. He had to go into hiding to save his life. They threatened him that they would draw out of him the blood the doctors had put into him during his medical treatment after the torture of 1963.

3. On 30th November, 1966 a trial, a parallel of which cannot be found in history, took place in the town Tashkent. The defendants were two invalids Matiukhina N. P. and Biela M. I. One of them was without both legs below the knee and the other was on crutches. Disregarding the fact that during the trial one of the defendants' artificial legs broke and she had to be carried out of the courtroom they both received severe sentences — 3 years in a concentration camp. We are publishing part of the last words of the defendant Matiukhina H.: "The representatives of the government knew my physical condition, they were also perfectly aware of the conditions in prison, they knew that I could not do without outside assistance, even to go to the toilet . . . To reach the place where I can have a wash I have to crawl a few yards across the cold cement floor, wash myself on the dirty floor . . . After washing myself I have to crawl across the dirty, cold, cement floor again, getting myself dirty in the process, then I have to dry myself with the wet rag and get dressed. Thank God, that among the law-breakers there are more humane people, who, to protect my health, risked their own and sometimes carried me out of the washroom."

4. **Beatings in Kyiv.** The Kyiv community sent comrade Brezhnev and others a letter — a direct letter of information, in which we read:

With deep concern we inform you that on Thursday, 30th March, 1967, the house where we were meeting according to a rota and, which belongs to our member, Shelestun Mykola Pavlovych, of 36 Ostrovskiy Street in the town of Nova Boyarka of the Kyiv region, was entered at 20.30 hrs, by the militia district chief in uniform and by 7 people in civilian clothes, disturbing our meeting. One of them was the head of the Boyarka militia station, two people introduced themselves as members of the Department of Maintenance of Public Order of Kyiv and the rest we do not know.

They attempted to write down the names of all those present, they took away the passport of the owner of the house and told him "You will pay for this", and ordered him to come to the Boyarka militia station.

On the 2nd April, 1967, at 4.45 p.m., he arrived at the Boyarka militia station. At 5 p.m. he was called to the private office of the chief of the militia, where the prosecutor and sector chiefs of militia were waiting. After asking Shelestun M.P., the father of two children, to sit down on a chair a little further away from the table, the chief of the militia, while asking him his name came up from behind and said: "You have been tormenting us, so now we are going to torment you", and he hit him on the head with his fist. The prosecutor who was sitting at the table also began to hit him from the other side, on his head, face, back and ears. To the question: "Why are you beating me?", using obscene language they replied: "We shall let out your inners and we shall not answer questions." Afterwards the chief of the militia knelt down before him, put his hands together and mocked him saying: "Now ask God to save you from us."

Shelestun fell on the floor from the beating, losing consciousness, but after the first beating they grabbed him by the hair and put him back on the chair, then they showed him a protocol with an arbitrary contents and ordered him to sign it.

In the protocol which they tried to make him sign it was stated: "At the religious meeting at the house of Shelestun M. P. anti-Soviet leaflets were being read." He was beaten again for refusing to sign such lies. Although he fell on the floor and lost consciousness, the militia continued to beat him, this time with their boots. The chief of the militia told him when he was completely covered in blood: "Wipe the blood away." Then he took away the two handkerchiefs soaked in blood, which was coming from his mouth and nose.

At 7 p.m. he was sent to the officer on duty with the order that he should be sent to the Kyiv militia station at 15, Korolenko Street, after his personal belongings had been taken away from him during the search. But the chief of militia, after consulting his deputy, returned his passport and personal belongings and sent him home with words: "Tell the others that the same fate is awaiting them."

After seeing Shelestun M.P. beaten and ill and after asking a witness who heard and saw the lynching, carried out by officials and also having the doctor's certificate issued by the dispensary of the Kyiv region of the legal commission of medical experts on 3rd April, 1967 (No. 2247), we would like to inform you that such actions are a continued misuse of the physical force and violence against religious convictions.

On behalf of the Kyiv community of the ECB which consists of 400 people, the petition was signed by 78 members on 5th April, 1967."

The condition of imprisonment of ECB members

We would like to bring to your attention the fact that members of the ECB are kept in special conditions.

In defiance of the rules of the regime of reform camps they are deprived of the right to correspond with people who are close to them and their family.

Letters, in which the word "God" is mentioned or other words of religious content never reach their destination. There exists a statement by the prisoner Velychko Mykola from Kyiv, a copy of which has also been sent to you. There are also statements from prisoners Gizbrekht Abram Abramovych, Rudenko Vasyl Mykolayovych, Enns Ivan Maksymovych, Leven Petro Pavlovych, Yants Petro Yakovlevych, who are imprisoned for believing in God in the town of Barnaul in the Altay region (p/ya UB — 14/1, detachment 7, 32nd brigade). There are letters from Golev S. T. and Popov N. F. from Ryazan, who are serving their sentence in camp p/ya 25/6, Kokurina V. I. and Bravn M. I. from the town of Ryazan, who are serving their sentences in camp No. 18 in the town of Kungur, in the Perm region. In the concentration camp of the town of Kaluga, before the very eyes of Khorev Mikhail, the authorities burnt a packet of letters, without letting him read them, and announced that he would be able to write to his wife and mother only twice a month.

A statement exists by a mother, Sheportiak Vira Petrivna, who has spent 20 years in prison. You received a telegram from her saying that she does not receive letters from her daughter and many other statements about this.

There is a general condition, that prisoners who are members of the ECB are not allowed to read the Bible and the Gospels because they are classified as harmful books. The holy books which are acknowledged by the whole world are the first necessity of every believer, and the forbidding of them, most likely, is not provided for in the rules for the regime of the concentration camps. This is nothing other than a special directive of the CC of the CPSU through the organs of the KGB. You have the statement of the secretary of the Council of Churches, Vins George Petrovych, about the fact that when he entered the concentration camp his Bible was taken away from him. Such is the fate of all prisoners of the ECB in the USSR.

Prisoners of the ECB are deprived of the right to perform religious rites — evening and morning divine Services. Other democratic countries support the chaplains of their prisons and concentration camps with state funds, yet we are deprived of the right to perform these rites with our ministers.

Where are the legal grounds for this? An order should be given for such illegalities to be stopped in all prisons and concentration camps.

Prisoners of the ECB are deprived of the right to pray in prisons and concentration camps. You have a statement about this from the

imprisoned members of ECB but you reply to it with silence. We would like to remind you about the statement from the concentration camps mentioned above and about others.

In the concentration camp of the Dnipropetrovsk region in the village of Polonivka in the Solonianskyi district the member of ECB, Overchuk Pavlo, was put in the isolator on April 26, 1967. On the same day, when his mother arrived to see him the commandant told her that he was in the isolator and had been deprived of the right to see anybody and receive mail for 6 months because he prayed every morning and evening and talked about Christ. Before this time Overchuk was not allowed to receive mail for 3 months. Thus his mother, after wasting her money, returned without anything while Overchuk Pavlo was forbidden to receive food parcels for 9 months. His mother was also told that if her son refuses to promise that he would stop praying and talking about Christ, and if after leaving the isolator he does not change his beliefs then he would be tried again and his sentence would be increased to eight years.

Many prisoners are threatened with "Shizo" (the penal isolator) in connection with this. Many have already spent time there and many are still there. Even an old man of 71, prisoner S. T. Golev from Ryazan, was threatened with the isolator.

We have information about such cases from many concentration camps and prisons. We would like to enclose a copy of a letter from the commandant of the 2nd detachment Vinnikov (p/ya ON 55/8-3 st. Andreapol, of the Kalinin region) sent on the 14th March, 1967 to the mother of the prisoner Yuriy Mikhalkov, Mikhalkova Mariya Ivanovna, who lives in the Altay region, 28 Molodezhnaya Street, room 63: in the town of Barnaul.

"In answer to your letter we wish to inform you the following:

Your son, Mikhalkov Yuriy Ivanovych, is staying in a place where he is deprived of freedom, and attempts at educational co-operation are applied to him so as to train him to be a person useful to our socialist society and not for your circle of worshippers. Therefore we keep your letters with prayers and excerpts from religious books and shall only return them when he is freed. That is why as the instructor of your son. I would like to ask of you, as his mother, and of all your co-religionists not to write him letters of religious content. Otherwise he will not receive them and will be punished. Your son has a higher education and you, his mother, have dared to push him into the mud, from where twice already he has found himself in prison. This should worry you and you should influence your son so that he should take to the correct path, but instead you are just pushing him further into the mud.

All people who are imprisoned are limited in their actions. Their mail is subjected to censorship and those letters which have a negative influence on the education of the prisoners are taken away and that is why some letters never reach your son.

As punishment for breaking the rules your son has been forbidden to receive parcels and he will not receive a parcel every month only one every two months until he decides to follow the road to correction that is until he breaks away from your circle of God's worshippers.

Therefore my plea to you: give me your assistance so that Yuriy is released earlier and receives a place in our socialist society in accordance with his schooling, and not in your narrow circle of worshippers so that he can live with his family and not away from it. You, as his mother, should make all the efforts possible to educate Yuriy so that he is no longer "Yuriy the martyr" but Yuriy Ivanovich, an industrial engineer.

As for a personal visit, that depends on you and your brothers in faith. It can be given in May of this year but for no longer than two days.

14. 3. 1967.

Commandant of the 2nd detachment (Vinnikov)."

Such is the true reason for the imprisonment of our relatives who are Evangelic Christian Baptists.

The deprivation of the right to receive further food parcels and of a meeting because of a refusal to work on Sundays:

Sheportiak Vira Petrivna, who is serving a sentence in the concentration camp near the station of Potma was forbidden personal visits and the next time the food parcels arrived she would not be allowed to receive one. She received this punishment for refusing to work on Sunday although up to this time she had worked 12 hours a day. Now she is very weak and undernourished.

The same has happened to prisoners Gizbrekht, Enns, Leven, Yants, Rudenko, all in the above mentioned concentration camp, and to others.

Members of the ECB are being terrorized in concentration camps by constant interrogations and threats and are forbidden to see each other.

Conditions detrimental to health have been created for members of the ECB. Bro...ko Victor Oleksiyovich born in 1929 was sentenced on the basis of Art. 142² of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR and is serving his sentence in the Dnipropetrovsk oblast. During the time of his imprisonment he had ailments of the stomach and heart and because of a bad cold he had severe headaches. The condition of his health is serious. He was unable to take advantage of the 2 hours visiting time because of a bad headache.

The above mentioned prisoner Kozoriezov Aleksander who is imprisoned in a cell without daylight developed a heart disease; (in a concentration camp in Volnoy) Phillipov Boris Yevtimovich is imprisoned; Hovorun Lidia is severely ill and is serving her sentence in Potma. She was arrested and imprisoned as a member of the Council of Relations of Prisoners for her efforts to free prisoners. Her son

Seriozha was kidnapped from school, and has now been sent to a boarding school in the town of Smolensk. Khorev Mikhail who only has 20% of his sight in one eye, Dubovyi Stepan Herasymovych an invalid without legs from the town of Tashkent, Matiukhina N. P. and Biela M. I.; Golev who is an old man suffering from diabetes has not been allowed to receive any drugs. There are also many others who have not been named by us. This is obvious physical extermination.

Mass Persecution With Beatings

As a rule, in the past, but now even more so, the government stipulates that before one can register a religious community one must accept the obnoxious unlawful decree of April 8, 1929 about religious cults, a decree which became the cause for the suffering of believers from that moment to this very day, throughout 38 years. If the Church does not agree to such conditions then it is not registered, and prayer meetings are dispersed often with the use of beatings.

In Kyiv twice, during a razzia of the faithful, dogs were used and people were beaten up in the towns of Vladivostok, Moscow, Kyiv, Cheliabinsk and in many other towns, villages and settlements.

Countless buildings of prayer have been confiscated and have not been returned and in the past few years. In the towns of Vladivostok, Berestia and Barnaul they have been pulled down by bulldozers. In other towns such as in Podolsk of the Moscow region, Zhytomyr, Kyiv, Berestia, Kharkiv, Frunze, Odessa, Homel, Yasynivka of the Lviv region, Kolodizhne, Soldyr, Hordiivka in Zhytomyr region, Kryvyi Rih, Dedovsk of Moscow region, and in many others those buildings have been closed down. This information can be obtained from the Council for Religious Affairs at the Council of Ministers of the USSR because it is on its orders that the building were closed.

The breaking up of prayer meetings is accompanied by the imposition of far too heavy fines on the participants. According to incomplete information the fine is 30,000 to 40,000 rubles. More exact information can be found in the Budget of the Soviet Union, where this money is entered in a special paragraph.

We must remind you of the unjustified disturbing of the funeral of Butenko E. I. in the town of Myrhorod in Poltava region, 24 Shymatska Street, who left a will for his wife and sons asking to be buried by believers in God. The militia fought its way into the funeral procession, pushed aside the widow of the dead man and would not allow him to be buried. We are including the statement of his son, which has been sent to you. The funeral took place on the 26. 3. 67 and we have photographs.

Badgering In The Press And The Encouraging Of Hatred Among The Population As A Preparation For Destruction Of A Large Group Of Members Of The ECB.

In the magazine *Rabotnitsa*, No. 4, 1967, there appeared an article with false information: "This happened in Zhytomyr"; in the news-

paper *Apsheronskiy Rabochiy*, the organ of the CPSU of the Krasnodar Kray ("Against Murk and Superstition"), in editions of 10. 12. 66, 13. 12. 66, 17. 12. 66; in the newspaper *Izvestiya* of 5. 6. 66 ("Prophets and sacrifices"); in the newspaper *Sovietskaya Rossiya* of 22. 11. 66 ("Nona is mumbling prayers. In answer to the apostle of darkness"); in the newspaper *Krymskaya Pravda* of 16. 6. 66, *Molod' Ukrainy* of the 15. 1. 67, the article "Behind dark windows" in which Lynnyk Danylo, today a prisoner, was condemned for refusing to use arms during the war, when he was only 7 years old. It has been calculated that all the means are good and that not everyone knows his date of birth . . . etc.

We are in no condition to enumerate all periodical publications and newspapers to show whether [their attacks against religion — Editor] correspond to the article in the newspaper *Sovietskaya Rossiya* of 27. 12. 66, "About the freedom of conscience", and whether they correspond to the law about religious cults, which speaks about the inadmissibility of administrative pressure and of giving offence to the feelings of believers.

It should be noted that in the past few months there has been a general proliferance of false articles which dishonour members of the ECB.

It should be noted that there has been an increase of persecution and all possible means of repression in various places.

It should be noted that there has been an increase in the number of tortures and arrests.

It should be noted that everywhere there have been attempts to worsen the state of health and the living conditions of ECB members and their persecution by detachments of the KGB.

It should be noted that there has been an increase in the amount of intimidation and beating of children.

It should be noted that there has been an increase in the number of mass dispersal of prayer meetings with violence as for example in Kyiv (the above mentioned beating of Shelestun), in Moscow, Leningrad and in many other towns.

The facts mentioned above have not been chosen at random but because it is impossible to list all of them in one letter we have revealed a small part of what goes on everywhere. This is not happening at the time of the medieval Inquisition but at a time when we are preparing to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the revolution and the installation of democracy and humanity.

The leading body of our country, the CC CPSU, has taken the course of physical destruction of thousands of members of the ECB as we know from facts and reality.

We, mothers, fathers, wives and children of members of the ECB who have been wrongly imprisoned for accepting the faith and words

of God, do not shrink from this suffering and do not consider it as incidents which are new to us; instead we accept this suffering with obedience, as we would from the hands of the Almighty God, who gave up his only Son to suffering and death so as to save mankind "so that everyone who believes in him should not die but have everlasting life" (John 3: 16).

But we, like a mother, who bending over her child suffers with it when it is ill, spends sleepless nights with it, does everything possible to ease its suffering — we cannot be indifferent at a time when our dear ones are lingering in damp cold cells with a piece of bread and a quart of cold water for the right to pray, when they are sent to wilderness of the taiga as if they were terrible criminals, we cannot be indifferent when they work beyond their strength 12 hours a day and are not allowed to receive parcels or visitors because of their right to be Christians. "Think of prisoners as much as if it were yourselves in chains . . ." (Hebrews 13: 3), "How can I see evil which befalls my country and how can I see the death of my dear ones" (Esther 8: 6).

At the moment we should try to prevent all attempts to torture and to kill or maim condemned members of the ECB who are in prison or concentration camps.

A special committee should be formed to investigate their conditions of living there, so that such incidents as the torturing to death of Khmara N., Kucherenko from Mykolaïv, and others, which have happened in the past do not happen in the future.

You, Leonid Ilyich, as the General Secretary of the CC CPSU, the main leading body of all public and state organizations and the head of the Constitutional Committee should take serious notice of our information. You should immediately stop the mass evils which befall members of the ECB who live on the territory of the USSR, you should put an end to all attempts to kill or deprive members of the ECB of their freedom without procrastinating, you should cancel the decision of 8. 4. 1929 and Article 142² of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR and corresponding articles of the Union Republics and also the unlawful use of other articles of the Criminal Code on the basis of which members of the ECB are being physically destroyed.

We are full of determination to remind you of this as we feel a duty before God and humanity.

On behalf of the relatives of prisoners this letter has been signed by members of the Council of Relatives of Prisoners, Members of the ECB.

1. L. Vins (Kyïv)
2. N. Yakymenenkova (Moscow)
3. A. Kozoriezova (Leningrad)

22 May, 1967.

CAPTIVE NATIONS' WEEK IN BRITAIN

With manifestations in four big cities of Britain — in London, Manchester, Nottingham and Bradford — ended the Captive Nations' Week which for the first time was marked in this country and in Western Europe from November 9th to 16th, 1969.

Regional committees set up in the four above mentioned cities organised activities in their areas. The London Committee was headed by Lady Birdwood. Apart from British friends representatives of the emigre national groups of Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Armenians, Czechs, Hungarians, Rumanians, Albanians, Bulgarians and Zanzibaris took active part in the London Committee.

The Chairman of the British League for European Freedom which sponsored the marking of the Captive Nations' Week, Mr. John Graham, notified all the bishops of various denominations in Britain about the forthcoming activities in connection with Captive Nations' Week, and received favourable replies from about 40 Anglican bishops, among others. Many of them assured Mr. Graham about their support for a Week of Prayer for the Enslaved Nations. In several dioceses the bishops recommended special services and prayers to be held in churches during this Week. Some church bulletins published notices about the Week.

For several months intensive preparations were made. Various measures and methods of action were discussed and planned at the meetings of the organising committees. As a result the British League for European Freedom published 250,000 leaflets entitled "Captive Nations Week" which told briefly about the Russian enslavement of various nations since 1917 and called upon the British public to support the cause of their liberation, to assist the B.L.E.F. in its work. The four-page leaflet contained also a photo showing Russian tanks in Prague and a statistical table about nearly 95 million victims of Bolshevik-Communist murders and wars in various countries of the world.

The Committee issued also 40,000 stickers, the size of postage stamps, which depicted red prison bars with

the slogan: "Communism imprisons man's mind and body" and the inscription around the edges: "Captive Nations' Week — 9-16 November, 1969."

The leaflets and stickers were distributed all over Britain by members of all the nationalities participating in the Committees, including the British friends.

On the eve of the Captive Nations' Week press conferences were held in Manchester and London which had the aim of informing the press and radio about the activities planned. In Manchester the press conference was conducted by Mr. John Graham and in London also by Lady Birdwood and Sir Ian McTaggart.

Service at St. Martin's

On Sunday, November 9, the famous church of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields in Trafalgar Square in London witnessed an unprecedented gathering of representatives of various religions and denominations unified in prayer

on behalf of the enslaved peoples. At 3 p.m. a procession led by the Anglican vicar of the church, the Rev. Austen Williams, and clergy of various denominations and nationalities: Ukrainian, Hungarian and Czech — Catholic, Byelorussian — Orthodox, Latvian — Protestant, Armenian Christian, and Zanzibari — Moslem, entered the church. They were followed by flag-bearers in national costumes who carried flags of the enslaved nations placing them at the altar.

The service was inaugurated by the Rev. A. Williams, after whom the Ukrainian Catholic parish priest of London, Fr. S. Orach, said a prayer in English, based on "Our Father." He was followed by the Latvian Protestant pastor, Very Rev. Muzika, the Hungarian Catholic priest Mgr. Bela Ispanki, the Estonian Protestant Dean, Very Rev. Dr. J. Taul, and the Moslem Zanzibari religious leader Sheikh Riyamy, who said prayers or read passages from religious texts. The Czech Catholic priest, Fr. J. Lang, said a prayer for the enslaved nations, and the Byelorussian Orthodox priest, Fr. Pavlo Vyaliki sang "Credo" in English to a traditional Old Church Slavonic melody. The Rev. A. Williams preached about the situation of the nations enslaved by Russia and Communism. After the congregation which consisted, to a great extent, of British people, sang the hymn "Onward Christian Soldiers", the Armenian priest, the Rev. G. Kojababian, ended the service with a prayer.

Meeting at the House of Commons

On Wednesday, November 12, at 5 p.m., representatives of the enslaved nations and British friends gathered at the Grand Committee Room of the House of Commons for a meeting with members of Parliament on the occasion of the Captive Nations' Week. The purpose of the meeting was to inform M.P.s about the plight of the nations enslaved by Russia and Communism.

The meeting was opened by Lord St. Oswald who welcomed representatives of the enslaved nations who gathered at the House of Commons. He said: "The minds of men and

women beyond that monstrous barrier of disillusion called the Iron Curtain are tuned to hear a hopeful response from us — a signal of survival — a positive sign that our conscience as human creatures survives and that their courage must have some reason, some incentive to survive." Lord St. Oswald castigated the indifference which is often noticeable in this country and in the West as a whole to the sufferings of the nations behind the Iron Curtain. Referring to the events in Czechoslovakia and other countries, he said: "The world was shaken by those events, but I believe the world was insufficiently shaken. There was an eagerness to forget, and that eager objective was largely achieved within a few months in the world outside." He stressed that "Constantly, consistently, the Soviet rulers have been ready to use force to obtain their ends when negotiations failed, or did not succeed quickly enough." He asked: "... how do we have the gall to express astonishment of all things at yet another instance of Soviet confidence — Soviet confidence confirmed by repetitions of success, that they can stamp out every manifestation of freedom, or the desire for freedom, in the nations under their control. They can do so it seems with absolute impunity, at the derisory cost of a few sharp, and easily forgotten words by statesmen of the "bourgeois democracies" as they contemptuously describe us... The fact that these modern barbarians are technically sophisticated must not blind us to the primitive brutality of their behaviour. Each of the Russian-enslaved peoples in Europe, as well as the Communist victims in the other parts of the world, has cause to believe that its own puppet regime is the cruellest, meanest and most deceitful. We must express our contempt for the oppressor, and our admiration for the oppressed, and the leaders of our nations, the free leaders of the West, must be among the leaders of those who raise that voice of contempt and of admiration." Without those enslaved nations, Europe is incomplete, Lord St. Oswald said. "If we are to deserve and to win the trust of these peoples, we must try to demonstrate our

solidarity with them in their time of defenceless travail and need. By our loyalty to them we shall earn the lasting loyalty of some of the best, and bravest and most brilliant friends our own country could ever wish to have."

Lady Birdwood then read brief statements on behalf of the captive nations whose emigré groups in Great Britain were taking part in observance of the Captive Nations Week. The countries are: Albania, Armenia, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, Croatia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Rumania, Ukraine and Zanzibar.

Two documentary films were then shown to those present. The first (silent) showed the exhumation in 1943 of the victims of Communist Russian executions of some 12,000 Ukrainian peasants in Vinnytsia in 1937-8 who were buried in mass graves; the second film related about the Hungarian Uprising against Communist Russian domination in 1956. Owing to the shortage of time the third film about the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia could not be shown.

Pastor Wurmbrand from Rumania, who now lives in the USA, made an impassioned speech about the persecution of underground Churches in the Communist sphere. In particular he mentioned the arrest and torture of the Ukrainian Catholic Archbishop Vasyl Velychkovskiy in 1969 and the imprisonment of Baptist leaders, Vins and Ponomarenko. Pastor Wurmbrand said that "all the freedom fighters behind the Iron Curtain who fight for freedom continue to do what the British soldier did in World War Two and what Wilberforce and others like him had done." "The nations behind the Iron Curtain are only relatively captive. Their bodies are captive — their spirits are free — and with free spirits they testify for the truth, they testify their belief in God." Pastor Wurmbrand expressed his firm conviction in the final victory of God's truth.

Ukrainian Reception

On Thursday, November 13, there took place a reception at the Hall of the London Branch of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain for the

members of the Captive Nations Week Committee and other invited guests. Dr. S. M. Fostun, Secretary of the Association of Ukrainians welcomed those present, and Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) and Co-Chairman of the European Freedom Council, who happened to visit Britain at this time, spoke about the need for solidarity among the nations enslaved by Russia and Communism and the joint action of the free countries in support of the national liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain. Lady Birdwood in her short speech called for an effort to make the Sunday, Nov. 16th, procession a memorable event.

Memorandum

Every day during the C.N. Week, several delegations from national representations in Britain came to No. 10, Downing Street to deliver petitions and documents addressed to the Prime Minister, describing the situation in the oppressed countries. A memorandum prepared by the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain was delivered by a delegation consisting of Prof. W. Vasylenko, President of the Association, and Prof. W. Shayan, a Ukrainian representative in the British League for European Freedom, on Friday, November 14th. The Memorandum drew the attention of H.M. Government to the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people over the last 50 years, mentioned in greater detail the recent reprisals and arrests in Ukraine, warned against the appeasement of Moscow which strives to dominate the world, pointed out the need for an offensive policy with regard to Russia on the part of the West, listed certain critical observations concerning the Western response to Russian attacks, drawing the attention to the advantages and desirability of introducing Ukrainian broadcasts of the BBC, and expressed the hope that the British Government would raise its voice at international forums in defence of the enslaved nations in particular Ukraine. A photostat copy and a translation of the appeal by Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi, an old political prisoner in

the Communist Russian concentration camps, to the conscience of the world, was attached to the Memorandum. This appeal was written as far back as 1962, but it has not lost its point even today, because Dr. Horbovyj's lot has not improved in the last 7 years. For 23 years he has now been languishing in prisons after receiving a sentence of 25 years without any trial and without the opportunity to defend himself.

During the Week, a special van decorated with flags of the enslaved nations was driving around London. It carried large inscriptions "Captive Nations Week." Leaflets were distributed from the van.

Demonstration

The Captive Nations Week was concluded by an impressive international demonstration and procession in London, on Sunday, November 16, 1969.

Long before 3 p.m. on Sunday, a throng of demonstrators gathered at the Speakers' Corner at Marble Arch. Although the day was cold and wet, groups of many nationalities gathered there with their national flags, posters and banners. A considerable group of young British people, members of the Democratic Alliance and the Friends of South Vietnam, joined the demonstrators. Earlier, they demonstrated in front of the Russian and Czech embassies and burned the Soviet flag, and the flag of the Vietcong. Many demonstrators wore armbands in their national colours, often with a black stripe to denote mourning of victims of Communist oppression.

The meeting at Speakers' Corner opened with an address by Lady Birdwood who made clear the tragic situation of the nations enslaved by Communist regimes at whose hands there perished over 95 million people in the course of the last 50 years.

The last speaker was Mr. John Biggs-Davison, M.P., who drew the attention to the fact that those who demonstrate against a sports team from South Africa never think about demonstrating against the sports teams from the Communist countries. "Communism spells an alphabet of

horror from A to Z, Albania to Zanzibar... Today a third of the human race lives under Communism. The estimated loss in human life is twice the population of Britain. The genial Khrushchev told us: "We will bury you." As satrap of the Ukraine he knew a lot about burials... The late John F. Kennedy rightly insisted that the selfdetermination of the Eastern European peoples was prerequisite to peaceful coexistence. The prospect of Soviet-US detente cannot alter the fact that there can be no lasting settlement while half Europe lies under Soviet rule or domination... The present search for a wider European unity, to embrace Great Britain, cannot end at the Communist watchtowers. Self-determination, if it means anything, applies not only in Afro-Asia but in Europe... We must assume the moral offensive. Take heart; those we commemorate, those gathered here are on the winning side"...

At last the long column of marchers begins to move. It is led by a Union Jack followed by girls in national costumes — Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Latvian and others — carrying a large laurel wreath with the inscription, "The Captive Nations Commemorate the Millions Who Have Died for Freedom" across it, and with names of the enslaved countries on ribbons woven around the wreath. Behind them — a long file of 95 people carrying posters accusing the Communists of murdering 95 million people. Among them at some distance from one another — there are carried flags of the enslaved nations in the alphabetical order — from Albania and Armenia to Ukraine and Zanzibar. The flag of South Vietnam is also carried by demonstrators, for its friends walk in the procession as well. Then follow members of the C.N.W. Committee and various prominent personalities headed by Mr. John Biggs-Davison, M.P. After them came the main group of about 1,500 demonstrators with their placards and banners, national flags etc. The "marshals" keep the order and the police regulates the traffic. Leaflets are distributed on the pavements all along the procession route — from

Marble Arch along the Oxford Street, Regent Street, Picadilly and Trafalgar Square to the Cenotaph. The weather, cold and cloudy at first, deteriorates gradually, and when the procession reaches Regent Street, it begins to rain heavily. The dusk falls quickly, but it does not halt the procession. People arm themselves with rain-coats and umbrellas and the march stubbornly moves on.

The posters and banners disappear discreetly before the procession reaches the Cenotaph and only national flags are lined up in a semi-circle in front of it. The marchers surround the Cenotaph. Silence follows. Two girls followed by a woman all in white and in chains symbolising the Captive Nations carry the wreath to the Cenotaph, where it is placed by Lady Birdwood, Chairman of the London Committee. A minute of silence, the flags are dipped in mourning of the victims of Communism. Father Lang reads a prayer for the victims and for the fighters for individual and national freedom against Bolshevik tyranny. The ceremony ends with all the present saying the prayer, "Our Father" in

their own languages, and the singing of "God Save the Queen."

Similar demonstrations and meetings took place in Manchester, Nottingham and Bradford.

The first Captive Nations Week in Britain was a success in that it mobilised a considerable number of people in support of the freedom aspirations of the nations enslaved by Russia and Communism. Some reports about it appeared in the British press, as e. g. *The Yorkshire Post*, where even a leader was devoted to this and a number of local newspapers. The majority of national papers, as usual, preferred to pass over in silence this occasion, most likely not to ruffle the Russians' susceptibilities. However, the great response among the Churches in this country, as well as among some sections of the British youth and students, as e. g. in London, Manchester and Nottingham, testify that there exist wide opportunities for intensifying the work of the British League for European Freedom on behalf of the enslaved nations among the British public. The good beginning requires that further efforts be made to consolidate what has been achieved and to proceed from it further afield.

PROMISE AND REALITY

50 Years of Soviet-Russian "Achievements" An Indictment of Russian Communism

by SUZANNE LABIN

1/6

1/6

When the Communists seized power in 1917 they made many promises to the workers and peasants in the former Russian Imperial lands.

In "PROMISE AND REALITY", the distinguished French journalist shows the reality of the Communist world after fifty years of unlimited power.

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c/o 200, Liverpool Road, London, N.1.

Memorandum from the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain to the Prime Minister

**ASSOCIATION OF UKRAINIANS IN GREAT BRITAIN, LTD.
49, Linden Gardens, London, W. 2.**

10th November, 1969.

To
The Right Honourable
Harold Wilson, O.B.E., M.P.,
Prime Minister of
Her Majesty's Government,
10, Downing Street,
LONDON, S. W. 1.

Sir,

We, the undersigned, take the liberty to address you on the occasion of the Captive Nations' Week (November 9-16, 1969) on behalf of the 30,000-strong Ukrainian community in the United Kingdom where, for almost a quarter of a century, it has enjoyed the privilege of refuge and liberty living in this country side by side with the hospitable British people.

At the same time we feel that we have the moral right and duty to speak on behalf of the entire 46,000,000-strong Ukrainian nation which for the past 50 years has been suffering terrible oppression at the hands of the totalitarian Communist Russian regime of arbitrary violence and inhuman brutality, and has been prevented from voicing its aspirations freely in a genuinely democratic manner.

The purpose of this letter is to draw the attention of Her Majesty's Government to the situation of the nations enslaved by Russia and Communism, in particular in Ukraine, to the continued aspirations and struggle of the Ukrainian nation for individual freedom and national independence, and to some important facts in the East-West relations which profoundly influence today, or are bound to influence tomorrow world political developments.

1) First of all, we wish to draw your attention, Sir, to the fact that the national problem in the Russian colonial empire, known as the Soviet Union, together with its satellites, remains acute. The enslaved nations have not and will never reconcile themselves with their underprivileged position in the shadow of Russian great power chauvinism.

Among those enslaved nations, Ukraine has given innumerable proofs of the continued resistance of the Ukrainian people to Russian supremacy and of the will of the Ukrainian nation to regain its liberty and national independence.

The Declaration of Independence of the Ukrainian National Republic of January 22, 1918, was followed by three years of armed resistance of the Ukrainian regular forces to Communist Russian invaders. This War of Independence ended in the Russian conquest of Ukraine, partly owing to the lack of

understanding and assistance from the Western Democracies. The prolonged struggle of armed partisan units in the 1920s, of various underground organisations, such as the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine and the Ukrainian Youth Association (liquidated in 1930), the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (founded in 1929), and various others has not abated to this day. The proclamation of the restoration of Ukraine's independence in the capital city of Western Ukraine, Lviv, on June 30, 1941, on the outbreak of the Nazi-Soviet war, by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists led by Stepan Bandera, expressed the cherished aspiration of the Ukrainian people but was followed by brutal Gestapo reprisals. The armed fight of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, under the leadership of Roman Shukhevych (General Taras Chuprynka) between 1942 and 1950, first against the Nazi German occupation and later against the Soviet Russian domination, spread over a large part of Ukrainian territory and was supported by millions of the Ukrainian population. Shootings, mass arrests and deportations temporarily dealt a heavy blow to Ukrainian resistance, but even in concentration camps of Siberia Ukrainians organised uprisings which forced Khrushchev to introduce certain changes.

At present we receive ever new confirmations of the existence and strength of the underground national liberation movement in Ukraine. Clandestine political literature with Ukrainian patriotic contents is again circulating in Ukraine, and some of it has even reached the West. The regime reacts with increased terror, arrests of prominent intellectuals, students, and members of various underground Ukrainian organisations which come into existence spontaneously in many parts of Ukraine. The Mordovian concentration camps are filled to a great extent with Ukrainian political prisoners, fighters for the rights of the Ukrainian nation and for individual freedoms. Hundreds of Ukrainian patriots unjustly sentenced to 25-year terms of imprisonment back in Stalin's times, are still languishing in prison. Among them are well-known national figures: the distinguished lawyer Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyj, a citizen of Czechoslovakia, as well as three women Red Cross organisers: Kateryna Zarytska, Odarka Husak and Halyna Dydyk.

In the last few years a number of Ukrainian patriotic underground organisations have been discovered by the Soviet Russian secret police in Ukraine and severely dealt with. Thus, in 1959, a group of young people who founded the clandestine "United Party for the Liberation of Ukraine" in the region of Ivano-Frankivsk, were sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from 7 to 10 years. In 1960, a group of lawyers who set themselves the task of pressing for the implementation of the right of secession of the Ukrainian SSR from the Soviet Union, and founded the organisation named "Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union" in Lviv, were arrested and at a secret trial in 1961 sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from 7 to 15 years. In December 1961, another group of young people who founded the organisation named "Ukrainian National Committee" in Lviv were secretly tried. Two of them, Ivan Koval and Bohdan Hrytsyna, were sentenced to death and executed, and others sent to prison for terms ranging from 10 to 15 years. A considerable number of Ukrainians from various parts of Ukraine were sentenced in 1962-63 for "anti-Soviet nationalist propaganda" to many years of imprisonment.

In 1965 came a wave of reprisals against Ukrainian intellectuals and cultural workers who protested against Russian colonialism in Ukraine, especially the officially favoured cultural Russification. Over 20 of them from various parts of Ukraine were arrested at the end of August, 1965, and secretly tried at the beginning of 1966. They were sentenced to up to six years of imprisonment and hard labour in the concentration camps of Mordovia. One of them, the poet and translator, Sviatoslav Karavanskyi, who had already served over 16 years of his 25-year prison sentence and had been released in 1960, was rearrested and sent, without trial, to serve the remaining 8 years and 7 months of his quashed sentence in the Mordovian camps.

A journalist, Viacheslav Chornovil, who attended some of these trials, collected documentation about the arrested intellectuals, in particular their petitions and open letters to the Soviet authorities pleading for justice and protesting against Russification policies, made a number of type-written copies of this collection of documents. One or two of them reached the West and was published in Ukrainian and English. This served as a pretext for the authorities to arrest him in August 1967, and sentence him in November of the same year to 18 months of imprisonment.

In 1967 the KGB carried out numerous arrests among young people in West Ukraine. At a secret trial in Ivano-Frankivsk they were accused of belonging to the organisation named "Ukrainian National Front" and were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment ranging from six to 15 years and to many years of banishment from their native land.

In 1968, a number of signatories of the famous open letter of 139 Ukrainians from Kiev, protesting against violation of socialist legality, against secret trials and suppression of the national rights of Ukrainians, have suffered reprisals, among them the poet Ivan Drach, the critic Mykhailyna Kotsiubynska, the historian Yurii Braichevskyi, the philologist Zina Franko, and others. Likewise, several Ukrainians, among them Professor Pliushch, signatories of the open letter of 54 Soviet citizens, protesting against suppression of civil rights in the USSR, have also been arrested and persecuted.

On January 27, 1969, the K.G.B. arrested Mgr. Vasyl Velychkovskyi, Archbishop of the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Eastern Rite, in Lviv, West Ukraine. This Church has been banned by Soviet authorities in 1946 when all its bishops were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, and the only survivor at present is Major Archbishop Yosyf Slipyi who spent 18 years in Soviet concentration camps and now lives in Rome where he was made cardinal by Pope Paul VI. Mgr. Velychkovskyi, who had been secretly appointed Archbishop by the Metropolitan Yosyf Slipyi, was sentenced to three years of imprisonment. The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church has also been completely destroyed by the Communist Russian authorities and is not permitted to function in Ukraine.

The above facts which are but fragmentary, illustrate to some extent the persecution which Ukrainian nation suffers at the hands of the oppressive and alien Russian communist colonial regime.

2) Further, we wish to express our conviction that the assurances which Russia frequently gives of peaceful coexistence with the free countries of the

world are no more worth than similar Russian assurances and solemnly signed treaties in the past. They were usually broken as soon as Russia felt that she could violate them with impunity.

In this respect Ukraine has had a long and bitter experience. Thus on December 17, 1917, the Soviet Russian Government, in a diplomatic communication to the Ukrainian Government, recognised the right of Ukraine to full independence. But already 10 days later Communist Russian troops invaded Ukraine under the pretext of helping the puppet Communist "Government" of Ukraine set up by a small group of Communist Russian agents in the East Ukrainian city of Kharkiv in opposition to the true national Government of Ukraine in Kiev. Two months later, Russia agreed in the Treaty of Brest Litovsk to evacuate its troops from Ukraine and to recognise Ukraine's independence. But this obligation was broken at the end of the same year, 1918, when Russian Communist armies again swarmed across the borders of Ukraine under the same pretext. Moscow was then certain that no-one would come to Ukraine's aid.

As in the case of Ukraine, Russia also completely disregarded her treaties with Poland, Finland and the Baltic Republics when an opportune time came some 20 years later. The sense of various agreements, especially with the Western Allies, concerning the future regimes in East-Central Europe was unrecognisably twisted by Russia towards the end of World War II, and in the immediate post-war period, when Russia saw that the governments of the West would not do anything to stand up in defence of the said countries.

This should be a warning that the slogan of peaceful coexistence propagated by Russia is merely a strategic manoeuvre designed to lull the West into a feeling of false security in order to gain time to consolidate her decomposing empire, to strengthen overwhelmingly her military might and to gain new footholds in the so-called Third World.

The declared and real aim of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Russian Government leaders still remains the same: to extend their odious spirit-killing monstrous empire throughout the world. For it is only in that system that Russia can hope to play a leading role, being its inventor and the prime moving force. If the system be relaxed, it would inevitably be overthrown by the discontented masses, consisting of the oppressed nations and individuals, because they are forced every day into permanent natural opposition to it, kept in check only by means of terror, ruthless violence, and ceaseless propagandist brain-washing in isolation from the rest of the world. The Brezhnev-Kosygin clique realise this dilemma perfectly well and it is for this reason that they are endeavouring to turn back the spontaneous drift towards relaxation which began after Stalin's death. The Russian leaders cannot satisfy themselves with the maintenance of the international status quo either, on a permanent basis that is, because this excludes control over the growth of new forces and new power centres outside their sphere of influence. These forces are bound to become new obstacles to the fulfilment of Moscow's ambition to dominate the world. Thus, the only way possible for them is to hold on to a basically offensive strategy aimed at advancing at opportune times towards world supremacy, profiting as much as possible from the consequences of World

War II advantageous to them, from appeasement moods in the West, and from opportunism of some Third World politicians.

3) We wish to express our sincere conviction, Sir, that as long as the CPSU is in power in the USSR, there is no hope for a real reform of the system towards something approaching normal democratic standards of political life, and as long as any Russian empire exists, of whatever colour, it will not abandon its drive for world domination. Any appeasement of Russian expansionist ambitions or recognition of the status quo as lawful or permanent, strengthens the Communist Russian system and creates additional danger to the free world. On the other hand, passivity on the part of the Free world with regard to Russia is fraught with mortal peril for the freedom of the countries of the West. It is only a long-term offensive strategy which can ensure the survival of the free world and at the same time bring nearer the restoration of freedom in the sphere now dominated by Russia. Concessions and half-way solutions which have been tried with Russia and the Communists since the end of World War II, have proved to be no solutions at all, but simply stages towards enabling Russia and the Communists to expand further their sway. The examples are: Poland (1944-45), Czecho-Slovakia (1948), Korea, Vietnam, Laos, and last but not least East Germany. Mainland China could also have been saved for the free world, had there been more sober assessment of the situation on the part of the West. The withholding of any kind of recognition or any support from the Ukrainian independence movement before, during and after World War II, on the part of the West, was one of the great mistakes of policy, for it helped Russia to consolidate her hold over the strategically important Ukrainian territory, as well as over the Central European satellites.

There is not much hope for the West to win the deadly contest with Russia and the Communists when it will merely continue to repulse half-heartedly Communist attacks on the battlegrounds chosen by them, as is now the case in South-East Asia. The results of such a policy have become clear from the conflict in South Vietnam and Laos. The communists are able to concentrate all their efforts, manpower and military resources for an attack in an area which is ripe for their penetration owing to various circumstances. Moreover, the communist "ideological" penetration and warfare, which is not discontinued even in the period of supposed "peaceful coexistence", can be ignored only at the extreme risk to the West, as seemingly innocuous student disturbances in Paris, USA and other places have shown.

4) Regarding the contents and methods of ideological response on the part of the free world, in particular the leading Western powers, to the Communist, in particular Soviet Russian challenge, it is our considered opinion that they are far from sufficient. It is our conviction that the most important shortcomings of the present ideological stance on the part of the West are the following:

a) The Western response is purely defensive and for this reason uninspiring to the millions of people subjugated by Russia and Communism;

b) it fails to provide any guidance to the oppressed millions of how to organise themselves for resistance to their tormentors, how to thwart the criminal policies of the Communist dictatorships, how to withstand modern

propaganda and brainwashing techniques. Free mankind is thus in full awareness refusing to give a helping hand to its brothers and sisters suffocating under the stifling communist regimes;

c) it fails to offer a vision of a better future for the oppressed nations and individuals and a hope of its eventual achievement. At best, the West merely informs them blandly and "objectively" of what goes on in the rest of the world, how the free world has reconciled itself with the rape of the enslaved nations, how prosperity is rising in some countries, etc.

d) it often mistakenly regards national communism as the solution to be offered to the enslaved nations, whereas in fact "national communism", if it exists at all, is merely a temporary compromise between the Moscow-oriented Communist tyrannies and the spontaneous nationalism of the overwhelming masses of a given nation, and cannot serve as a desirable ideal for true freedom-loving forces;

e) it fails to encourage the unity of action of the enslaved peoples on the basis of genuine regard for equality, mutual respect, sovereignty, integrity of their ethnic territories, because it shows undue respect for Russian chauvinistic susceptibilities among other things;

f) most important of all, it fails to utilise the most potent idea, namely the liberation aspirations of the peoples imprisoned by Russia within the frontiers of the USSR. The example of our native country, Ukraine, is telling. Thus, even today, the Foreign Office and the B.B.C. External Services still do not consider it necessary to introduce Ukrainian broadcasts of the B.B.C., motivating their refusal with such arguments as that Ukrainians largely understand Russian, that the Russians might be dissatisfied at such a move, and that there is a shortage of financial resources. Surely, these arguments pale in view of the likelihood of winning warm sympathies of 46,000,000 European people which can easily be done by introducing B.B.C. broadcasts in Ukrainian. Ukrainians, after all, represent some 20% of the population of the USSR, they are natural leaders of some 50% of the total population of the USSR, which is other than Russian, Ukrainians also make up nearly 10% of the population of our European continent.

g) the Western response usually lays stress on criticising merely the false communist doctrine without seriously attacking Russian imperialism and great power chauvinism which are the real driving forces behind the communist instrument. Without them Communism as such would create little danger to the peace of the world.

5) We take the liberty to appeal to you, Sir, as the leader of a great nation, a country which is world famous as the cradle of parliamentary democratic government, the country which has shown unexampled respect for the dignity of man and his freedom, as well as for the rights of nations and peoples however humble, by peacefully granting independence to many once dependent countries, to show once again the spirit of outstanding moral leadership at the present juncture of history by initiating efforts to mobilise world public opinion against the continued existence of the anachronistic, tyrannous and inhuman colonial Russian empire which camouflages itself as a "socialist union of equal peoples" under the red international proletarian flag, but which is in fact a

direct continuation, in modernised form, of the Muscovite dukedom, of the bloodthirsty tyranny of Ivan the Terrible, of the absolutistic autocracies of Peter I, Catherine II, Nicholas I and other Russian tsars, who conquered foreign lands and subjugated other nations.

The world cannot exist forever divided into two completely antagonistic system: one that cherishes freedom of nations and individuals and another which uses very means to suppress and eradicate them. Freedom is a delicate plant and considerably more effort has to be exerted to cultivate it than is more than necessary to break and destroy it. But what we see in the world today is the fact that increasingly more forces and efforts are applied to the destruction of freedom than to its spread and cultivation.

We trust and hope that Britain with her old democratic tradition of justice and fair play will raise its voice in defence of the enslaved nations and their inalienable rights, in particular at the forum of the United Nations. Among them, we dare to hope, representatives of Her Majesty's Government will come out in defence of the rights of the Ukrainian nation to national liberty and independence the more so as there have never been any feelings of hostility between our peoples, no conflicts of interests. Although geographically situated at the opposite flanks of Europe, Ukraine and Britain belong to the same continent and to a similar cultural tradition. As in the past, there exist also at present many promising possibilities of economic cooperation between Ukraine and Britain on the basis of mutual advantage and equality. These opportunities, however, are not only neglected by the present Russian Communist colonial regime, but its policies are designed to reduce such ties to the absolute minimum and to channel that minimal trade via Moscow thus ensuring the greatest possibilities for the exploitation of Ukraine's resources for Russia's own purposes, usually to the disadvantage of Ukraine.

In order to give just one individual example of the injustice of the Russian Communist rule in Ukraine, we take the liberty of including a photostat copy and an English translation of the personal appeal by the Ukrainian political prisoner, Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyj, who has been mentioned above. Although his letter was written as far back as 1962, it is still topical, because Dr. Horbovyj is still being kept in a Mordovian concentration camp, as is witnessed by Mr. Gerald Brooke who met him personally and formed the highest admiration for him.

We should be most grateful, Sir, if you would kindly give our letter your careful consideration.

We are, Sir,

Very truly yours,

For and on behalf of the Association of Ukrainians
in Great Britain:

Prof. W. Wasylenko
(President)

I. Rawluk
(Executive Director)

M. Bilyj-Karpync
(Second Vice-President)

Dr. S. M. Fostun
(Secretary)

I. Dmytriw
(First Vice-President)

J. Zablockyj
(Presidium Member)

Dr. Horbovyi's Appeal

EDITOR'S NOTE. Below we publish an Open Letter by Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi, a Ukrainian political prisoner in Russian concentration camps, which is addressed to all people of good will.

We would appreciate if the Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists in Geneva, the U.N. Commission of Human Rights, the European Council in Strasbourg and the International Court in The Hague turned their attention to the plight of political prisoners in the Soviet Russian concentration camps. Special consideration should be given to the case of Dr. Horbovyi, who, being a citizen of Czecho-Slovakia, has been illegally sentenced by the Russians to 25 years. We hope that the above-mentioned organizations will do everything in their power to demand his release.

USSR, Mordovian ASSR,
P/O Yavas, p/ya ZhKh 385/7,
HORBOVYI Volodymyr

Herewith I have the honour to state my situation.

My name is Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi. I was born on January 30, 1889 in the town of Dolyna, Galicia, formerly Austro-Hungary, by nationality Ukrainian. My citizenship was first Austrian, then Ukrainian, afterwards Polish, and in 1947 I became temporarily a Czecho-Slovak citizen. I was never a Soviet citizen and as a free man never lived in the USSR. Before World War II, I was a member of the Council of Advocates of Lviv (Lvov), during the war a judge at the Polish Appeal Court in Cracow, and after the war a legal consultant at the Ministry of Agriculture of the Czecho-Slovak Republic.

My imprisonment has no legal basis, and it occurred as follows: In July 1947 the government of Poland proclaimed me a "war criminal" for alleged collaboration with the Germans during the war. For this reason, upon the demands of the said government, I was arrested in Prague on August 1, 1947, and extradited to Poland on August 7, 1947. In the note which was issued by the Polish government it was said that I would stand trial. Unfortunately, the trial was never held, and could not have

been held, for a whole year of persistent investigation failed to produce any incriminating evidence. On the contrary, I proved that I had been critical of Hitler's political course and in general was not guilty of any crime, and that the "document" which provided argument in support of the demand for my extradition was ineptly fabricated. The Polish authorities were embarrassed, but instead of sending me back to the Czecho-Slovak Republic, they handed me over to the Soviet authorities in Warsaw on July 9, 1948. For this purpose they fabricated a new "document" which this time accused me of being a Ukrainian nationalist.

In the USSR the Polish story repeated itself. Another year of dramatic investigation also failed to produce the required results for the MGB (Ministry of State Security — Transl.). It is well known what atmosphere prevailed within the MGB at that time. Instead of giving me an opportunity to return to the CSSR and to continue my work there in peace, I was sent to the forced labour camps by an administrative order on the basis of a closed-door decision of the Special Conference of the Ministry of State Security of the USSR, No. 2906-49, of July 6, 1949, under Article 54-2, 54-11 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, for a term of 25 years. The Ministry of State Security

does not exist any more, its "special conferences" have also been formally abolished, but their strange fruits continue to carry legal force.

In order to provide a characteristic of the legality and justice in these parts I wish to quote the following facts:

a) The Soviet Criminal Code and the UN Declaration of Human Right, which was signed by the Soviet Union, permit the punishment of an individual only on the basis of a decision of the court, and, at the same time, guarantee the rights of defense to the accused. Regrettably, in the USSR the above stated legal principles are only propagandistic in nature, for reality is completely different. In my case there was no trial, no sentence, no opportunity to defend myself, yet I have been suffering imprisonment for the last 15 years (22 years by 1969 — Translator).

b) According to a decree of March 24, 1956, the Commission concerned with the investigation of cases of individuals serving sentences for political, violation-of-duty, or economic crimes, should have reviewed the grounds on which each person was imprisoned at the place of confinement. This Commission summoned me and interrogated me on October 1, 1956, but a negative verdict had already been reached on September 29, 1956. On October 1, 1956 the Chairman of the Commission formally notified me that my case was being scheduled for an additional investigation.

c) My petition in my case dated May 22, 1960 was dealt with by the Prosecutor General's Office of the Ukrainian SSR by its decision No. 01-20776/60 which said: "The Prosecutor General's Office of the Ukrainian SSR can find no basis for protesting decision of the Special Conference of the Ministry of State Security of the USSR No. 2906-49, because the Committee of State Security declares that the accusations have found confirmation." Formally, the Prosecutor General's Office should watch over the activities of the security organs and not vice versa.

d) In the period from July 2, 1960 to November 22, 1960 I was confined to the investigating isolator of the KGB of the Ukrainian SSR in Kyiv, which meant that investigation in my case was being conducted. According to the regulations of the Criminal Procedural Code, an investigation can end either with an indictment and subsequent trial, or with the suspension of an investigation and the release of the arrested. In my case neither one nor the other occurred.

e) In 1955 the Soviet authorities formally agreed to the repatriation from the USSR of all foreigners, but in practice do not make it possible for me to take advantage of it even though I demanded to be returned.

f) The decree of September 3, 1955 and the order of the Ministry of Internal Affairs No. 0323 of August 10, 1956 on the release from imprisonment of invalids has not been applied in my case, even though I have been an invalid since January 11, 1952.

g) The ChK, GPU, NKVD, KGB — are various names for one and the same institution, which is represented by one and the same element. Therefore it would be strange if the same people and the same institutions now worked for the restoration of the so-called socialist legality, which they themselves discredited. It is not hard to imagine what this restoration of legality actually looks like in real life.

I declare that never in my life did I commit any crime or was mixed up in anything bad. My only blunder was that I thoughtlessly trusted Soviet propaganda about Soviet humanitarianism and legality and remained within their reach.

As early as 1921 I became interested in jurisprudence. I have years of experience and know many things. Reading the statements made by the representatives of Soviet justice about genuine renewal of socialist legality in the USSR, or listening to statements made by political leaders of that state to the effect that there are no longer any political prisoners there, and comparing it all with the situation of people like me, I cannot help but wonder at that chimerical and

malicious Soviet morality, which I am unable to comprehend.

I wish to remark that one can get a true picture of the situation of a political prisoner in the USSR only on the basis of an inspection by an impartial committee of the places of his confinement, and by questioning him, and listening to explanations by myself or people like myself.

I should be grateful if you would

become interested in the situation of the political prisoner in the USSR and in my case and if you would help me to avail myself of the rights which are due to me as a man and a citizen, and most of all — to help me to free myself from illegal imprisonment, to enjoy freedom of movement and to obtain satisfaction.

Yavas, January 30th, 1962.

HORBOVYI

CATHEDRAL OF ST. SOPHIA IN KIEV

by Andrij SOLCZANYK

One of the oldest and most magnificently adorned churches in Ukraine was the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev. It is seen in upper right corner of the Czechoslovakian stamp issued August 13, 1934 to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the Czech Legion. The stamp depicts a Czech company taking oath before the Legion flag at the Sophia square in Kiev on September 21, 1914 (Scott 195).

The Cathedral of St. Sophia, God's Wisdom, borrowed its name from the principal church of Constantinople, Hagia Sophia. It was founded by Grand Prince Yaroslav the Wise on the site of his victory over the Pechenegs. The exact date of the founding is uncertain. Some of the chronicles give it as 1017 the others as 1037. Opinions of certain scholars are that the construction was accomplished between the years 1017 and 1037.

The cathedral was the see of the metropolitans of Kiev and all Rus-Ukraine. Here religious ceremonies connected with the accession to the throne of the Grand Princes of Rus-Ukraine were celebrated. Many of the Grand Princes and Metropolitans were buried in this church.

Through the ages the cathedral underwent many changes and its present form is quite different from the original one. In fact nobody is

certain about the exact original shape of St. Sophia. The violent historical past of Ukraine with many foreign invasions left its mark also on the ancient cathedral. In 1169 St. Sophia was plundered by the Prince of Suzdal, Andrei Bogolyubski, as a result of his occupation of Kiev. In 1180 the cathedral was damaged by fire. In 1203 Kiev was attacked by Prince Ryuryk Rostyslavovych and St. Sophia was ransacked. The year of 1240 brought the first of numerous invasions. The cathedral was severely damaged and began to decay. In 1250 and 1375 some repairs were made on the church, but Tatar ransacking of Kiev in 1416 and 1482 resulted in plundering of St. Sophia. The times were such that the metropolitans were afraid to stay in Kiev and lived in Lithuania. When Metropolitan Macarius tried to visit Kiev in 1497, he was killed by the Tartars before even reaching the city. Only after 80 years from that date dared the Metropolitans to return to St. Sophia in Kiev. By that time the cathedral was extensively ruined.

Some repairs were undertaken at the end of the 16th century, but the internal religious strife in Ukraine resulted in further decay of St. Sophia. Metropolitan Petro Mohyla (see Romania B358) ordered the serv-

ices resumed and started restoration of the church. He covered the cathedral with a new roof, repaired the damaged walls, added four small apses in the external galleries, restored the interior, and the main altar table; new magnificent iconostasis was ordered and the floor covered by multicoloured tile.

Nevertheless the extent of decay was so great that even these improvements could not cover all the damages of the church. Drawings of St. Sophia made by Dutch painter Abraham van Westervelt in 1651 show the church, especially its exterior galleries to be in ruins. But the reconstruction was continued and finally completed during the reign of Hetman Ivan Mazepa. These reconstructions introduced many changes in line with the baroque style then prevailing in Ukraine e. g. all the cupolas, which were originally hemispherical, were built in pear-shaped baroque form, so extensively used in Ukraine.

Later changes added many oil paintings thus covering the original frescoes. In 1843 the ancient frescoes were discovered by accident when a piece of plaster fell down in the Theodosius altar. But unfortunately the restoration of these frescoes undertaken by incompetent people brought more harm than good. Some architectural changes were also introduced during the second half of the 19th century.

During the revolution of 1917 and subsequent creation of Ukrainian independent state the research in St. Sophia was made possible. But the church was damaged twice during the attack of Russian-Communist troops on Kiev in January and October 1918. In the first years of Soviet regime scholarly investigation of the cathedral was continued. The 19th century oil paints were removed from a portal of the ancient frescoes, the mosaics were cleaned and reset. In 1934 the Soviet regime had forbidden to hold any religious services in the church and converted it to a museum in order to carry anti-religious propaganda. Most precious ecclesiastical objects were confiscated by the Soviet Government. Gold and silver of objects of high artistic value was melted for the

regime's use. The objections of scholars and museum workers to those acts of vandalism were followed by their severe persecutions not excluding death in some cases. This cleared the way for most ruthless pillage of all valuable church objects by the Soviet Government. Works of art were destroyed just to get all gold and silver. Between the years 1935 and 1937 eight Baroque iconostases, works of the 17th and 18th century Ukrainian artists were dismantled, gold leaves were stripped of these baroque woodcarvings and the carvings themselves burned.

Among other objects the royal gate, weighing 114 kilograms (250 lbs.) and made of silver reliefs covered with gold was taken away. The altars were stripped of their gold-plated decorations, the cathedral library containing many rare editions was confiscated. These are just a few examples of almost total pillage. Whatever was saved was taken by the Germans during the 1941-43 occupation. Since April 1, 1945 the cathedral is under the immediate supervision of the Ukrainian Academy of Architecture.

The plan of the cathedral is a rectangle measuring 119 by 180 feet. Piers divide this rectangle into naves which end with semicircular altar apses in the east. The central nave (7.5 meters in width), as well as its apse, is twice the width of the lateral naves. Behind the first row of piers (counting from the apses) runs a broad, transverse arm intersecting all five naves. This arm is equal in width to that of the central nave and forms the crossing of the church which is crowned by the dome. Two other transverse arms run parallel to the main one.

The masonry work of St. Sophia is Byzantine; this method of construction was known in Rus-Ukraine since the end of the 10th century. The original construction had thirteen cupolas symbolically representing Christ and the Twelve Apostles. The present structure has nineteen cupolas; six were added during the Hetmanate of Ivan Mazepa.

The interior of the cathedral is impressive even today, especially its ancient mosaics and frescoes. Large segments of the St. Sophia's decora-

tions date from the 17th to the 19th century. Artistically, the most valuable parts of the later interior decorations date from the period of the Cossack hetmans (17th and 18th century). Iconostasis in front of the main altar, the only one remaining, was erected in 1731-1747 by Metropolitan Raphael Zaborovsky. At first it was composed of three bands of icons; now only the lower band remains in place. The other two were removed in the second half of the 19th century. The rich carvings of the iconostasis were executed by local masters in Ukrainian Baroque style with some rococo elements. The vine motif, widespread in iconostasis of Ukrainian 17th and 18th century churches, has been replaced in the Cathedral iconostasis by a rose design which winds around the spiral column. The silver royal gate of the iconostasis, confiscated by the Soviet Government as was mentioned before, was a true masterpiece of Ukrainian metal work. Figures were cast in each of the panels of the gate representing the Annunciation (above), the four Evangelists (in the center) and King David flanked by Sts. Joachim and Anna (below).

In the period of Grand Princes there were three altars in the cathedral, in the first half of the 17th century the number of altars was increased to ten and at the end of the 17th century to 15. Besides Bysantium, Sicily, Rome, Venice, and Ravenna, Kiev was one of the few places that possessed monuments of ancient mosaic art. St. Sophia is one of the ancient churches in Kiev that was adorned with the magnificent 11th and 12th century mosaics. The most important parts of the cathedral, the triumphal arch, the main altar apse, and the main cupola were decorated with mosaics compositions. In the concave of the main cupola a portrait of Christ is set in medallion. He appears as the apocalyptic Pantocrator holding the Gospel in His left hand while His right is lifted in blessing. This 11th century mosaic is five meters (16.5 feet) in diameter and hovers at the height of approximately thirty meters (98 feet). The central medallion was

surrounded by four mosaic representations of Archangels. But only a part of one has been preserved. From the four mosaic pictures of the Evangelists on the pendentives, only one, that of the Apostle Mark has been partially preserved. The soffits of the four arches supporting the main cupola were covered with portraits of the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia in medallions; only 15 exist today.

The main sanctuary of St. Sophia is covered completely with mosaic representations arranged in three bands. The conch of the main sanctuary is occupied by an imposing figure (5 meters high) of the Virgin Mary in prayer (Virgin Orante). Below Orante is the composition of Eucharist followed by the Fathers of the Church. In the lunette over the triumphal (main) arch is the mosaic of the Deesis (Supplication) composed of three medallions with portraits of the Saviour (in the center), the Virgin Mary (to the left) and St. John the Baptist (to the right). On both piers of the triumphal arch above the level of the present iconostasis appears the mosaic of the Annunciation.

The remaining walls of the Church were adorned with frescoes. Among the least harmed, the most interesting are those of the Sts. Joachim and Anna sanctuary (diaconicon). Frescoes of the walls, piers and vaults of both towers show the story of princely life. In St. Sophia is found the richly carved marble sacrophagus of its founder. The bones found inside were positively identified as those of Grand Prince Yaroslav and his wife Princess Ingigerd-Irene. The Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev is one of the most outstanding monuments of the flourishing period in the history of old Rus-Ukraine.

Literature: Olexa Powstenko, *The Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev*, The Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S. New York 1954 (identical text in English and Ukrainian with over 300 illustrations).

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A. BEDRIY

THE YEAR OF CHUPRYNKA VS. THE YEAR OF LENIN

This year the Russian Bolsheviks and their collaborators are celebrating the 100th anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin. They are attempting to show the great "benefits" that this Russian imperialist allegedly brought to the whole world. However, they are carefully concealing another anniversary — the 20th anniversary since the death of Taras Chuprynka, the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), the founder of the international front of freedom-fighters of all peoples subjugated by Russia within the so-called Soviet Union and outside it, in Europe and Asia, and the great propagator of the exigency to establish a global movement directed toward the destruction of the Russian colonial empire, which threatens to enslave the remaining free nations. He was killed in Ukraine on March 5, 1950 while fighting the Russian occupation forces, in an attempt to restore the independent national states of all the subjugated peoples.

On these grounds, all free and freedom-loving people the world over should pick up Chuprynka's banner and resolutely oppose the evil and destructive aims of the propagators of Leninist ideas and put forward the constructive, progressive and just ideas of Taras Chuprynka.

The Historical Significance of General Taras Chuprynka-Shukhevych

The Formative Period

Roman Shukhevych was 7 years old when the First World War broke out. When it officially ended in 1918, he was only 11 years old. During this period he witnessed the great upsurge of Ukrainian efforts to liberate their homeland from foreign occupation and to establish an independent Ukrainian state. He was told that although Western Ukraine, of which he was the native, was captured by the Polish aggressors, the majority of the Ukrainian people came under

the colonial rule of the Russian-Bolshevik hordes led by Lenin. In the early 20's he saw the steady intensification of the enslavement of Ukraine by foreign powers. The Poles were oppressing Western Ukraine under the cloak of democracy and "historical rights", the Russians — under the guise of the "proletarian dictatorship" and "democratic" self-determination in the form of so-called Soviet republics. Young Shukhevych listened to the great debate among Ukrainians as to the reasons for the failure of the recent national liberation struggle.

The main figure in this nationwide debate was undoubtedly Dr. Dmytro Donzow, the editor of the monthly *Literaturno-Naukovyi Vistnyk* and the author of the books: *The Foundations of Our Politics* (1921) and *Nationalism* (1926). One of his main arguments was that the Ukrainian Socialist parties naïvely believed Lenin's propaganda about his alleged "anti-imperialism", about the Bolsheviks' respect for Ukraine's right to full self-determination and separate statehood, and the supposed benefits to be derived by the Ukrainian people from the Bolshevik social and economic programs. All these promises proved to be clever stratagems employed by Lenin to re-enslave Ukraine and to exploit her in Russia's interest. These types of discussion helped to strengthen Shukhevych's hostility towards Lenin's ideology and the Russian imperialists under his command.

While still in his teens Shukhevych joined the clandestine Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) which was determined to continue the fight against the aggressors, mainly by means of irregular guerrilla warfare. There were two reasons why he became the member of the UVO: — first, his sincere belief in the idea of a free and united Ukrainian national state, and second, his conviction that this struggle must be conducted, first of all, militarily.

When Ukraine was integrated by Lenin's Bolsheviks, into the new imperial domain called the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Shukhevych became completely convinced that the so-called "Ukrainian SSR" was a form of Russian colonialism and therefore must be destroyed entirely if Ukraine is ever to be liberated.

Shukhevych's political views crystallized as the result of family upbringing and an environment charged with national liberation emotions. At home he received a thorough grounding in Ukrainian national traditions, which in the past materialized into active strivings to reestablish an independent Ukrainian state. The second conviction came as the result of contacts with leading Ukrainians — in particular, the commanding officer of the "Corps of Sich Riflemen", the best military unit in the Ukrainian army in 1918-20 — Colonel Evhen Konovalts, who was residing for a time at the same house as Shukhevych.

During the second half of the 20's Roman Shukhevych, then a student of architecture at the Lviv Polytechnic, found himself in

the midst of a general discussion on the need of establishing a militant ideological and political nationalistic organization in addition to the UVO which was primarily engaged in armed struggle.

The Ukrainians realized that their main enemy — Russia — had at her services a militant, aggressive, ideological organization, the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), which was the real executioner of her imperialistic and colonialist aims. In addition, Dmytro Donzow forcefully expounded the view that Ukrainians lost their statehood in 1917-20 because they lacked a nationwide ideological and political organization which could have successfully rebuffed the activities of Lenin's RCP(B). Such an organization actually came into being in 1929 after years of preparation. It was named the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and Col. E. Konovalets became its first head. The 22-year-old Roman Shukhevych joined it immediately. He accepted the OUN principles with great enthusiasm and conviction. As regards statehood they were:

"The condition, which secures to the nation a lasting active participation in world affairs, is a political organization, best suited to the all-round interests of the national life, called a sovereign state."

"A state is an outward form of an interaction of all active forces of the nation, which conforms to its substantial qualities and permits its normal functioning in all possible spheres of its manifestation . . ."

"By means of a state, the nation becomes a full member of world history, because only in a state form does the nation possess all internal and external qualities of historical subjectivity."

"The state form of life favours most expressively the actual character of the national idea . . ."

"The supreme postulate of the Ukrainian Nation in the period of its political enslavement is the establishment of a political-juridical organization called the Ukrainian Independent United State."

All these concepts were diametrically opposed to the Marxist-Leninist concepts, which included a "large centralized state" as "a tremendous historic step ahead . . . to the future socialist unity of the entire world . . ." Lenin's imperial state, in which the Russian nation alone was to be sovereign, was to become "the United States of the World (not of Europe alone)." Lenin's imperialists were striving for "the further fusion of nations with the Russian nation, while the sole ruler in such a state was to be the proletarian class as represented by the Russian Communist Party. Shukhevych, on the other hand, was fighting for the establishment of a community of friendly but sovereign national states with regimes based on full recognition of human rights, while Lenin was striving for the destruction of national states, their genocide through fusion with the Russian nation and the introduction of despotic proletarian-class collectivist regimes by means of civil and interventionist wars.

In short, the sovereign Ukrainian national state with a libertarian regime became the life's goal of Roman Shukhevych. He fully accept-

ed the concepts of OUN's foreign policy: "While rejecting in principle the traditional methods of Ukrainian policy as regards the liberation struggle, of orientation upon any of the historical enemies of the Ukrainian Nation, the Ukrainian foreign policy will be effected by means of alliances with those peoples, which are hostile to the occupation powers of Ukraine as well as by means of proper exploitation of international relations in order to achieve a subjective role of Ukraine in international relations."

This principle was again a contradiction of the Leninist principle calling for the full subordination of Ukraine to Russian rule: "Whether Ukraine will be a separate state or not is a question of far inferior importance." Lenin maintained that Ukraine's existence must be oriented upon complete dependence on Russia: "Ukraine cannot stay alive, if the North . . . is not able to remain alive."

Roman Shukhevych was most enthusiastic about the following OUN thesis: "only the military power, resting on the armed people ready to fight stubbornly and resolutely for its rights, can free Ukraine from the foreign occupation forces and will enable her to establish the Ukrainian state." He read much about Leninist attempts to disarm the Ukrainian people, while Russia's successes were due to the superiority of the Russian Red Army over the Ukrainian armed forces.

While the older generation of freedom-fighters from the 1917-20 period formed the mainstay of the OUN, Shukhevych belonged to the younger, "second" generation of OUN members, recruited during the 1930's. Their idols were Stepan Bandera, as political leader and Dmytro Donzow as the chief ideologist. Shukhevych resolutely opposed Marx, Engels, Lenin, Gorky, and all the other materialistic intellectuals, who were bringing humanity to its downfall. He was convinced that the struggle was being waged between two nations (Ukrainian and Russian) with two contradictory cultures, the former living under the banner of Jesus Christ, the latter combating Him. As all the members of his generation, he supported the concept of "continuous revolution" which meant that the national liberation struggle should activate the whole nation which would rise in a series of uprisings against the imperialists and would eventually break down the enemy's determination to enslave Ukraine, and consequently the independent Ukrainian state could be established.

This concept was antagonistic to the Leninist concept of enveloping the whole world in the flame of the "proletarian revolution" led by the Russian "proletariat." As a manifestation of the opposing aims of the Ukrainian national idea of a revolution and the Russian imperialist concept of a "revolution", Bandera and Shukhevych directed an armed attack on the Russian Consulate in Lviv in 1933 as a protest against the genocide of the Ukrainian people (by means of artificial famine) which cost Ukraine six million victims. At that time the

OUN conducted a wide international campaign of information, cautioning the free world that Russia was committing genocide against the nations enslaved within the Soviet Union and was feverishly preparing for further conquests in Europe and Asia.

In the Core of Ukrainian Nationalists

In 1938-39 efforts were made to establish an independent state in the Carpathian region of Ukraine which was occupied by Czechoslovakia. Lieutenant Roman Shukhevych secretly crossed the border from the Polish-occupied areas into the Transcarpathian region with the aim to raise a Ukrainian army there. The motto of this group to which Shukhevych belonged was expressed by Col. M. Kolodzinsky: "There is no such word as 'surrender' in the vocabulary of Ukrainian nationalists. A stronger enemy may overcome us during a struggle, but he can never bring us to our knees before him!" For the next eleven years of his heroic life Shukhevych remained true to this motto.

At the beginning of the 40's Shukhevych was already in the leadership of the revolutionary OUN headed by Stepan Bandera. In December 1940, this organization issued a manifesto which said: "We, the Ukrainian people, are raising the banner in our struggle for freedom of people and individuals. By tearing down the horrible prison of nations — the Russian empire — we are establishing a new just order and are founding a new political system in the world. We are calling upon the revolutionaries of all people subjugated by Russia to a common struggle and cooperation with Ukrainian revolutionaries-nationalists. By the force of events, the Ukrainian people have become nationalists. By the force of events, the Ukrainian people have become the vanguard of all peoples subjugated by Russia in their fight for complete liberation. Only in consequence of complete liquidation of the Russian empire and by means of the Ukrainian National Revolution and the armed uprisings of all subjugated peoples shall we gain the Ukrainian State and liberate the peoples from the Russian yoke."

In this manifesto the OUN under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, Roman Shukhevych, and Yaroslav Stetsko, laid down program: an uncompromising struggle against the Russian and Nazi-German imperialists, the instigation of uprisings and a nationwide liberation revolution, the founding of its power on the latent strength of the Ukrainian people and the organization of a common front of all peoples willing to fight against colonialism and enslavement of nations, and for a world order based on sovereign national states.

Upon hearing this resolution Leninist Moscow began to exterminate OUN influences in the USSR ruthlessly. One reason why Stalin cooperated in the liquidation of the Polish imperialist state was his desire to uproot Ukrainian nationalism in Western Ukraine.

In April 1941 the OUN held its Second Congress. Shukhevych appeared there in the role of the chief military strategist. He was largely responsible for the military resolutions which were adopted there. The main points of these resolutions were: "For the execution of its aims the OUN is forming and training its own military force. The task of the military force of the OUN is to organize and conduct the armed struggle for the victory of the Ukrainian National Revolution and achievement of the Ukrainian State... and it is to become the nucleus of a Ukrainian Army in the Ukrainian State... The Ukrainian revolutionary army which will arise as a consequence of the struggle of the entire armed people, will carry the ideas of the Ukrainian Revolution — the freedom of peoples — beyond the borders of the Homeland." In its political resolutions the OUN clearly stated that it "will cooperate with those revolutionary movements of the Peoples enslaved by Russia and with those states which work for the complete destruction of the USSR and the establishment of a sovereign Ukrainian United State."

Following the Second Congress of OUN, a journal, *Our Front*, began to be published in 1941. It propagated the OUN concepts, which Roman Shukhevych was carrying into life, among friendly peoples. Some of them were: "Our goal is to transform the area taken up by the Russian prison of nations on the basis of full sovereignty of peoples subjugated by Russia. There is only one way to achieve this — revolution." "Without a revolutionary organization, there is no revolution." "It is imperative to establish the closest political cooperation among the revolutionary organization of all the peoples subjugated by Russia." "Freedom can be achieved by each people only as the result of the efforts of each particular people."

Faithful to its resolutions, the OUN proclaimed the reestablishment of the Ukrainian independent state on June 30, 1941, after the outbreak of the Russian-German war. The government was headed by Yaroslav Stetsko. A Ukrainian battalion, led by the then Captain Roman Shukhevych (who was a member in this government), took part in the festive proclamation of independence. However, Hitler immediately issued orders to crush this manifestation of the Ukrainian independence movement.

The Ukrainian nationalists did not give up their fight. Soon they organized an anti-German liberation struggle and in 1942 founded the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). In 1943 the liberation movement grew to such proportions that the German occupation forces were unable to check it, let alone crush it. In August 1943, the Third Congress of OUN was held at which Roman Shukhevych played a significant role. The OUN believed that the liberation struggle could succeed only when a grand revolutionary program is put into effect on an international scale. This view was expressed as follows: "Only on the basis of a platform of a new political concept of the subjugated

peoples, which in contrast to imperialism guarantees to each people the right to its own national state as well as social justice, can a just order be established and a lasting peace secured among peoples."

Roman Shukhevych was charged by the OUN to carry out this grand revolution. He was appointed commander-in-chief of the UPA with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and at this time he assumed the *nom-de-guerre* of Taras Chuprynka.

At the Helm of the Revolutionary Struggle for Liberation

In the course of 1943 and 44, Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka grew in stature nationally and even acquired international prominence. His revolutionary army was expanding into thousands and tens of thousands of men. Under his able command the UPA became a highly political-ideological army and was beginning to play a role in international affairs, conducted by the OUN led by Stepan Bandera. The parallel functioning of these two formations was achieved primarily due to Taras Chuprynka. The slogan "Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!" became the rallying cry of the UPA. And this was mainly Chuprynka's achievement.

Resting upon the indestructible power of its own people the UPA Headquarters launched a large-scale campaign to bring other peoples to its side. On the one hand, this campaign was directed at nationals of Western countries who were forced by Germany into their service and who happened to be on Ukrainian territory at the time, as for instance the Italians, Hungarians, Rumanians, Frenchmen, Belgians, Dutchmen, Croats, Slovenians, Czechs, Slovaks and others. On the other hand, this liberation propaganda was aimed at the peoples subjugated by Russia — Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Turkistanians, Georgians, Armenians, Latvians, Estonians, Azerbaijanians, Tatars, Mongolians and the peoples of Siberia.

Consequently various friendly aliens began to stream into the ranks of the UPA, where they were formed into separate national units. *A joint front of revolutionary liberation movements was rapidly coming into being.* Under the sound leadership of Taras Chuprynka, the First Conference of the Subjugated Peoples of Eastern Europe and Asia was held in Northwestern Ukraine on November 23-26, 1943, at which thirteen national delegations participated. Chuprynka took part in it personally. The conference resolved to fight together for the break-up of the Nazi-Germany and Soviet-Russian empires and for the establishment of a system of sovereign states of each nation within its ethnographic boundaries. It further resolved: "Only national revolutions of the subjugated peoples will stop the senseless slaughter during the war and will bring lasting peace to the world. A new international order, based on respect for political rights of each people, will give to every nation full possibilities for cultural and economic development. In the system of free national states full

freedom of the individual will be safeguarded, replacing oppression and exploitation by the barrack-like system of imperialism." The conference resolved to establish diplomatic ties with West and Central European nations with the aim to gain their support and cooperation.

In 1944 Taras Chuprynka played a decisive role in the formation of the Ukrainian underground revolutionary government, the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR), which elected him to the post of Secretary of Military Affairs and Secretary-General of the UHVR. This Council was the "supreme and sole ruling organ of the Ukrainian People for the duration of its revolutionary struggle until the establishment of a government in the Ukrainian Independent United State." The UHVR was considered to be a coordinating centre of all revolutionary liberation forces and a counterweight to the Russian colonial regime, called the "Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic."

Meanwhile, German imperialism was crushed, the Russian armies occupied the whole of Ukraine and the Western Allies celebrated an end of World War II. But the Ukrainian liberation movement did not surrender to the Russian invaders, who were carrying out Lenin's command to dominate the world, although in the West the Russians were considered allies of the free peoples. The OUN issued "A Declaration on the Occasion of the End of World War II in Europe" which stated: "The Bolsheviks have completely endorsed the position of Russian nationalism and imperialism. They are attempting to create a new Soviet nation from all the peoples making up the present USSR, which is nothing other than the Russian nation." However, "the subjugated peoples have the task to consolidate their underground-revolutionary organizations with the aim to establish a single front and to execute a single strategy." It continued: "The struggle will be conducted under the banner of revolutionary war-cries: — for the destruction of Russian-Bolshevik imperialism, which forces the people into another war; for the downfall of the dictatorship of the Stalinist party clique; for a change of the oppressive Stalinist system and regime; for the complete democratization of the whole state and political life; for the establishment of national governments, elected by the free will of the peoples; for the achievement of national-political self-determination and state separation; for the establishment of a just international system, based on genuine friendship and cooperation under the slogan, "Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!"

Realizing that he was on the threshold of a new and very difficult period in Ukraine's struggle for freedom, Gen. Taras Chuprynka issued an appeal to all commanders and soldiers of UPA in May 1945, drawing their attention to the new conditions and the impossibility to lay down their arms in view of the occupation by the terrible colonialist power. He wrote: "With the fall of Germany,

Russia, an even worse occupation power, returned and made herself at home in Ukraine, as if she were her owner. Having subjugated Ukraine for centuries, Russia will never give her up, regardless of whether she has the tsarist regime or 'the most democratic regime in the world.'" Therefore, the Ukrainian people must fight for their national freedom. Chuprynka concluded: "With unbreakable faith, let us go forward to victory!"

In July 1945, he issued an appeal to all Ukrainians scattered around the world stating that the people at home "are suffering, but not yielding, and although they were doomed to destruction by the enemies hundreds of times, they live and continue to fight!" Firmly believing in a better future he challenged the aggressor: "In the struggle which is presently being waged in Eastern Europe, and in particular in Ukraine, in the struggle which tomorrow will envelop the freedom-loving peoples of the whole world and will give a new face and meaning to the coming epochs, as the expression of the everlasting striving of humanity for freedom and progress — the vanguard position is taken up by the Ukrainian people."

At the same time Chuprynka issued an appeal to all Ukrainian soldiers and veterans abroad urging them to remember that the Ukrainian soldier is "the sole defender of the idea of Ukraine's independence", and therefore, every able-bodied Ukrainian should take up his place in this gigantic popular freedom-struggle.

The liberation struggle continued in the face of all odds. In the years 1944-47 the UPA conducted many guerilla raids into the territories of the neighbouring subjugated peoples with the aim to spread the fire of national revolutions.

The year 1946 witnessed a life-and-death struggle between the OUN-UPA liberation movement and the Russian elite forces, the NKVD. General Chuprynka again urged his fellow-fighters and the entire population not to give up the struggle and to preserve the spirit of freedom. In that exceptional document he stated sincerely: "I am proud of the fact that I have the honour to head this gallant army of heroes, which has no equal in history . . . We shall not retreat one step from the idea shown to us by the legions of heroes who sacrificed their lives for Ukraine's freedom."

In the UHVR declaration of November 1946, new achievements of the liberation struggle were registered: the establishment of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) in Western Europe, the conclusion of an alliance with the Polish "Home Army", the rapid growth of the UPA in the Lemko region, which was annexed by Communist Poland, and the extension of the armed underground movement to the remotest corners of Eastern and Southern Ukraine. Another UHVR document revealed that a successful boycott of the so-called elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR was effected

on February 10th by the whole population and that another boycott was called for the aggressor's "elections" in January 1947.

In April 1947, Petro Poltava, a close associate of Chuprynka, wrote an underground treatise on "The Concept of Independent Ukraine and the Basic Tendency of Political Development in the Present World" in which he concluded that "the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people is an organic part of the great historical process, which is taking place in the whole world, and this struggle, in view of this process, is a phenomenon in full conformity with the law evoked by the powerful and invincible forces, active on a global scale."

Shortly afterwards, the Supreme Liberation Council proclaimed October 14th as the day of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. This coincided with the historical Cossack feast of St. Mary the Protectress of the Ukrainian people. By this act Chuprynka-Shukhevych placed the liberation movement under the protection of the Mother of Christ and thus underlined its spiritual hostility to the Leninist atheistic Communism.

In September 1947, General T. Chuprynka published a declaration in which he stated that the UPA as a national army was a non-partisan force but that more than 50% of its personnel was composed of members of OUN under the leadership of S. Bandera. At approximately the same time he wrote an article, "On the Fifth Anniversary of the Struggle of UPA", in which he reiterated the two main principles on which it was founded: 1) the broad nationwide basis, and 2) the concept of a vanguard in a common front of analogous revolutionary liberation movements of other nations subjugated by Russian-Bolshevik imperialists. In another document issued in connection with the fifth anniversary of UPA Chuprynka again stressed that Ukrainians will be liberated from the Russian colonial yoke through the resoluteness and the organization of the whole Ukrainian people in conjunction with a common front of all freedom-loving forces of the world.

In 1948 Chuprynka wrote an essay, "On the Origins of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council" and an article "With the Secretary-General of UHVR — R. Lozovskyi" (alias R. Shukhevych). In the first material he draws the line of continuity from the Ukrainian state established in 1917-1918, through the liberation organizations of the 20's and 30's, to the Carpatho-Ukrainian state of 1939 and the state proclaimed in June 1941. In the second document he accused the government of the USSR of conducting a policy of genocide toward the Ukrainian people and stressed that, "the Ukrainian people know that their liberation lies in their own hands . . . The power by the Ukrainian people on Ukrainian territory — this is the goal of the Ukrainian liberation revolutionary movement." In this, one of his last writings, Chuprynka confirmed his boundless and strong faith:

"I am looking into the future with optimism. I believe first of all in the power and bravery of the Ukrainian masses, in their high degree of patriotism... Although we are sustaining tremendous casualties and are enduring great hardships, nevertheless we are safely advancing toward freedom; by fighting we are persistently drawing nearer to the day of our liberation. Ukraine will be free!"

"The Appeal of the Fighting Ukraine to the Whole Ukrainian Emigration" although signed by many persons was most probably drafted by General Chuprynka. Written in October 1949 it can be regarded as a kind of commandment by the leadership of underground Ukraine to the Ukrainian people in diaspora. As their main task they put the mobilization of the free peoples all over the world for the struggle against the Russian Leninist world empire — the great enemy of mankind.

General Roman Shukhevych-Taras Chuprynka-Lozovsky died in battle with Russian KGB forces on March 5, 1950, in his underground command bunker, near the village of Bilohorshcha near Lviv. However, the struggle between the freedom-loving and God-fearing Ukrainians and the tyrannical, genocidal Russian followers of Lenin continued. It continues with no less intensity to this very day and will continue until all traces of Leninist Russian imperialism are uprooted, for it is indeed a struggle between the whole freedom-loving world and the Russian world colonial empire. Under the sign of the Cross and with Chuprynka's slogan "Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!" on our lips we shall overcome this last and greatest empire mankind has ever known.

NEW!

In English translation

REVOLUTIONARY VOICES

UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS CONDEMN RUSSIAN COLONIALISM

Texts of Original Protest Writings by young Ukrainian intellectuals. Published by Press Bureau of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), Munich 1969.

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PRELIMINARY 1970 CENSUS FIGURES

"On the Preliminary Results of the All-Union 1970 Census of the Population in Ukrainian SSR." Central Statistical Bureau, Council of Ministers, Ukrainian SSR, RADYANS'KA UKRAINA, April 30, 1970, p. 2. Excerpts.

1. According to data from the census conducted in January of this year, the population of Ukrainian SSR on January 15, 1970 was 47,136,000 persons.

2. The following figures characterize the changes in population figures:

1913 estimate in present boundaries	35.2 million
1940 estimate in present boundaries	41.3 million
1959 census on January 15th	41.9 million
1970 census on January 15th	47.1 million

In the 11 years since the 1959 census, 8.5 million persons were born and 3.7 million died in Ukraine. During this period the population of the Republic increased by 5.2 million, that is by 13 percent...

3. The changes in urban and rural population figures of the Ukr. SSR are as follows:

Total Population (million persons) including				Percent of Total Population	
Year	Total	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
1913	35.2	6.8	28.4	19	81
1940	41.3	14.0	27.3	34	66
1959	41.9	19.2	22.7	46	54
1970	47.1	25.7	21.4	55	45

As compared with 1959, the urban population has grown by 6.5 million; the rural population has decreased by 1.3 million. As a result, the ratio of the urban population has increased from 46 to 55 percent.

The growth of the urban population resulted from a 2.5 million natural increase in cities, the transformation of rural inhabited localities with a total population of one million into urban inhabited localities, and the migration of nearly 3,000,000 rural residents to cities to work in industry and construction.

4. Urban and rural population figures according to oblasts are as follows:

	Number of persons on Jan. 15, 1970 (in thousands)		Percent of Total Population		
	Total	including		Urban	Rural
		Urban	Rural		
Ukrainian SSR	47,136	25,693	21,443	55	45
Vinnitsya Oblast	2,132	542	1,590	25	75
Volyn Oblast	975	313	662	32	68
Voroshynovhrad Oblast	2,749	2,269	480	83	17
Dnipropetrovs'k Oblast	3,344	2,550	794	76	24
Donets'k Oblast	4,894	4,277	617	87	13
Zhytomyr Oblast	1,626	568	1,058	35	65
Zakarpattia Oblast	1,057	314	743	30	70
Zaporizhya Oblast	1,775	1,166	609	66	34
Ivano-Frankivs'k Obl.	1,250	384	866	31	69
Kiev Oblast (excluding Kiev city)	1,836	656	1,180	36	64
Kirovohrad Oblast	1,260	552	758	44	56
Crimea Oblast (exclud- ing Sevastopol)	1,585	918	667	58	42
Lviv Oblast	2,428	1,148	1,280	47	53
Mykolayiv Oblast	1,148	605	543	53	47
Odessa Oblast	2,390	1,335	1,055	56	44
Poltava Oblast	1,706	679	1,027	40	60
Rivne Oblast	1,048	289	759	28	72
Sumy Oblast	1,505	656	849	44	56
Ternopil Oblast	1,153	269	884	23	77
Kharkiv Oblast	2,826	1,958	868	69	31
Kherson Oblast	1,031	555	476	54	46
Khmelnys'k Oblast	1,616	433	1,183	27	73
Cherkassy Oblast	1,536	563	973	37	63
Chernihiv Oblast	1,560	540	1,020	35	65
Chernivtsi Oblast	845	293	552	35	65
City of Kiev	1,632	1,632	—	100	—
City of Sevastopol	229	229	—	100	—

5. During the census of the population 21.3 million men and 25.8 million women were registered in our Republic. The percentages of men and women have changed as follows:

Year	Total Population		Urban Population		Rural Population	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
1940	47.8	52.2	47.6	52.4	48.0	52.0
1959	44.4	55.6	45.2	54.8	43.6	56.4
1970	45.2	54.8	46.3	53.7	44.0	56.0

6. The total number of cities and settlements of the urban type and their distribution according to the number of residents between 1959 and 1970 has changed as follows:

	Number of Urban Inhabited Localities		Number of Residents in them (in thousands)	
	1959	1970	1959	1970
All urban inhabited localities	1,076	1,242	19,147	25,693
of these with following number of residents:				
less than 3,000	189	253	350	458
3,000 to 5,000	229	258	920	1,022
5,000 to 10,000	357	351	2,545	2,436
10,000 to 20,000	161	204	2,226	2,831
20,000 to 50,000	91	97	2,841	2,926
50,000 to 100,000	25	38	1,898	2,536
100,000 to 500,000	19	33	4,294	6,210
500,000 and over	5	8	4,065	7,274
Cities with following number of residents:				
less than 3,000	9	5	21	10
3,000 to 5,000	25	14	101	56
5,000 to 10,000	61	51	490	399
10,000 to 20,000	98	141	1,398	2,019
20,000 to 50,000	90	95	2,821	2,874
50,000 to 100,000	25	38	1,898	2,536
100,000 to 500,000	19	33	4,294	6,210
500,000 and over	5	8	4,065	7,274
Settlements of the urban type with following number of residents:				
less than 3,000	180	248	337	448
3,000 to 5,000	204	244	819	966
5,000 to 10,000	296	300	2,055	2,037
10,000 to 20,000	63	63	828	812
20,000 to 50,000	1	2	20	52

As compared with 1959, the total number of urban settlements in the Republic grew by 166 units, or 1.2 times. Of this number cities increased by 53 units, settlements of the urban type by 113 units.

The number of cities with a population of 100,000 or more grew from 24 to 41. There are two cities in the Republic with populations over the million mark — Kharkiv and Kiev.

7. The populations of cities which are centers of oblasts as well as other cities which have a population of more than 100,000 persons are as follows:

	Population (in thousands)		
	Jan. 15, 1959 in present boundaries	Jan. 15, 1970	1970 compared to 1959 in %
Kiev	1,110	1,632	147
Kharkiv	953	1,223	128
Odessa	664	892	134
Donets'k	708	879	124
Dnipropetrovs'k	661	863	131
Zaporizhya	449	658	146
Kryvyi Rih	401	573	143
Lviv	411	553	135
Zhdanov	284	417	147
Makiyivka	371	393	106
Voroshylivhrad	275	382	139
Horlivka	308	335	109
Mykolayiv	235	331	140
Kherson	158	261	165
Symferopol	186	250	134
Sevastopol	144	229	159
Dniprodzerzhyns'k	194	227	117
Poltava	143	220	154
Vinnytsya	122	211	173
Kirovohrad	132	189	143
Chernivtsi	152	187	123
Zhytomyr	106	161	152
Sumy	98	159	163
Chernihiv	90	159	178
Cherkassy	85	159	187
Kramators'k	115	151	130
Kremenchuk	87	148	171
Kadiyivka	123	137	112
Melitopol	95	137	145
Kerch	98	128	130
Nikopol	83	125	150
Slovyans'k	99	124	126
Komunars'k	98	123	126
Lysychans'k	104	117	113
Rivne	56	116	206
Khmelnys'kyi	62	113	181
Bila Tserkva	71	109	154
Kostyantynivka	89	106	119
Ivano-Frankivs'k	66	105	158
Krasnyy Luch	94	102	109
Berdyans'k	65	100	153
Luts'k	56	94	169
Ternopil	52	85	162
Uzhhorod	47	65	137 ...

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"ORGY" — THE TRAGEDY OF INDIVIDUAL AND NATIONAL DIGNITY

"Orgy" is considered by several scholars one of the greatest and most poignant among the dramatic works written by Lesya Ukraïнка. In fact, it is her last important work, perhaps most powerful, certainly full of universal meaning, intrinsically interspersed with social and national implications, on the surface marked with inimitable human tragedy. High degree of personal integrity in addition to superb technical skill in handling complex dramatic material with utmost economy was required to achieve a single, striking effect that this short drama of epic dimensions generates.

Lesya the Ukrainian (this is the pseudonym of Larysa Petrivna, born Kosach, married Kvitka), a national visionary, poet of genius and classic playwright with an innate philosophic bent of mind was well qualified to produce that kind of unique piece of concentration and purport in dramaturgy. Prof. Clarence A. Manning of Columbia University, a recognized authority on Slavic literatures, makes a point when he assures that Lesya Ukraïнка is a poetess of rare scholarship, with an expert's knowledge of poetical technique, familiar with the principal European languages and literatures (including English), an unbounded imagination, keen psychological insight, and a power and vigour of expression not surpassed by any woman writer who has made a name for herself in Western literatures. ("Spirit of Flame", published by Bookman Associates, New York, in 1950, a collection of Lesya Ukraïнка's works, translated by Percival Cundy, foreworded by Clarence A. Manning, p. 18).

The very characteristic development of Lesya Ukraïнка from poet to a dramatist has been quite logical. Her poetry, lyrical in content and intensivity of feeling, displays often significant dramatic elements. A good number of her poems might be considered as germs for subsequent projection of various dialogues or scenes, packed with dramatic conflict, and the latter, in turn, generated in some typical instances (compare a condensed dramatic scene dealing with the persecutions of Christians, "In the Catacombs", with a long, five-act drama "Rufinus and Priscilla" on similar topic, as the case may be) to her great dramatic works. This, in general, rather conspicuous progression from earlier dramatized poem on certain provocative subject (e. g. "The Sinner") through a sharply defined genre of dramatic poem with congenial motif (like in the "Possessed") to a

full-grown poetic drama with elaborated set of ethical and aesthetic problems akin to the former (as in case of "The Stone Host") is rather typical of Ukraïнка's literary method. Trend of that kind is easily detectable, enough precedents being readily available (suffice to compare such poems as "Israel melody", "Israel in Egypt" with the dialogue "On the Ruins" or the dramatic poem "Babylonian Captivity", furthermore the poems "Prophet", "Poet during the Siege" with the poetic drama "Cassandra", or else "The Fairy", "Villa — the Sister" with the fairy-drama "Forest Song"). Eventually, in course of such gradual proceeding Lesya Ukraïнка reached acme of her creativity as an accomplished dramatist.

Of no lesser significance for her kind is the road Lesya Ukraïнка took toward dramatic art as a whole. This concerns mainly her individual approach, thematic selection and choice of variable means in relation to fabrics and substance of her genuine stagecraft. Unlike most playwrights, Lesya Ukraïнка as a student of dramaturgy, moved in an opposite direction from what could be expected, that is to say, from the modern idiom to the ancient, from Ibsen, Hauptmann, Maeterlinck to Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides. Her "theater" became classic not merely in formal ways, including techniques and three units, it involves moreover, elevated themes, high style, overall structure.

She began her career of a playwright with a prose drama "The Blue Rose", written in 1896, which is based on a present-day-topic and to a high degree influenced by Ibsen. As Alfred de Musset and Heine in her early poetry, so Ibsen proved to be her mentor in the initial stage of her dramatic endeavours. This was followed by a period of fervent searching and conscious intensive study during which Lesya Ukraïнка familiarized herself with and explored new achievements in the Western dramaturgy and, consequently, succeeded in developing her own immanent idiom and style. Her play becomes, like the Greek prototype, poetic drama in form, charged with insurmountable conflict that leads to a crisis, and marked with spiritual overtones. Although not necessarily scenic, her plays should not be called however "closet dramas" even though a pure "show element" is lacking. This external shortcoming is sufficiently compensated by the inner dramatism that imbues them with vibrant life. Besides, Lesya Ukraïнка's work excels in values identifiable with supreme quality literature which implies both form and the content. As a rule, they are permeated with lofty ideas, universal in scope, as they are dressed in the beautiful and fragrant linguistic garment. Beyond this impressive façade their functions in fulfilment of the stage requirement assume of necessity secondary position, in which they differ from the Greek pattern.

Characteristically enough Ibsen before Lesya Ukraïнка was the one to reconsider face, character, and the role of his play in its social communications. After experiencing extremely successful as far as

social response was concerned, although personally not equally gratifying period of high tide for his present-day-topic prose dramas, he began to envisage entirely different course for his future plays. They would have to be, so he believed, again poetic dramas in form, with possibly mythological background though modern from psychological point of view, in general reapproaching with certain adjustments the concept of Greek tragedy. Lesya Ukraïнка in a sense accomplished what remained in the realm of unfulfilled aspirations on part of Ibsen. She breathed in the classic form of a timeless tragedy the renovated substance of high morality and put deeply conceived ethical ideals in her tentatively called "neo-Romantic" plays to a new test. This worked albeit in the long run.

In her carefully revised approach to an ancient tragedy all but few important elements of the latter have been virtually accentuated. Thus emerged a finished product of sublime poetic form amalgamated with meaningful content on the loftiest ethical level. In what else she substantially deviated from the concept of Greek tragedy was of no lesser importance. The integral part of the Attic drama, the so called "moira", or "fate" was substituted by a new symbolism formerly defined by Brunetière as "will", or "volition", act of conscious will and determination on the part of the protagonist. As consequence of this, may we say, reformatory measure in the traditional concept a changed focus in the final effect of the Ukraïнка's later dramas resulted. Complications, reversal of fortune, climax, and conclusion of the play were brought about not so much by gods' will, or destiny's supreme power that laid heavily and purgatively on the protagonist, as by his own act of will, determination to change the course of events disregarding what ill effects all this might cause. Human will and deed become the determinant factor, cause and effect of his destiny. The protagonist revolting against the established order is aware of the consequences of his action; nevertheless, he is doing what he feels he ought to, voluntarily accepts the death verdict or is his own executor, in the firm belief that his free choice will stamp a positive imprint on the existence of the future generations. In view of this new dominant principle the essentials of the Greek tragic art with their inevitable paraphernalia, such as unravelling, reversal of fortune, catharsis, purgation, purification, and recognition appear altogether in a different light.

Finally, the third significant factor instrumental in the growth and deepening of Lesya Ukraïнка's dramatic art is, in my opinion, the general broadening of her horizons as a creative artist and human being likewise. There is a world of difference in her thematic coverage or response to ideas comparing that, somehow narrow, passage of sheer individualism which she enforced in her first drama "The Blue Rose" with the road wide enough and at the time mature for the fusion of national and universal ideas, as happened in the last year of her life, when she was through with her great explorations and

ready for a masterpiece "Orgy." Those characteristic features, I think, Prof. Manning meant among others when he stated: "She was a master of the art of poetry, a superb technician in literature, and a woman endowed with genius. With her knowledge and appreciation of European literature, she was able to sense the trend of literary development and to implement on Ukrainian soil those devices and conventions that were proving themselves abroad, without injuring her own individuality and artistic talents. She was a learned poet — in the best sense of the word" (*Op. cit.*, p. 15). To this distinctive characteristic by the foreign critic pinpointing the true nature of the poetess' indebtedness to the world literature let me add another none the less typical of foreign recognition of Lesya Ukraïнка's originality and measure of her innovation in the dramatic field: "The heroic tone and the neo-Romanticism of her dramatic poems based on hitherto unfamiliar themes did not meet with a wide response at first, except among the discerning . . . This, however, is usually the case with most innovators in the fields of art and literature . . . Admiration and appreciation of her works is steadily growing as the years go by. It is now realized that she possessed a remarkably strong poetic imagination, a universalism in her choice of themes a profound penetration of the variations of human psychology together with a style both highly lyrical and charged with dramatic power." (*Op. cit.*, p. 37).

At this point we are just about ready to refer directly to her fateful poetic drama, "Orgy", which came out in the year of the writer's death, 1913. The meaning of the title word in the play is closely related to its ancient origin which implies ceremonial rites in honour of a deity, especially those of the worship of Dionysus, or Terpsichore, as in the case given. Orgiastic celebrations were mainly characterized by ecstatic singing and dancing, often not without revelry.

Although the scenery itself as well as the Caesar's age provide for a historic background, the Lesya Ukraïнка's work was not intended at all to incarnate spirit of history. "Orgy" is definitely not a historical play, for that its poetic image is too transparent just as the sounds of contemporary notes in it are too intensive. History is being used here as a means to attain a goal, that is to say, skilfully applied suitable historical exposition is nothing but a cover up for the author's all too obvious objectives. Needless to say that were it not for this historical evasion the presentation of the play or even publication in the book form anywhere within Russian empire would have been made impossible. More innocent works than that would not be tolerated by the government censorship, and Lesya Ukraïнка wanted badly her play to see daylight and reach the widest circles of population. As it was, "Orgy" proved too daring for public performance to venture it.

The action takes place in Corinth during the period of the Roman domination of Greece. The conflict arises from the very fact of Greek

nation being ruthlessly subjugated. In poetic language this spelled the oppression of the old Hellenic culture by the young military might of Rome. The hero of the tragedy, an ardent Greek patriot Anteus, who enjoys the reputation of the foremost poet and singer, can by no means reconcile himself to the humiliation of Greek art, its direct prostitution for the delectation of cynical foreigners and conquerors at the same time. He considers it too base to cooperate with them in any way, so to speak letting themselves be used as willing tools. This is, however, what many of his countrymen are actually doing. Anteus certainly would never sell his talent to please Roman dignitaries just as he cannot allow his wife Nerissa to freely entertain them. He even agrees to recite from his work before Mecenass, which was quite a sacrifice on his part, to prevent her participation in the orgy. When she nevertheless dances for the Roman guests against her husband's expressed will, he kills her and takes his own life, strangling himself symbolically with the strings of his beloved lyre. The playwright manifestly intended her readers to substitute Russia for Rome and Ukraine for Corinth so that they may come to the realization of their own plight in the present.

"Orgy" is essentially the tragedy of character regardless of the fact that dignity of the entire nation is obviously at stake. The drama is marked with ominous tension right from its very beginning till end. There is a definite sombre note throughout it and one cannot help feeling that the doom is inevitable. The conflict arises in rapid succession of events. Chilon, one of the best pupils of Anteus, leaves his academy to enter the choir of panegyrists in the newly established Latin school of Mecenass. Anteus, although believed superior teacher to any of those at the Mecenass' school, is not able to offer him the wordly standing that the illustrious Roman citizen can easily do. Says the author:

"In Greece will nowadays earn fame but he
Who pleases Rome."

When Chilon offers to pay his teacher for all the instruction received, Anteus answers in dismay: "Go! Away from my sight. I did not teach you anything." All members of Anteus' family, except his noble sister Eufrosine, reproach him for his unwillingness to accept due rewards. Nerissa, his wife, directly challenges him to seek public recognition for whatever price or else she would do it herself using her dancer's talents. But the greatest affront comes from his friend and artist, Phedon. To gain fame he sold the sculpture of the goddess Terpsichore, that he modelled after Nerissa, to Mecenass. This as well as his opportunistic attitude in general deeply hurts idealistically minded Anteus. When Phedon urges him to accept invitation from Mecenass and thus enhance his glory ("which is an inborn craving of a Greek") arguing:

"I see more suitable making mausoleums,
If nothing better, than to vegetate

As weed by trodden road that falls to feet
Of mighty conqueror who, at his whim,
May likely trample with his forceful step
Our noble heritage, all hope of ours"

Anteus replies in a characteristic way:
"You think to trample by ourselves is better?
Perhaps, to spare our enemy the labour?
So feels a priest of beauty, so he teaches . . .
Accordingly, one thing remains — to do it.
You did not sell your talent, worse than that,
You gave yourself like lifeless clay to foe,
Allowed him to be molded at his wish.
Who will inspire in you eternal fire,
When, once creator, creature you became?
Go, servant, slave to master, your Mecenas,
Forget the great commandments of the beauty,
Forget Prometheus' immortal image,
Who fought the gods! Forget the very tortures
Laocoon's, the sufferer for truth.
Don't heed our heroine, Antigone,
Electra, the revenger — what for you?
Or homeland of Hellenes? Now, bound and helpless,
Like Andromeda lone before the monster,
Imploring gods to send protector Perseus.
You are no Perseus, look, you turn to stone
Before the spectre of the Rome's medusa.
No longer you perceive the lofty beauty,
The charm of struggle though devoid of hope."

(transl. from Ukrainian by R. V. Kuchar).

Leaving the place which turned to be the main battlefield of ideas
Phedon asks:

"So, do we part no longer as two friends?"

To which Anteus answers:

"Beware, that we don't meet again as foes."

Anteus sacrificed much for his artistic vision that became almost identical with the image of Greece. Serving his noble cause he entered the road of material need as well as alienated himself from many a former friend. Only few would faithfully stand by him believing in his genius and rightfulness, as for instance his sister Euphrosine, that "Nike of his, goddess of victory" who symbolically crowned his brow with a laurel wreath, or his able pupil Apollodorus who, unlike Chilon, on the contrary, left Mecenas to study with him. Anteus was willing to pay another price to keep his sublime image intact when his frivolous wife endangered its very existence. Yet, no matter for what sacrifice he was ready, to renounce the image itself he could not. When Nerissa starts to voluptuously dance before

Mecenas, everything is at stake. Personal dignity of Anteus and dignity of his country have been gravely insulted by this unseemly, egotistic act of the former slave girl unworthy of the husband who once rescued her.

Out of this hapless situation, honour of Anteus' country being exposed to revelries of the orgy in which Nerissa took such an active part, there was no other exit but death for both. Anteus is truly one of the noblest characters in dramaturgy, straightforward, manly, true to himself — aspiring for and living in accordance with high ideals, dedicated husband, brother and son. By adherence to higher spiritual realities he, of course, impairs the well-being of his family for which he feels sorry. He is opposed by ignorance of Nerissa, opportunism of his countrymen and cynicism of Roman rulers. His ideas are shared by his stoic sister and some of his loyal pupils. In their continuing his work he nurtures the hope for a better future.

There is still another symbolism within symbolic tissue of this drama. Perhaps even of greater consequence for Lesya Ukraïнка. Borys V. Yakubskyi, well known scholar and critic, active during the Soviet period and most probably repressed by the Soviets after the second world war, put it this way: "The social collision in "Orgy" has been embodied in the national form. The conquered Greece is Ukraine and her oppressor, therefore the enemy, is the imperial Russia. The Russian culture is undoubtedly younger than the Ukrainian. That literature which Russian reactionary scholars termed as "Southern-Russian" was in fact the Ukrainian literature. The activities of the Kievan Academy in the 17th century had great importance for Ukrainian culture. In spite of this a prominent Ukrainian Theophan Prokopovych was removed from the said Academy and brought to Moscow in order to implant there the germs of future literary life. Also later on a great many of Ukrainian factors have been continuously (and we shall add, until present day — R. K) transplanted to Russia. Even such renowned Ukrainian authors as Shevchenko, Kulish, etc., wrote in Russian thus paying heavy tribute to the foreign ruling state. Gogol before and Korolenko during the time of Lesya Ukraïнка became Russian writers. Disregarding all this an average Russian is accustomed to look upon the Ukrainian literature as a "peasant literature." Liberal landowners read it and were highly astonished how could it be that "the peasants" could write so well. But the state police knew the price of this "peasant literature" alright and cruelly persecuted it as a manifestation of the revolutionary "separatism"...

Lesya Ukraïнка reflected in her drama "Orgy" typical Russian attitude toward Ukrainian art and culture in general. Here she transformed the usual social diapason of her writing to a national problem." (Quotation taken from Yakubskyi's article "Orgy", *Works of Lesya Ukraïнка*, Vol. XI, New York, Tyszczenko, Bilous Publ. Co., 1954).

It will be interesting to add here a poignant statement of the American scholar mentioned before, Clarence A. Manning, that he makes in his article "The Relations of Russian and Ukrainian Literature" which appeared in the *Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. VIII, no. 3, for Summer 1952: "Today we can see clearly that whatever may be the relations between Ukrainian and Russian literatures now and in the past, it is Ukrainian that has given to Russian more than it ever received."

In conclusion let me state that the national ramification of the drama "Orgy", in my opinion, does not affect its artistic integrity; on the contrary: here is the work that, by its intensive humanism, intimate artistry, appealing universal values of dignity and conscience, together with deeply interwoven symbolism challenges brute forces of physical power of all ages. Culture as an expedient has been frequently used till the present day by various factors seeking material or territorial expansion. It may be used in a positive sense as a most valuable means of education or, in a negative, as effective instrument of power. On the other hand, it is against human dignity for individual to be used by anybody as mere tool for attaining somebody's end, exactly as it is against the natural law for any people or any nation in the world to be utilized as dung for the growth of a stronger nation, in consequence of which eventually to be obliterated of its own national identity. Lesya Ukraïnka uttered an eloquent and powerful protest against such too known practices of one world power in her meaningful work "Orgy."

CATHEDRALS OF UKRAINE

"SCAFFOLDING AROUND THE CATHEDRAL"

An underground book by a young Ukrainian writer Evhen Sverstyuk bearing this title appeared in Ukraine and its copies are being circulated throughout Ukraine. The author of this work, just as his contemporaries, literary critics I. Dzyuba and I. Svitlychnyi, has been the object of harassment by the Russian stooges. As far back as 1962 he was most strongly attacked by Lyubomyr Dmyterko, who is noted for his slanderous articles blackening his own people. Beginning with 1965 Sverstyuk's name disappeared from the pages of the Soviet Ukrainian press.

Below we are reprinting some interesting passages from this book. As one can surmise from the title, the book deals with views expressed in connection with the appearance of the novel *Sobor* (Cathedral) by O. Honchar, which stirred the conscience of the whole literary stratum in Ukraine.

In the very Introduction to his book E. Sverstyuk writes:

"As before, the great monuments to the spirit — the cathedrals, are towering on the ground, framed by the soaring structures of the new age of engineering. As before, a restless human being is grasping a strip of warm land and the high sky in order to feel secure, to find himself for a moment, and to try to accomplish something within himself."

Reminiscing about the heroic past of his people he writes: "... They were people! They simply could not be demoralized by tears, pain and sacrifices — they created spiritual values and voluntarily burned at the altar where a new temple was going to be created."

Concluding that from its entire spiritual heritage the Ukrainian people was only able to preserve "the spirit of songs and the mystery of legends; weakened by years of bondage, it rose after World War I, barely alive it lifted itself up after 1933, minced and chopped it revided after 1945, and today its organism is such that it does not guarantee growth." This happens at a time when the population of our planet is reaching the four-billion mark. The guilt for this lies first of all with the present-day creators of the "undeniable truths" who have turned the whole generation away from its native literature.

"And there is reason to fear for this young Ukrainian intelligentsia, which under conditions prevailing in today's 'Ukrainian' cities must expend its best energies in order to defend its own national self — instead of competing at the forefront of the life of the planet for the mastery of the new truth of the new era.

"The loss of the past is just as hard to bear as the loss of the contemporary or the future, because it is the loss of a part of the being and a step toward annihilation. He who places himself beyond the past, beyond the sources of the national sea, contributes little to humanity. He who hides himself behind patriotic phrases is only outwardly imitating human life but in reality resorts to mimicry for a purely physical self-preservation.

"For a being endowed with consciousness the spiritual life is the only real life which keeps it on the road of creative evolution and moral progress, above the day-to-day animal existence. Faced with death, through his admirable work, filled with higher, non-transient sense, man created "eternal" reality — culture, religious beliefs, arts, philosophical, ethical and legal structures, and was inspired by his legends, branched out with them into life to such a degree that they became his social nature, higher than the fear of death."

"History will inevitably ask our intelligentsia this major question: what did you create for your people in exchange for persistent agitation against religious beliefs and rites, old customs, traditions and feast days — that is, everything which in the past had to be respected by a foreigner, if he wanted to show his esteem for a people?"

While reading these documents the soul grows cold and the heart fills with fury. At the same time an irrefutable conclusion comes to mind: "The Cathedrals" are beginning to resurrect from the subconscious of the nation, and especially of its intellectual leaders, the spirit of the past and the feeling of national pride and originality. In Ukraine the Cross has begun its uncontrollable march against the Devil, for a complete victory of the Ukrainian spirit. The symbols of this struggle at this time are "the Cathedrals."

THE KYÏV VYDUBYTSKYI MONASTERY — A CASUALTY OF ARSON

Failing to uproot faith from the soul of a nation — the occupying power in Ukraine, with the help of its toadies, decided to destroy relics of Ukraine's past. Thus the numerous archives of the largest library in Ukraine, "The State Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr.SSR", were destroyed by fire which was set on May 24, 1964 by one of the staff-members of this library, someone named Pohruzhal'skyi. The end result of this criminal act was the burning of 600,000 books and countless documents of great historical value which were marked "secret", being documents of the period of Ukraine's liberation struggle and the age of its national revival. Among these documents were also archives of the Central Rada which were collected prior to 1922 upon instructions from Mykola Skrypnyk.

With the above burning the activities of the occupants did not cease. With the advent of the psychological age of "Ukrainian Cathedrals", they reached for the ancient treasure of Ukrainian church architecture — the Kyïv Vydubyskyi Monastery with its two Cathedrals — St. Michael and St. George. The Russian arsonists made four attempts to burn the Monastery with its large archive collections which were housed there. The first blaze broke out on the night of November 11, 1968 and was extinguished. Then on the night of December 12-13 of the same year the fire broke out for the second time, and the very next night for the third time, as the result of which part of the library and archive collections burned.

In January 1969 the fire broke out for the fourth time and finished its deed of destruction, this time destroying very valuable Slavistic and Hebraic collections, as well as the remnants of books saved from the State Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr.SSR, which were transferred there. There is no doubt that these fires are the work of the same hands which are reaching for the soul of the Ukrainian people and would prefer that this nation disappeared from the face of the earth. Nevertheless, as was said by Taras H. Shevchenko: "Even Satan cannot plow a field at the bottom of the sea, Cannot chain a living soul."

Vydubyskyi Monastery was founded by the son of Yaroslav the Wise, Vsevolod, who between 1070-1088 built an eight-columned, three-naved church with chapels serving as burial vaults at the sides. The cathedral originally had stairs with a faceted projection at the north façade. In the old days Dniro River cut its course near the monastery itself. For this reason in order to protect the bank a renowned architect of the 12th century, Petro Myloneh, constructed a supporting wall. In the 16th century the current washed away the wall and with it collapsed the east part of the church as well. In 1767-1769 the remnants of the church were restored by architect Yurasov. In 1696-1701 the Cathedral of St. George and the refectory were built at the expense of Mykhailo Myklashevskiy, a Starodub colonel, and in 1727-1733, a belfry, at the expense of Hetman Danylo Apostol. In contrast with the Lavra, the Vydubyskyi Monastery is located on a small terrace, as if in a natural amphitheatre, in the midst of high hills. The Lavra complex has more grandeur and is more impressive. Its towering belfry can be seen for miles while approaching Kyiv, whereas Vydubyskyi Monastery is hidden by the hills. This is a private "demesne" monastery, close to the "beautiful court" of Vsevolod Yaroslavych.

With the construction of the Cathedral of St. George the centre of composition was transferred from the St. Michael Cathedral to the new church. Of all the stone, cross-shaped, five-domed churches St. George Cathedral is perhaps the most perfect in its composition of the masses as well as proportion, and in particular in its blending with the surroundings. In no other five-domed church is there such flawless coordination among them. In dissecting the structure's massive vertical lines of faceted bulks, pilasters and very high windows are dominant, thanks to which an uncontrollable upward movement of the principal parts is achieved. The interior also cannot find an equal in this category of churches. The side vaults are organically united with the central space below the dome with the help of huge arches, equal in size to the whole breadth and height of the side perimeters. While standing in church one can easily take in the whole picture. In the majestic interior one is struck by the high and open internal space, for it seems that the zenith of the central dome is somewhere at the neck-breaking height. This effect is achieved by the deflections which are getting smaller in proportion to the height.

Hon. Senator Dr. F. TEVETOGLU (Turkey)

UKRAINE: A COUNTRY WITH A UNIQUE ATMOSPHERE

(Excerpts from a book on a visit to the USSR)

I felt very anxious indeed to see Kiev, the third largest, most beautiful and famous city we were to visit in the Soviet Union.

Some very close friends of mine, born and brought up in Kiev, having lived there for some time but now living in Europe, had told me a lot about the region and its inhabitants.

Kiev is the capital of Ukraine, the second largest republic of the Soviet Union. I was told that its population was 1.3 million. It is traversed by the Dnieper river, and its climate is temperate. The city is full of flowery parks. It is surrounded by verdant forests in which horse-chestnut trees particularly abound.

The language of the Ukrainians and their alphabet are slightly different from those of the Russians. Accordingly, the official language used by them in administration and teaching is not Russian but Ukrainian which, I repeat, is closely related to Russian. Their flag too differs slightly from the Soviet flag by an additional blue stripe in the lower part of it.

The 1200 km between Leningrad and Kiev was flown by the Ilyushin planes in 1 hour 50 minutes. Here too we were greeted, in addition to the protocol officials, by flag waving "receptionists" either professional or engaged for the purpose, girls and boys, some carrying bunches of flowers and all wearing the local costume, the white "national" embroidered canvas shirt. The terminal building was decorated with posters bidding us welcome and calling for the strengthening of Turkish-Soviet friendship in Turkish and Ukrainian, exactly identical to those which had already greeted us in Moscow and Leningrad. The President of the Ukrainian Cabinet is V. V. Shcherbitskiy, a tall, handsome, smiling man.

Prof. Yalçin and I take place in the official car Nr. 8 reserved for us, while our distinguished and hospitable guide, the Soviet diplomat M. Fedorov sits down beside the driver. Here too the roads are straight, broad and well looked after. The traffic is light and sparse, for these large cities and broad roads, almost non-existent. And when news spreads that the "State is passing by", pedestrians and vehicles stand aside, and all movement freezes, the traffic appears as some-

thing still more abnormal on the roads. True, they all belong to the state, souls and machines, they all are tools of the state, but there is a hierarchy also among tools.

Through a happy coincidence, we arrive at the time when the workers, their day's labour done, are returning from the factories. As compared with the other hours of the day, this peak hour is marked by the appearance of relatively greater crowds. Here, the women who sweep the streets and the rag-women are not so old as those in Moscow and Leningrad. The majority are middle-aged or young. Similarly, the servants in the Intourist Hotel, where we have been put up, are younger than the 50-60 year old female vestiges of the Czarist generation which we found at work in the other hotels we stayed in; they are young and belong to the rising Revolutionary generation. But don't look for a corresponding meaning and joyfulness in their faces. The laughing eyes of youth have been replaced by dull, lifeless, meaningless eyes.

In this country of "Equals" it is no longer possible to find the record "Black Eyes" or to hear the song.

Our first impression of Kiev is that the general view of it is beautiful. Kiev was one of the most brilliant cultural and civilization centres of Czarist Russia, and possesses therefore a very great number of historic monuments. It is a pity that having arrived in this delightful city in the evening, we shall spend only one night here and leave for Uzbekistan next day at noon.

I should have liked to spend one more day in Kiev to visit all the places I longed to see. But on the other hand I looked forward to Tashkent and felt deeply grateful to our hosts for its inclusion in our programme. Tashkent, the capital of roses; the birth place of Ali Sir Nevai; the fatherland of our ancestors, whence they had spread to Anatolia, Europe and the South; Tashkent that I had been dreaming of all these years beckoned to me, and I was impatient to join it, my heart overflowing in advance with emotion and enthusiasm.

Kiev lived for over two years under Nazi occupation during World War II (1941-43). Though at first welcomed with bunches of flowers, the Germans, through the attitude and policy, the cruel and mistaken policy they pursued, destroyed the hopes and illusions of the Ukrainians. We hear that the Nazis killed no fewer than 200 thousand inhabitants of Kiev, dragged away 100thousand, and ruined 6 thousand buildings in the city.

The general aspect of Kiev is in the full sense that of a European city. God gave all kinds of natural wealth to the Ukraine and to Kiev, but those happy regions, those fertile Black Earth lands fell into the hands of the godless, who dragged them from ordeal to ordeal, so that the Ukraine became a martyred nation.

When we arrived in Kiev and settled in our hotel, we were told that the Honourable Demirel and our friends, the three ministers,

would visit in his office D. S. Korotchenko, the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic; and that the other members of the delegation would be free till the dinner given in the evening by the President of the Cabinet.

Yalçin, Tekinel and myself, three parliamentary friends, decided to go out together before dark, to walk down to the centre of the city, to visit the square, markets, shops, and to see the people at close range. We passed by some parks and avenues flanked with huge chestnut trees and walking downwards reached the squares where the populace about to return home start queueing and where with nets in hands they wait for transportation.

The fertile Ukrainian lands are one of the richest granaries of the Soviet Union. There wheat, sugar-beet and tobacco abundantly grow. Kiev manufactures cameras and typewriters, medical and scientific instruments, means of land transportation such as tramcars and motor-cycles and river transportation such as motors and motorboats, and is thus one of the most developed industrial centres of the Soviet Union. Owing to the coal in the Donbas basin and the iron ore in the Krivoi-Rog region, ironworks were established. Similarly, chemicals, textiles and foodstuffs industries are developed and flourishing in Kiev. It is a pity that we had no chance to see and study at close range the industrial installations, the workers employed there and their way of life. For those were the points we were particularly interested in and about which we should have liked to get reliable information. It proved impossible for us to get in touch with workers in the country of the workers, and to examine a single Kolkhoz in the country of Kolkhozes.

Likewise, we were denied the possibility of seeing the Kiev Academy of Sciences; the University and its libraries, the cultural and artistic establishments all of which I was longing to see. Flying by special aeroplanes, travelling in convoys of official black cars, visiting mayors and leaders, banqueting and watching musical ballet performances: such activities occupied most of the programme of our visit to the Soviet Union, whereas we were especially anxious to study personally the people and the country over which fifty years of Revolution had passed like a steam-roller, to see their present state under that regime, to find out what was left to them.

When we returned to our hotel, our friend Yalçin would approach the windows in an attempt to glimpse the life that was going on in the lower floors of the houses we could see... and Tekinel and I used to taunt him jokingly with the words: "Peeping Tom activities are strictly forbidden!"

The position of V. V. Shcherbitsky, President of the Cabinet of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic was rather high in the political

hierarchy: he was a candidate for membership in the Politburo of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It is by the way quite unthinkable that a man who is not a reliable member of the Communist Party should become a ruler of the Soviet Socialist Republics. Nevertheless, this man had a pleasant Ukrainian aspect in his character.

In connection with the dinner the authorities gave in honour of the Prime Minister and the Delegation, they also intended to give us a festival of national Ukrainian folklore melodies and opera arias, after which we were to tour Kiev especially illuminated at night.

The 1-2 Km long descending road stretching from the place where we were to the square in the centre of the city was covered by Demirel and Sherbitsky on foot. We were walking behind them and the cars were following. Moscow's and Leningrad's streets, one hour before midnight, exhibit a ghastly emptiness. Those of Kiev were much more crowded, and the people gaped at our "democratic march."

Kiev as a whole remained buried in darkness and escaped our curious investigation. The illuminated buildings which we were shown were beautiful to look at from outside. It was clear that Kiev too attached great importance to the mobilization for prefabricated dwelling construction, which we had first observed in Moscow and Leningrad. Here too the huge block building, the bleak and sinister dwellings had invaded a considerable area in the city.

In front of the building housing the Kiev Communist Party Centre and the building of the Youth Organizations there stands a colossal statue of a stocky Lenin. In addition we saw on the turf edge of a park extending along the side wall of the descending avenue down which we were walking, a vegetal portrait of Lenin composed of red plants.

Who knows how many statues, busts, portraits and inscriptions represented, called to mind or conjured up Stalin in Kiev, but now not the least trace of his passage on earth remains: the ostracism that struck him has swept away his image. As long as he lived he seemed a formidable force and was believed irresistible. *Sic transit...* During his long reign this tyrant sacrificed millions of human beings, starting with his closest friends. The agricultural collectivization campaign alone which he took up and pursued with a ruthlessness of which History offers no example, cost no fewer than 18 million deaths. But the treatment that was meted out to him after his death is also unique. His fate should be a warning to all present of future dictators with or without scarecrow mustaches who may be tempted to follow in his footsteps.

One of the causes of this grudge, of this wild hate is doubtless the fact that "during his long dictatorship, he not only did not lead this country forward, but made it mark time and actually regress."

The press organs with various tendencies are bound to judge him differently; but there are number of points in which all writers, whatever their views and convictions may be, concur. Let us sum up these points:

— In Russia there is not a whiff of liberty, not an atom of democracy. Though 50 years have passed since the Revolution broke out and the communist regime was set up, the people are still labouring under an unheard-of housing crisis. To buy bread, let alone the other consumption goods, the people must stand in line. True, by means of heavy industry and massive investments giant works have been created, but the Russian people are still very far from a normal standard of living. The dictators and their disciples apart, the Russian people are still deprived even of flats to live in, so that several families have to share one flat with common kitchen and common water closet. Laughing faces, gay people are not only hard to find, they are actually nonexistent, and everybody is crushed under overwhelming moral and material worries. The workers, administrators, artisans, drivers and other professionals look upon their dealing with the customers as a drudgery and try to get rid of them. From the music to the fashion and from stockings to currency you may sense in almost everyone a nostalgia, a love of the West, and moral suffocation appears on all faces...

This situation may involve very many responsibilities, however, obviously the person chiefly responsible is Stalin. The people whom we saw in Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev who deleted Stalin's name from History, inflicting a second death on him, obviously paid him back his due, his long-overdue bill of loathing and hatred. But the most important and remarkable social phenomenon in all this is the fact that since World War II in the inhabitants of the Soviet lands, a sense of "fact and opinions" has emerged.

The Ukrainians look upon themselves as the most progressive Republic in the Soviet Union. Actually this is the most European looking, the most promising region in the Union: we may expect from it brilliant tomorrows.

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THE ACTIVITY OF THE UKRAINIAN "COMMUNITIES" AND LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES IN THE FIELD OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

by G. VASKOVYČ

(a) FOUNDATION OF COMMUNITIES FOR NATIONAL-CULTURAL WORK

Irrespective of the unfavourable conditions of Ukrainian life subjugated within the Russian empire, the national-minded Ukrainian intelligentsia nevertheless attempted to do everything to bring about the recognition of equal rights for the Ukrainian language and their own school system, against the wishes of the regime at that time which opposed the cultural development of the nation. The most important part was played in these efforts by the "Communities" formed in the various cities of Ukraine. In this the guiding lines for national-cultural work came from the Kyïv "Stara Hromada" ("Old Community"), to which the most important Ukrainian figures belonged. Even at the beginning of the 1860's the Kyïv community had been founded by a group of young people led by V. Antonovyč, later History Professor at Kyïv University.¹ The activity of the Kyïv community did not always proceed with the same intensity. It was weaker at the time of the repression and the number of members declined. But despite all unfavourable conditions, the community existed illegally until 1917. In 1900, when E. Čykalenko entered the Kyïv community, it was composed of 20-25 members, according to his details, and their actual leader was then the Kyïv educationalist V. Naumenko.² The members of this community included such outstanding citizens of that time as K. Mychalčuk, I. Nečuj-Levyčkyj, M. Staryčkyj, M. Lysenko, P. Kosač, P. Žytečkyj, E. Trehubov, V. Berenštam, O. Rusov, I. Trač and I. Stešenko. Later L. Žebunjov, S. Jefremov, V. Durdukivškyj and others joined.

In 1897 V. Antonovyč and O. Konyškyj took the initiative in founding the "General Ukrainian Democratic Organisation" in Kyïv, which united in itself the 18 Ukrainian communities in Ukrainian territory. This included also the Kyïv "Old Community", as well as the Ukrainian communities in St. Petersburg and Moscow. The presidium of this organisation, known as the 'organisation council', was elected at the delegation conferences of the representatives of the communities. This 'organisation council' was normally composed of members living in Kyïv. Its work was of a purely cultural nature. "The current work

of the council", wrote E. Čykalenko, who was elected to the council in 1900, "consists principally in the publication of various works of literature, with which a group specially formed for the purpose was concerned . . . The council's second task was to look after the organisation's own book-shop . . . A member of the council was exclusively concerned with procuring positions for national-minded Ukrainians and he was also responsible for filling such positions with reliable people. This was mainly a question of positions in the individual local administrations . . . the work of the council also included the propagation of Ukrainian national consciousness, the distribution of books, agitation in local administrations with the demand for Ukrainian schools, the holding of anniversary events for great Ukrainian figures etc. The council had all in all varied functions, — it was practically a secret government which carried out what it was ordered to do by the illegal Ukrainian parliament at its secret conferences, which were held almost regularly twice a year."³ The above-quoted statement points directly to the fact that the Ukrainian public figures who towards the end of the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century were active in illegal organisations, in reality carried on a legal activity permitted by law. Even the Democratic Party later founded by them kept strictly to the law in its work. The basic ideas were taken over from the SS. Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood, but it was much more cautious and circumspect in its work than the Brotherhood had been. The activity of this organisation caused an unsuspected upsurge in the development of Ukrainian national consciousness, above all thanks to the scientific and publishing work, to which much attention, time and also money were devoted.

After the foundation of the "Ukrainian Revolutionary Party" in 1900 by the younger generation of Ukrainian intellectuals, whose programme included an independent Ukraine and the carrying-out of planned, political-revolutionary work among the population, the "General Ukrainian Democratic Organisation", to which the older generation principally belonged, became convinced that in this new situation the carrying out of political — and not only cultural — work was inevitable. This realisation led in 1904 to the reorganization of this association, which from then on was called the "Ukrainian Democratic Party" and a year later became fused with a similar-minded radical group under the name "Ukrainian Democratic-Radical Party."⁴ But this party could not last in this new form during the reactionary period of Stolypin's government and ceased to exist in 1907. In the following year, the Kyiv "Old Community" members re-established the general non-party Ukrainian organisation under the new name, "Society of Progressive Ukrainians" (TUP),⁵ which existed illegally down to the 1917 March Revolution. From the leading ranks of this supra-party society, there emerged in the time of the Revolution the Ukrainian Central Council (Ukraïnska Tsentral'na Rada) with M. Hruševskyj at the head.

**b) THE RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES RECOGNIZES THE
INDIVIDUALITY OF THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE
AND CULTURE.**

As the peoples of the Russian Empire began to stand on their constitutional rights more and more violently at the beginning of the 20th century, the Ukrainians also once more demanded national equality of rights and at the same time the abolition of the law of 1876.⁶ This took place through resolutions with numerous signatures and with the help of appropriate petitions, which were sent by the various organisations and some cities and local administrations in Ukraine to the imperial government. Besides this articles were published in Russian newspapers "on the wretched situation of the Ukrainian language." This action caused the government in December 1904 to have the ban on the use of Ukrainian examined. The government decided to obtain the judgment of four authoritative institutions in this matter. These were the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, the universities in Kyïv and Kharkiv, and finally the Kyïv General Government. All the institutions asked confirmed that the ban on Ukrainian had unfavourable effects and should be reversed. Naturally these institutions did not arrive at their attitudes without the help of the members of the Ukrainian Communities, who made their influence felt on those occupying government positions. The Memoirs of E. Čykalenko and S. Rusova bear witness to their efforts. E. Čykalenko writes in his *Memories*: "... In accordance with the circumstances of the time, absolute agreement was necessary, in order to be able to make a unanimous stand and to carry on activity of the greatest intensity ... Care had to be taken that the senates of the universities asked by the government about the law of 1876 advocated the abolition of all limitations on the use of Ukrainian." For this reason "... the council of the Democratic Party approached the severely ill Professor V. Antonovyč with the request to compose a suitable text for Kyïv University. Prof. Bahaliĵ was also addressed with the same request and when he excused himself with lack of time, Prof. M. Sumcov did it, at our request. Also N. Molčanovskij, the Head of Chancellery of the Governor-General of the South-West General Government was induced by the council to point out himself in writing the necessity for the abolition of the 1876 Law ... Molčanovskij did this willingly, since he was a convinced and national-conscious Ukrainian ... The Ukrainian Community in St. Petersburg finally succeeded in getting the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences to produce the famous note on the Ukrainian language."⁷ At the same time the Kyïv Community sent a delegation to the then chairman of the Council of Ministers, Witte, with the task of convincing personally the head of government of the necessity for the abolition of the edict

and of the inevitability of the introduction of Ukrainian in schools. The delegation was composed of V. Naumenko, I. Šrah (a lawyer from Černyhiv), O. Kosač the writer (Olena Pčilka) and M. Dmytriev (a lawyer from Poltava). Witte replied to the delegation that the government was preparing a new law on censorship and promised that this law would be binding for both Russian and Ukrainian literature and press. "With regard to the Ukrainian language in schools this question is much too complicated", he said, "and it demands detailed consultations by experts and the approval of the highest authorities in the state."⁸

Sofia Rusova, for her part, mentions in her work *My Reminiscence* the work of the committee of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences making the following statement: "The Academy of Sciences summoned a special committee, whose task it was to solve finally the problem of the Ukrainian language. The committee was composed of two Russian professors from the literary division of the Academy of Sciences under the chairmanship of Šachmatov and the experts O Stebnyčkyj, Naumenko and myself (S. Rusova). Meetings took place in the building of the Academy... In all the discussions Šachmatov impressed us through his excellent knowledge of our language with its philological peculiarities and its historical development. The result of the three or four meetings held by us was a report worked out by us. Šachmatov composed a scholarly and objective preface to it, to produce proof of the independence of our language, recognizing it as a language and not a dialect. Our article was added to his statement."⁹ The facts quoted show clearly that the whole action of the reauthorization of our language had been carefully prepared by the members of the Ukrainian communities in Kyïv, St. Petersburg i. a. and even produced a lasting success. As a result of these exertions the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg published a scholarly statement of attitude, in which it advocated the recognition of the independence of the Ukrainian language, about which to then it had been officially stated that there had never been such a language there wasn't one then and in the future there wouldn't be one either. The Academy also insisted vigorously on the abolition of the ban on Ukrainian in Russia.

Even greater detail was contained in the Lviv edition of the report of this committee of the Academy of Sciences on its activities. Questioned by the government in the matter of the Ukrainian language, the Academy of Sciences summoned a special committee of seven members of the academy and entrusted it with the investigation of this question. To this committee belonged T. Korš (as chairman) and as members A. Famintsyn, V. Salenskij, F. Fortunatov, A. Šachmatov, A. Lappo-Danilevskij and S. Oldenburg. These were the representatives of various sciences and of various racial origins, but in the main they were Russians.¹⁰ The committee worked out an informative report based on scholarship, over the development of the Ukrainian

language and literature and pointed out the disadvantageous effects of the ban on Ukrainian in Russia. In conclusion, the necessity for the abolition of this ban was emphasized. M. Hruševskyj said on this: "The Academy declared itself in agreement with the ideas of the committee and passed the report it had composed to the Council of Ministers, adding itself that it considered it indispensable to grant to the Ukrainians the same opportunity to use their mother language as the Great Russians. The Little Russian (i. e. the Ukrainian — Author) population should have the same right to the official use of their own language as the Great Russian one."¹¹ The statement of attitude of the Academy of Sciences was published in March 1905 in a not too large edition, merely intended for the Members of the Academy and the government. Still in the same year this statement was published with a foreword by M. Hruševskyj in a literary journal in Lviv. The translation into Ukrainian was provided by V. Hnatiuk. The so-called "Historical Note" by K. Vojenskij, an official from the "State Authority for the Printing Trade", which contained the ban on the Ukrainian language, was added to the report and published with it, in a translation by I. Franko.

The Ukrainian reports, added to the statements of the committee, were not published in the Lviv edition. Hruševskyj only mentioned them briefly in his foreword to the 1905 edition, when he wrote: "... a long report by P. Stebnyčkyj is devoted to the practices of the censorship (pages 29-45). After shortly going into the attitudes of the Russian government since Peter the Great, the author deals in detail with the persecution of the Ukrainian language since 1863. An extremely interesting illustration was provided by the statistical details that of 230 manuscripts presented to be censored between 1895 and 1904 only 80 were returned in a condition at all ready to be printed. O. Lotočkyj gives a short survey of the Ukrainian literary movement in the 19th century in Russia and Austria. O. Rusov analyses the importance of "Ukrainophilia" and furnishes proof of its harmlessness from the political point of view. P. Saladylov's paper has also almost the same content. S. Rusova shows the unfavourable effects of the ban on Ukrainian literature upon the general level of education. She points out that Russian text-books, popular Russian literature and school-education are inaccessible to Ukrainian children and peasants, and that the ban on the Ukrainian language has entailed a much higher percentage of illiterates and recidivists (who forget all the results of their school education — Author) in Ukraine than comparably in the Great Russian provinces (there the percentage of illiterates falls in the better provinces to below 20%, in Ukraine to below 50%). V. Naumenko illuminates the same problem in a short essay. The appended letter from V. Leontovyč to D. Mordoveč shows the impossible and inhuman situation of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, which is forced to write in Great Russian ... At the end there are details of the census of the Ukrainian population by O. Rusov

(c. 31-32 million), and a well-known letter taken from the periodical *Grazhdanin* No. 9, from the "former district police chief from the nobility", E. Š., on the spread of revolutionary Ukrainian publications in Ukraine and on the necessity of the re-authorization of the Ukrainian language to create a legal basis for popular education.¹² The St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences published in 1910 once again the report of 1905 (on the ban on the Ukrainian language) in a special edition for wider circles of readers under the title: "Imperial Academy of Sciences. On the Abolition of the Restrictions on the printed Little-Russian Word, St. Petersburg 1910."

c) THE UNSUCCESSFUL EFFORTS OF LEADING UKRAINIANS IN THE FORUM OF THE STATE DUMA

In 1905 the revolution in the Russian empire opened up the possibilities of national creative work and the chances for the development of the Ukrainian nation. The proclamation of the Tsarist manifesto on the constitution in October of this year aroused great hopes of a new state order, in which in accordance with the general wish at that time, the most important factors for a communal life for all nations in the Russian Empire — for the Ukrainians also — would be legally incorporated: a parliamentary government system, cultural autonomy of the individual nations with the possibility of local self-government and of independent free organisation of citizens in political, cultural and economic institutions. For the legal incorporation of these rights the Ukrainians took action with all their powers between the two revolutions. But these endeavours from the forum of the State Duma remained unsuccessful. They could only have been successful, if the Tsar, his government and the state administrative system had recognized *de facto* and *de jure* the independence of this forum and respected the decisions of the Duma, and secondly, if there had been within the Duma itself no Russian Centralists and chauvinists, who without consideration of their party convictions, refused to let the Ukrainian nation attain equality of rights at all.¹³ Since, then, these two conditions were not present the Duma was unable to pass any laws whose benefits could be enjoyed by the oppressed peoples. Also as an example of this serves the fact that the ban on the Ukrainian language, despite all the efforts of the Ukrainians, was maintained until the fall of the Tsar and his old regime.

The reactionary Tsarist government made every effort to prevent an unhindered development of ethnic independence and as part of this the Tsar soon dissolved the first national Duma (7. 7. 1906), which of all the Dumas enjoyed the greatest freedom. In all it existed for only 72 days. It included representatives of the Ukrainian nation, who joined together to form a special "Community." The second Duma existed only a little longer than the previous one, 103 days, until June 3, 1907. Ukraine was represented in it by 47 delegates,

who — like those in the first Duma — joined together to form a special "Ukrainian Duma Community" and even published their own newspaper in Ukrainian under the name "On Our Own Affairs — News from the Duma." The new electoral law enacted after the dissolution of the second Duma was so composed as to limit the right to vote of the peasants and workers and granted still further privileges to the privileged strata of society. On the basis of this law it was impossible to elect representatives for the Ukrainian nation either to the third or later to the fourth Duma. The Ukrainian representatives were not able to develop fully their activity in the first Duma, since it was dissolved too soon, but even in the second Duma they began to develop a planned, systematic work elaborating draft laws and adopting attitudes to all important questions. They insisted on agrarian reform within the Russian empire, to improve living conditions for the peasants, demanded the eight-hour working day and persisted in demands in the political field for Ukrainian autonomy.¹⁴

At the time of the first Duma the St. Petersburg Community published a weekly newspaper in Russian under the name *Ukrainskij Vestnik* (Ukrainian Herald), which dealt mainly with political and social matters in Ukraine, with the aim of making political circles and the whole population of Russia conscious of the Ukrainian problem. Prof. M. Hruševskij came at that time to St. Petersburg and took part in a leading position in the work of the St. Petersburg Community and in the editorial work of the *Ukrainskij Vestnik*. He it was who also composed a 'Declaration of Ukraine', which was to be proclaimed in the Duma by the chairman of the Ukrainian Duma Community.¹⁵ At this time O. Lotočkyj prepared a draft law for the introduction of the Ukrainian language as the language of instruction in elementary schools, but the Ukrainian delegates were unsuccessful in their attempts to table this draft law either in the first or the second Duma, because of the shortness of the time for which they existed. Instead the education question was discussed in detail during the budget estimate debates. O. Lotočkyj wrote the following about this: "It had become a custom every year in the debates on the estimates of the Ministry of Education for the deputies of all the nations represented in the Duma to present from this forum their complaints and grievances regarding the great national injustices to which they were subjected by the official Russifying school. It was the collective cry of mistreated national souls." The second Duma came considerably nearer to the question of education. During the debate on the estimates of the Ministry of Education the deputy Sajko read on behalf of the Ukrainian deputies a document demanding free education in the area of Ukraine. He further demanded that teaching should be conducted in Ukrainian, with Russian being retained as a school subject, and that the text-books should be arranged to correspond both in contents and in language to the needs of the

population. Demanded also were Ukrainian language courses for teaching staff, as well as courses in literature and history, the inclusion of these subjects in the programme of teachers' training colleges and institutes in Ukraine, the introduction of special professorial chairs for these subjects at the universities of Kyiv, Kharkiv and Odessa.¹⁶ Even in the third Duma educational questions were discussed in detail, and after long efforts a draft law was presented in March 1908, by O. Lotočkyj, in which the introduction of Ukrainian into elementary schools was demanded, it being signed by 37 deputies from various non-Ukrainian parties.¹⁷ Nevertheless all these efforts by Ukrainians and the few non-Ukrainian deputies who advocate the same cause, proved, as has been said, of no avail. The schools continued to be alien to the Ukrainian child.

d) EXTRA-MURAL ADULT EDUCATION IN UKRAINE AFTER THE 1905 REVOLUTION

Apart from the efforts for the legal admission of the Ukrainian language into the Ukrainian school system through the Russian Duma and the Tsarist government, leading figures in Ukraine at the same time carried on wide-ranging educational work in another direction in the field of adult education. This took place through the founding of "Prosvita" educational associations and "clubs" with the aid of the press and books, in order to raise at least partly the level of education of the broader strata of the population. For the Ukrainian people adult education was at the beginning of the 20th century in no way a novel phenomenon. Such a system of education had existed for four decades in Galicia, centrally organised by the top organisation "Prosvita" in Lviv. In this period this organisation collected important experience which, after the proclamation of the constitution for the Russian Empire, was a great help in the founding of the first "Prosvitas" in Ukraine in the Russian empire. Circumstances forced a growing measure of attention to be brought to the question of extra-mural adult education and attempts to be made to consolidate it since the prospects for a legal introduction of Ukrainian into the schools grew less with every year. Yet the first Ukrainian "Prosvitas" under Tsarist rule had to be organised differently from those in Galicia, since there was no possibility under Russian rule to found a central society for the coordination of educational work in the whole of Ukraine. Nevertheless some organisations were formed which started independent work but did not coordinate their activities together as would have been necessary. This situation — could not be conducive to the concrete and maximum success of the "Prosvitas". The members of the "Prosvita" were conscious of this and made effort to remedy the situation: In connection with this precarious situation the editor of the Year Book of the Kyiv "Prosvitas" called in 1909 on all "Prosvitas" in an article entitled "Our Institutions", to send a yearly report on their activities to the Kyiv editor, so that a complete

survey could be assembled. The appeal of the Kyiv Year Book editor had the following content: "Since we will not be able in the near future to join together to form a society for the promotion of culture, we can nevertheless so reach mutual understanding and so coordinate our work that the activity of every "Prosvita" would be part of a general plan. The chronicle of activities of the individual "Prosvitas" should indisputably serve as material for such an understanding; it would have to be summarized to allow opportunities for comparisons to be made. The editorial staff of the Year Book would like to make available such material."¹⁸ Heading the Kyiv "Prosvita" at that time were such important figures as the writer Borys Hrinchenko, chairman of the Council of the society and at the same time its founder, and also as members of the council the poetess Lesya Ukraïnka, the historian Dmytro Dorošenko, the educationalist V. Durdukivskyj, among others. Honorary members were V. Antonovyč and M. Sumcov.

The Year Book of the Kyiv "Prosvita" for 1908 gave information in the above-mentioned article on the work of the fourteen further "Prosvitas" in Ukraine, in which the work of the Odessa "Prosvita", which had been founded in December 1905 as one of the first, was dealt with in greater detail. Further there were reports on the work of the Podolian "Prosvita" at Kamyanets, founded in May 1906 with a branch at Mohyliv, and of the Kyiv "Prosvita", founded in June 1906. These "Prosvitas" sent their reports to be evaluated in the editorial office of the Year Book. The editorial staff had put together reports on the work of other "Prosvitas" from newspaper announcements. From this material it can be seen that in addition to the three societies named above in 1907 there existed other "Prosvitas" in the following places: in Katerynoslav from June 1906 onwards, with some branches in the country, in Katerynodar (August 1906) with fifteen branches in the villages, in Chernyhiv (December 1906), in Zhytomyr (February 1907), in Mykolaïv (February 1907), in Hrubeshiv (March 1907), in Melitopol (June 1907), as well as in Krynychky, Amur, Novochoerkask and in Sidleč — all founded in 1907. The founding of the "Prosvitas" in Poltava, Lubni, Kharkiv, Cherkassy and in the village Kolodyste was officially forbidden.¹⁹ The "Prosvitas" made efforts to be active in different areas of education, which was however dependent on what forces were available and for what kind of work they had authority from the imperial power. The Kyiv "Prosvita" had set itself the aim of: "The promotion of the development of Ukrainian culture and above all the education of the Ukrainian nation in its native language. The society's task is: a) the publication of books, newspapers, periodicals etc. in Ukrainian; b) setting up of its own libraries, museums, reading rooms, etc.; c) holding of public lectures, talks, general education courses, spectacles, literary-musical evenings, concerts, exhibitions, etc.; d) foundation of scholar-

ships, schools, homes for children and adults, employment exchange and similar educational and voluntary institutions; e) holding competitions and awarding prizes for the best works of poetry and art." To do all this, the society had four committees: for publishing for libraries, for schools and for literature and art. These committees organized the works of the "Prosvita" and were responsible for it. In the Kyiv "Prosvita" the committee for publications distinguished itself in particular through its work. Its work was guided by the resolutions of the First General Meeting of the Society, at which it was laid down: "Literature in cheap edition must be made available to the broad mass of the people. It is to comprise all areas of knowledge and literature, but above all attention must be paid to books on Ukrainian culture, to text-books and children's books."

As well as the publication of books the Kyiv, as well as the other "Prosvitas" organized libraries, reading rooms, put on various public lectures, theatrical performances, concerts and distributed Ukrainian books and newspapers among the Ukrainian population in town and country.²¹

But the activity of the "Prosvitas" in Ukraine in the Russian empire could not last long. They had to overcome great obstacles as well as various prohibitions from the administrative authorities and consequently the result was dissolutions of these cultural-educational societies and various acts of repression carried out against its members. Even before the beginning of the existence of the "Prosvitas" there were numerous restrictions on educational work and later during the development of the Russian nationalities policy in the period of the Third Duma, they increased more and more. On January 20, 1910, Stolypin, the then government head of the Tsarist Empire issued a circular, which contained the order to "allow no alien societies, including Ukrainian and Jewish, no matter what aim they were pursuing." This was a new blow for the Ukrainian cultural educational movement. O. Lotočkyj, an important figure in public life, and an excellent connoisseur of Russian politics, in quoting the words of this fatal circular and also Stolypin's statements before the Senate on the occasion of the dissolution of the Society "The Ukrainian House" in Moscow came to the logical conclusion: "Stolypin's aphorisms on governmental policy stand in the history of repression of everything Ukrainian on the same level as Valuyev's circular of 1863 and the ban [on Ukrainian publications] of 1876. Stolypin even excelled his predecessors through the elementary clarity used in naming his motives and the aims of the governmental policy. What his predecessors had not dared to express, Stolypin expressed clearly and openly, naturally with the certainty of final victory and in the conviction that the end of the "past Ukraine" had come."²² As a result of such a policy, the Kyiv "Prosvita" was closed in the spring of 1910 and some time later, after various raids and searches carried out by the local governmental authorities the "Prosvitas" in Odessa

Chernyhiv, Kamyianets-Podil'skyi, Katerynodar, Katerynoslav and other cities and villages were dissolved. After these dissolutions the Ukrainian social clubs, which existed in some cities in Ukraine — but also outside it, — were closed. Ukrainian books were also confiscated, books which had already been passed by the censor. Public lectures were forbidden, the press was subject to penalties, permission for annual festivities for Shevchenko and other celebrations were refused, and even signs of firms in shops which were written in Ukrainian, were removed. At the same time the chauvinist Russian centralists and sworn enemies of Ukraine carried out wide-spread agitation in their press organs against the whole Ukrainian national movement.²³

e) THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES (ZEMSTVOS) TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEM IN UKRAINE.

The authorities of local self-government in the provinces and counties, called "Zemstvos", carried out a wide-spread activity in the field of popular education, especially in the field of the elementary school system. Despite the restrictions imposed by the government by reason of various laws and regulations, they made efforts, as elected authorities, to raise the level of popular education.²⁴ In Ukraine on the left bank of the Dnipro and in South Ukraine Zemstvos were established in the following provinces: in Kherson, Poltava, Chernyhiv and Kharkiv (in 1865). A year later local self-government was introduced into the Katerynoslav province. In Ukraine on the right bank of the Dnipro it was not introduced in the following provinces until 1903: Kyiv, Podolia and Volhynia. Before this, in 1903, special committees were formed in these provinces to control the affairs of the Zemstvos.²⁵ The institutions of the Zemstvos were composed, according to the statement then made, of the so-called "three elements." This first element was of the state, the second was composed of elected representatives of the people, the third of officials. The elected council of the Zemstvo normally held meetings once a year. The more important decisions of these meetings, especially the decisions regarding the school system, had to be laid before the Minister of the Interior or the governor for confirmation. The committee was the executive organ of the Zemstvo. The officials employed in the administrative system of the Zemstvo were predominantly teachers, doctors, statisticians, technologists, agricultural experts etc.²⁶ Because of such an organisation in the Zemstvos often nationally-conscious Ukrainian patriots received employment here, carrying out useful work for the Ukrainian national cause within the system of the Zemstvos. A great disadvantage for the work of the Zemstvos in the field of popular education was the fact that it was granted by law only the maintenance and organisation of schools, and the right to suggest the names of elementary school teachers. Ques-

tions of teaching, on the other hand, belonged to the sphere of competence of the headmasters of the schools and the inspectors, and only inspectors were allowed to admit the teachers suggested by the Zemstvos to work as teachers in the schools. After a year the teachers had to be confirmed by the area school council, which was composed of representatives of various official school authorities and two representatives of the local Zemstvos. True servants of the regime were appointed as inspectors, who were hostile-minded towards the population and their problems.

At the beginning of their work the Zemstvos scarcely concerned themselves — with the exception of a few — with the question of education. Only from the middle of the Seventies did their work in the field of the educational system develop. At this time the local Zemstvos began to deal with the following separate fields: 1) maintenance of existing schools; 2) opening of new schools; 3) raising the level in the school through the selection of teachers; 4) conflict with the governmental administration to obtain the right to take decisions on matters of teaching. "The Zemstvos of the provinces expressed their interest in concern for the school system mainly by the distribution of loans to the local Zemstvos, for the provision of new teaching positions, for the organisation of teachers training colleges, for the opening of vocational schools, for the working out of plans and various projects for the improvement of the school system in the whole province etc."²⁷ In the work "History of Popular Education in Ukraine" S. Siropolko gives statistics on the number of elementary schools in Ukraine in 1856 (before the introduction of the Zemstvos) and on the number of elementary schools in 1877, 1898 and 1910. These details²⁸ from eight Ukrainian provinces are given below:

Number of Elementary Schools in the Years:

Province:	1856	1877	1898	1910	pupils
Katerynoslav	161	253	448	727	69,505
Poltava	160	329	809	1134	100,100
Kharkiv	128	289	510	1056	100,357
Kherson	168	180	410	729	74,623
Chernyhiv	173	170	611	783	75,120
Kyiv	142				
Podolia	143				
Volhynia	76				

Separate statistics are given for the Kyiv school area. They have been taken from the report of the Director of Kyiv school area²⁹ for 1912. In this report it is stated that according to the situation on January 1, 1913 there were in the school area 4,656 elementary schools, of which 292 were in towns and 4,364 in the country (the following provinces belonged at that time to the Kyiv school area: Kyiv, Volhynia, Podolia, Poltava and Chernyhiv). On January 1, 1913

there were 423,982 pupils, of whom 313,962 were boys and 110,020 girls. In the report the number of pupils in the individual provinces were given. They amounted in the Kyiv province to 76,663, in Podolia to 45,812, in Chernyhyv to 107,499, in Poltava to 129,491. The number of pupils in the province of Volhynia is not given in the report mentioned for unexplained reasons, but comparing the general number of pupils in the Kyiv school area with the details of the four provinces, there must have been 64,517 pupils in the province of Volhynia.

The elementary schools organised and maintained by the local Zemstvos and city councils were the work of the progressive intelligentsia and middle-class and not of the government. They developed into useful places of education, despite the exact and at that time often not very professional checking of the school system by the state inspectors and despite various difficulties which the administrative system in force and the Orthodox clergy caused to these schools. As a counterweight to the secular schools of the Zemstvo the clergy — supported by the government — made efforts to found parish schools. The difference between the Zemstvo schools and the parish schools was very important. The Zemstvo schools were set up to provide children of school age with general, and not one-sided knowledge. The local Zemstvo administration therefore laid great weight on the choice of qualified teachers and their training. The church parish schools, on the other hand, were purely denominational schools and one-sided in the knowledge they provided. S. Siropolko writes on this: "The clerical tendency of the church parish schools (according to their statutes it was their task "to give a firmer basis among the people to Orthodox doctrine and Christian morality and to provide useful basic knowledge") and the narrowness of their schedule ("it is not admissible to set an additional aim — to give the pupils knowledge about the outside world") did not accord with the interests of the population and therefore these schools existed in fact more on paper than in reality.³⁰ People did not want to send their children there. In addition, these schools were usually of one class. Thus we learn for example from the statistics given in the article "Popular Education in Podolia", that in 1908/9 there were 2,059 primary schools in this province. Of these only 18.2% were ministry schools and the other 81.8% church parish schools. The latter were 99.4% with only one class.³¹ Thus the general number of schools in Ukraine before the first world war, from the details given by S. Hrycenko in his work "Outline of School History in the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic", "in the school-year 1914/15 in Ukraine (with the frontiers of that date) amounted to only 38 nursery-schools (935 children), 19,361 primary schools, 356 "incomplete" secondary schools, 480 secondary schools, with altogether 1,728,313 pupils. In addition there existed 88 secondary special schools (12,486 pupils) and 27 institutions of higher education (35,204 students).³²

NOTES

*) The material which we publish here under the title "The Activity of the Ukrainian "Communities" and Local Self-government Authorities in the Field of National Education" is only an extract from a large work on the subject "The Influence of Kerschensteiner on the Development of Ukrainian Educational Thought and the Importance of Kerschensteiner for Problems of Ukrainian Educational Theory." Before the treatment of the subject itself it was necessary to investigate the circumstances in which the development of Ukrainian educational thought proceeded, in order to make clear the centuries-long hopeless situation of the entire Ukrainian nation again and again oppressed by the foreign power.

The awakening of interest in the field of national popular education among the wider sections of the Ukrainian population did not show itself clearly until after the revolution in the Russian Empire in 1905. It took place at exactly the same time as in the West, in neighbouring Germany and also in the whole of Europe, as well as in America, everything possible was being done to find new methods of organisation for the school system and the curriculum, and when in Munich itself the German educationalist Kerschensteiner — not without the influence of the American educationalist Dewey — discovered an original method for the development of the "work-school" — a method closely connected with great industrial developments and the great value placed on civic education, which was in accordance with the constantly increasing topicality of the national question of the nations of Europe.

We are temporarily unable to give a provisional, concrete evaluation and to sum up the subsequent result of Kerschensteiner's influence on Ukrainian educational thought, since this field will not be a subject of further research until later, but it can already be stated that the general development of educational thought after the first world war, in particular in East Europe, went the way described and foretold by Kerschensteiner from 1900 on. In this political situation in which the nations of the USSR — but in particular Ukraine — found themselves under Soviet Russian rule, the organisation of standard and vocational schools developed somewhat differently than in Germany, but there nevertheless exists an unmistakable relationship between it and the vocational school introduced by Kerschensteiner and with his concept of civic education. Nevertheless there are important differences between them. One of these principal differences can be seen in the fact that in Bolshevik practice the whole teaching system is closely connected to the official policy of the Communist party and mixed with the Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

1) O. Myciuk, Professor at the Ukrainian University in Prague, published an interesting and exhaustive examination of the Kyiv "Stara Hromada" (Old Community), on its foundation and its founding member V. Antonovyč and his friends, under the title "Ukrajiniški Chlopomany" (Ukrainian Peasant Friends), Chernivtsi 1933. A large number of sources are also given in this essay. The activity and composition of the Kyiv Old Community at the beginning of the 20th century is also dealt with by an active and meritorious member of this community, E. Čykalenko, on pages 291-309 of his work *Spohady (1861-1907)*, (Memoirs) which was reprinted in New York in 1955. In this he also writes about the Odessa, St. Petersburg and Poltava communities and on the various personal relationships of the individual members of these communities. I. a. he also gives the reason for the resignation from the Kyiv community of O. Konyškyj and V. Antonovyč. The first left the community because of a disagreement with Drahomanov, the latter because the community refused to allow his pupil Arabažyn to join. In another version the reason for his resignation was his second wife, through whose machinations disputes arose between the members, which led to the decision that in future only men were eligible for membership of the communities.

2) Volodymyr Naumenko (1852-1919) was born in Novhorod Siverskyi, the son of a grammar school headmaster. He attended grammar school, studied at the historical-philological faculty of Kyiv University, and worked as a teacher in Kyiv secondary schools until retirement. Although in retirement in 1905 he founded a private grammar school, in which he worked until 1914, "where he acquired great fame as a teacher in Kyiv and the grateful memory of his pupils and scholars." During his studies, Naumenko joined the Kyiv Old Community and from 1875 on was its treasurer. In 1882 the *Kyjivska Staryna* (Kyiv Antiquities), a Ukrainian periodical in Russian) appeared in Kyiv. Naumenko — worked for this periodical from the beginning and in 1893 became its editor-in-chief, the periodical being printed for 25 years in Russian, that is, until the abolition of the ban on Ukrainian (1882-1906). (The *Kyjivska Staryna*, which at the time of the ban on Ukrainian was the "Organ of Ukrainian Literary and National-Cultural Life", was published from 1891 on by the Kyiv Community). In 1907 Naumenko published instead of *Kyjivska Staryna* a monthly under the title *Ukraina*. In the period from 1914-17 he was chairman of the Scientific Society in Kyiv. In 1917 he was appointed by the General Secretary for Educational Questions of the Ukrainian National Republic as director of the Kyiv School district, and in the Hetman Government he held the office of Minister for Popular Education. Naumenko wrote numerous articles in the *Kyjivska Staryna*, as well as various articles and reviews. In 1919 he was killed in Kyiv. (From D. Dorošenko, "V. P. Naumenko" in the periodical *Chliborobška Ukrajina* (Agricultural Ukraine), 1920/21, No. 2, 3 and 4, Page 256, Vienna).

3) E. Čykalenko, *Spohady* (Memoirs) 1861-1907, New York, 1955, pages 314-315.

4) V. Dorošenko writes on these first Ukrainian parties: "In the years 1905-1907 in these two parties almost all nationally-conscious Ukrainian elements were organized, both in the towns and villages. In particular during the electoral campaign to the first and second Dumas the parties mentioned became publicly active. This was the period of their greatest activity." (V. Dorošenko, *Pivtorasta lit ukraїnškoji polityčnoji dumky*. — One and a half centuries of Ukrainian political thought — Vienna 1914, page 10).

5) E. Čykalenko, *Spohady* (Memoirs) 1861-1907, New York 1955, page 429.

6) The law of 1876 read: "His Majesty the Tsar of Russia authorized on May 18/30 1876 the following ukases:

1. All books and pamphlets, published in the Little Russian dialect (i. e. Ukrainian — G.V.) outside the boundaries of the Empire, may not be imported into the Empire without express permission from the state authority for printing matters;

2. Printing and publishing of original works and translations into the above-named dialect within the Empire are forbidden with the exceptions of: a) historical documents and commemorative works, b) works of literature, on the condition, however, that in the printing of historical documents no deviations from the original take place. In these works furthermore only the generally-binding Russian spelling must be used. Permission for re-printing of literary works may be given only after the state censor has seen the manuscripts;

3. Any stage performances and lectures in the Little Russian dialect as well as the printing of music texts in this dialect are forbidden."

(From the book by S. Yefremov, *Istoriya ukraїnškohu pyšmenstva* (History of Ukrainian Literature), Volume II, Kyiv-Leipzig 1919, page 142. New York 1955, pages 367/368.

8) Cf. 7., page 369.

9) S. Rusova, *Moji Spomyny 1879-1915* (My Memories 1879-1915), Collection *Za sto lit* (Over a hundred years), Volume III, D.V.U. 1928, Historical Section UAN under the editorship of Member of the Academy Hruševskyj.

10) Cf. M. Hruševskyj, *Pro ukraїnšku movu i ukraїnšku školu* (On the Ukrainian language and schools), Kyiv 1913, page 25. Hruševskyj mentions this committee also in the Foreword to the edition of the report of the "St. Peters-

burg Academy of Sciences on the Abolition of the Ban on the Ukrainian Language", Lviv 1905, page one. In it he writes that the members of the committee — with the exception of the Academy Member Zalskyj — were Great Russians. He goes on to state that "the leading member of the Committee was A. Šachmatov, a well-known expert on the history of language and Old Russian literature. He, and above all the Academy Member Korš were concerned with the memorandum laid before the committee of the Academy and which was later passed on by the Academy to the Ministerial Council. The Committee also invited some Ukrainians from St. Petersburg to take part in the work of the Committee, and they made their own suggestions on various questions concerning the Ukrainian language and the Ukrainian national cause in Russia, which the Academy printed with their own comments on the Memorandum."

11) M. Hruševskyj: *Pro ukrajinšku movu i ukrajinšku školu* (On the Ukrainian language and schools), Kyiv 1913, page 25.

12) *St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences on the Abolition of the Ban on the Ukrainian Language*, Report by the Academy with the "Historical Notes" of K. A. Vojenskiy and a Foreword by Prof. M. Hruševskyj, Reprint from the *Literaturno-Naukovyj Vistnyk*. Lviv 1905, pages 3-4.

13) E. Čykalenko describes in his work *Ščodennyk 1907-1917* (Diary 1907-1917) the following event: "In 1914 the Russian government banned the jubilee celebrations for Shevchenko. The leading figures in Ukrainian life introduced a question in the Duma through the KD party (Constitutional Democrats) and the Workers, as to why the government had permitted such a ban. The Social Democrats also demanded an explanation for the various ways in which the Ukrainian movement was being oppressed. The leader of the KDs, P. Milyukov, came to Kyiv to make contact with the Ukrainian movement and to collect material for his speech before the State Duma. Ten well-known Ukrainian figures, including M. Hruševskyj, L. Janovska, D. Dorošenko, L. Černjachivska, V. Prokopovyč, M. Vasylenko, gave informative lectures in the presence of P. Milyukov on the Ukrainian question, discussing its various fields. M. Hruševskyj gave a lecture on the political programme, in which he named the principles of the nationally-conscious Ukrainians they would insist on in their cooperation with the Muscovites. He said: Let us unite on the principle of parliamentary rule, Ukrainian autonomy and a federative system for the Russian state." Others spoke further on activity in the field of publishing, questions of education, of schools, the art of the theatre and threw light on the difficulties which the government caused the Ukrainians in all fields of their activity. Milyukov took everything down precisely in shorthand. "After the end of the lectures", writes E. Čykalenko, "Milyukov remarked that because of the informative lectures he had no further questions, what he had not understood he asked again, but M. Hruševskyj's lecture on the political programme demanded a discussion. He was in complete agreement with the Ukrainian minimum programme, and also with the fact that the KD Party had taken over its defence, when it discussed it with the Ukrainians before the elections to the fourth State Duma: elementary school teaching in the mother tongue, the teaching of Ukrainian in secondary schools and teachers training institutes, chairs for Ukrainian studies at Universities, Ukrainian language in courts, — all that he had always recognized and he recognized it also now, but as far as the autonomy of Ukraine and in particular the federative system of Russia was concerned, he could express no solidarity with these ideas. The programme of the KDs provided for Finnish and Polish autonomy, since there both history and the present status spoke for this, but in Ukraine there was this neither in history nor in its present situation. As far as a federative system in Russia was concerned, he had decided against it, since it would lead to the decline of Russia." Then followed a discussion, in the course of which M. Hruševskyj and other participants attempted to prove the correctness of their attitude.

"Miljukov replied again that he in particular had never been an enemy of Ukrainian self-determination, and now, after listening to the information presented, all the more so, and the Ukrainian ideals were in such far distance that there can be no reason for realistic politicians to quarrel over them." E. Čykalenko added the following remarks to these words: "But it is difficult to believe Miljukov. For example he assures us that he had again and again recognized the right of Ukrainians to self-determination, but this did not correspond with the truth, since at the journalist congress of 1905 in St. Petersburg — it is true unofficially but in personal conversations with us — the "foreigners" — he described himself clearly and unmistakably as a centralist." On February 19, 1914 Miljukov made a speech in the Duma on the occasion of the ban on the Shevchenko celebrations. Čykalenko quotes it in his *Ščodennyk* (Diary) and writes — under the date of March 3rd — in connection with this speech: "We were not wrong, when we said it was difficult to believe Miljukov: towards the end of our consultations with him he said with reference to autonomy and federation that the KDs would doubtlessly come to an agreement with the Ukrainians, that these were ideals which lay so far off in the future that there was no reason to fall out over them, while he said from the rostrum before the State Duma that he considered the realisation of these ideals as a "harmful and dangerous matter" for Russia. I don't know whether he came out with this to strengthen the progressive and non-progressive Russian circles in the belief that the KDs were concerned principally about the entirety of Russia, or whether it was simply the Russian centralist who spoke in him... No, whatever happens in every Muscovite, however progressive he may be... there is still a deep-rooted Centralist!" (E. Čykalenko, *Ščodennyk*, Lviv 1931, quotations from pages 423, 424, 425, 434, 435).

¹⁴ Cf. V. Dorošenko, *Ukrajinstvo v Rosiji* (The Ukrainian Movement in Russia), Vienna 1917, pages 61-70, and M. Zalizniak: *Rosijška Ukrajina i jiji vidrodženja* (Russian Ukraine and its re-birth) Lviv 1910, pages 61-70.

¹⁵ Cf. D. Dorošenko, *Moji spomyny pro davne mynule* (My Memories of the Long Past), 1904-1914, Winnipeg 1949, pages 80-84.

¹⁶ O. Lotočkyj, *Storinky mynuloho* (Pages of the Past) Part III, Warsaw 1934, page 89.

¹⁷ Cf. 16, pages 95-102. The part giving the resolution of O. Lotočkyj's draft law is as follows:

"1. In localities with Ukrainian population instruction will be given from the school year 1908/9 on in primary schools in the mother tongue of the population.

2. The Russian language, as State language, is a prescribed subject in these schools.

3. In the primary schools of the Ukrainian area text-books are to be used which are suitable for the ideas and circumstances of the life and the place of residence of the population.

4. All laws which are contrary to these points are invalid."

These points were followed by an explanatory note, in which the necessity for the use of the maternal language in the schools was explained. By reason of the initiative of the Russian bishop of Volhynia, Nikon, a further draft law, concerning the Ukrainian language of instruction in the schools of Ukraine was laid before the Fourth Duma. The resolution of this draft was as follows:

"We, the undersigned members of the State Duma, both Social Democrats and Constitutional Democrats, propose the following to the State Duma:

1) to authorize the carrying-out of instruction at Ukrainian primary schools of all school authorities (in some cases during the first two school years) in the Ukrainian language;

2) to fill the teaching positions at these schools principally with Ukrainians or persons who know the local language;

3) to introduce at the Ukrainian primary schools the Ukrainian language and history as subjects in addition to the Russian language and history;

4) to cease the persecution of the "Prosvita" societies institutions, purely educational and providing knowledge, which distribute permitted pamphlets and books in Ukrainian; to carry out the closing of these societies above all by reason of an injunction of the responsible, legally authorized court and not on the basis of an administrative injunction — which amounts to pure arbitrariness.

We are certain that a just attitude to this excellent ethnic group of Russia will not lead to ruin and weakening, but to strength and upsurge. The Mazeppa movement must be regarded as harmful to the state and suppressed by every means. The ringleaders of this movement should be removed for ever from Russia.

We ask that this draft law be passed on to the competent committee to be inspected and worked over."

18) "*Naši instytuciji*" (Our Institutions) in the Yearbook of the "Prosvita" Society in Kyiv 1908, page 115. The guiding principles are also given in it, according to which the reports are to be composed.

19) Cf. 18, page 116-117.

20) Cf. 18, page 116/117. During its four-year existence the Kyiv "Prosvita" published 36 books.

21) Cf. D. Dorošenko, "Prosvity na Velykij Ukrajinі" ("Prosvitas" in Great Ukraine) printed in the Year Book of the "Prosvita" for 1928, Lviv 1927, pages 69-76. The author of these Memoirs, D. Dorošenko, was secretary of the Kyiv "Prosvita" for two years from the end of 1906 to the beginning of 1909. Towards the end of 1909 he changed his job and travelled to Katerynoslav, where together with his wife he was active in the local "Prosvita" and its branches. Under his editorship appeared the Katerynoslav "Prosvita" organ, the bi-weekly periodical *Dniprovi Chvyli* (Dnipro Waves) from 1909 to 1913. An article on the "Prosvita" in Odessa appeared in the periodical *Ukrainskij Vestnik* (Ukrainian Herald), No. 5, SPB 1906, pages 312-317.

22) O. Lotočkyj, *Storinky Mynuloho* (Pages from the Past), Part III, Warsaw 1934, Section on "The affairs of the Ukrainian Schools", page 87. On the same page O. Lotočkyj quotes an authentic text from Stolypin's letter to the Senate, prepared on the occasion of the closing of the "Ukrajinska Chata" Society (The Ukrainian House). In this was to be read: "Although the aim of the society is material support, yet it obviously has cultural aims. Such an aim is, nevertheless — from the point of view of the Russian state power — undesirable for the social order in Ukraine, and is opposed to all the measures carried out by the government towards the former Ukraine. Seen from the viewpoint that the three main divisions of the Eastern Slavs, by reason both of their origin and their language, could not avoid forming an entirety, our government has, starting in the 17th century, constantly fought against a movement which we call today the Ukrainian movement, and which incorporates in itself the ideas of the re-birth of the former Ukraine and the development of a Little Russian country on autonomous, national-territorial basis."

23) Cf. *Ukrajinskij Vopros* (The Ukrainian Question), Second Edition, Moscow 1915, pages 68/69; O. Lotočkyj *Storinky mynuloho* (Pages of the Past), Part III, Warsaw, 1934, page 86 and also the Memoirs of D. Dorošenko, "Prosvity na Velykij Ukrajinі", (Prosvitas in Great Ukraine), Year Book of the "Prosvita" for 1928, Lviv 1927, page 75. E. Čykalenko gave examples of the press campaign of the Russian chauvinists in his *Ščodennyk* (Diary). He published extracts from the *Novoje Vremja* (The New Time) of December 8, 1911, No. 12839, article "Pro Mazepynskij ruch" (On the Mazeppa movement) and *Kievanin* (The Kievan of February 7, 1911, No. 318, article "De holovnyj voroh" (Where is the greatest enemy?), to show the reader the attitudes of the "rightwing" press to

the Ukrainian movement — their great attacks on anything Ukrainian, adding the following remarks: "One must notice in this that the progressive Russian press expressed no attitude whatsoever to these insinuations, and that the *Rada* (The Council, Ukrainian daily newspaper, published from 1906 till the beginning of the first world war) had to defend itself alone. Meantime the Russian press used every means to defend the Jews and called on the population to make a general protest against the attacks of the reactionaries on the Jews." (E. Čykalenko, Dairy 1907-1917, Lviv 1931, pages 245-252).

²⁴) Below we give some laws and regulations on education in Ukraine, from the work of the important educationalist S. Siropolko "Istoria osvity na Ukraïni" (History of Education in Ukraine) which was printed in the periodical *Šljach vychovannja i navčannja* (Paths of Education and Teaching), XI Year, 1937, vol. 2 and 3, page 174. Edition of the Teachers' Association "Vzaimna pomič ukrajinskoho včytel'stva", Lviv 1937. The free supplement to No. 7 of the "Učytel'ske Slovo" (Word of the Teacher), September 1937.

"On January 1, 1864 a statute of the Local Self-Government Associations (Zemstvos) was published, through which the local Zemstvos were introduced into the provinces and districts" (Page 108).

"According to the statute of July 14, 1864 the direction of the primary schools passed into the hands of the school councils of the individual school areas, which were composed of representatives of various school authorities and two representatives of the district Zemstvos (Page 108). The statute on the primary schools stated that instruction in all schools was to be given in Russian. The validity of this statute was extended i. a. to the whole school area of Kharkiv and Odessa, but also to the provinces of Chernyhiv and Poltava of the Kyïv school area" (Page 107).

"Through the statute of May 26, 1869 it was laid down that all schools in the provinces of Kyïv, Podolia, Volhynia were subject to the authority of the director of the Kyïv school area, and that the immediate supervision over them was allotted to the elementary school inspection of this school area" (Page 107).

"The elementary school inspectors were brought into almost all districts of the provinces in which Zemstvos existed, by reason of the Tsar's decree of May 26, 1869" (Page 109).

"On May 25, 1874 a new statute was published for the elementary schools. The most important articles of this constitution are as follows:

Art. 1: The aim of the primary schools is strengthening of religious and moral ideas within the population and the spreading of elementary useful knowledge.

Art. 4: Instruction in the primary schools will be given in Russian.

Art. 10: The primary schools will be founded by the Zemstvos, the town and country communities and also by private persons, with previous authorization of the elementary school inspectors and with the agreement of the chairman of the district school council, of which they will receive notice.

"The teacher of religion will be appointed by the Orthodox authority, permission for other teachers will be given by the elementary school inspector, after a year the confirmation of the district school council is necessary" (Page 110).

"The statutes of the local Zemstvo institutions from 1864 were replaced by new ones (June 12, 1890), which limited even more the independence of the Zemstvos, to the effect that the governor had the right to prevent the decisions of the Zemstvo meetings from being put into effect, and beyond that the number of matters requiring a confirmation of the decisions of the Zemstvo meetings by the Minister for the Interior or the governor, was increased. The decisions of the Zemstvo meetings in questions of education in particular were often subject to this prohibition" (Page 110).

"The Zemstvos also fought a not inconsiderable fight with the church school authorities, which had the intention of procuring into their hands the whole

elementary school system, through the initiative of the Minister for Education, D. Tolstoy and the Head Director of the Holy Synod, K. Pobyedonostsev... The government supported with every means the church parish schools (their statutes were confirmed on June 13, 1884), made available considerable financial support for their maintenance, and by reason of the regulation of May 4, 1891 all church parish schools and Sunday schools passed into the hands of the Holy Synod" (Page 113). (Cf. also P. Miljukov, *Očerki po istorii russkoj kul'tury* (Outline of Russian Cultural History), Vol. II, Paris 1931, pages 821-835; Dr. Ernst Schultze, *Russlands Feindschaft gegen die Volksbildung und ihre Wirkungen auf Staat, Volk und Kultur* ("Russia's Hostility to Popular Education and its Effects on State, People and Culture"), Leipzig, Dürr Bookshop Publishing Co, 1916, pages 55-66).

25) S. Siropolko, "Istoriya osvity na Ukrajinii" (History of Education in Ukraine) in the periodical *Shlyach vychovannja i navchannja* ("Paths to Education and Teaching"), Year XI, 1937, vol. 2 and 3, pages 110 and 132.

26) cf. E. Čykalenko, *Spohady* ("Memoirs") 1861-1907, New York, 1955, page 315, and S. Siropolko, "Istoriya osvity na Ukrajinii", Lviv 1937, page 110.

27) S. Siropolko, "Istoriya osvity na Ukrajinii", Lviv 1937, page 112.

28) Cf. 27, pages 105-106, 113-115, 134. Details for the year 1877 on the number of schools in the provinces of Poltava, Kharkiv and Chernyhiv are incomplete. In some districts of these provinces there are only question marks in the quoted essay.

29) M... "Otčet popečitelja kievskago učebnago okruga o sostojanii učebnyh zavedenij okruga za 1912 g." (Report of the Director of the Kyiv school district on the position of the schools of this district for the year 1912), in the journal *Svitlo* (Light), vol. 5, January 1914, Kyiv 1914, pages 51-54.

30) S. Siropolko, "Istoriya osvity na Ukrajinii" (History of Education in Ukraine), Lviv 1937, page 113. The following example quoted by S. Siropolko on the page given here serves as proof that the church parish schools existed only on paper and not in reality: "... the well-known educationalist Mykola Vessel relates that... D. Tolstoy (Minister of Education) admitted in a conversation with him: "Do you know what the Katerynoslav eparchy did with its 400 schools to me? I asked the Zemstvo of the province to grant help to these schools, and it declared itself completely in agreement with this, but it turned out on the spot that all these 400 schools existed only in reports, on paper."

31) K. O. "Narodnja osvita na Podilli" (Popular education in Podolia), periodical *Svitlo* (Light) Vol. IV, December 1910,

32) M. S. Hrycenko, *Narysy z istoriji školy v Ukrajinškiej RSR* (Outlines of the History of Schooling in the Ukrainian SSR) Kyiv 1966, page 12. S. Siropolko gives the following details on the educational situation in Ukraine in 1917: In 1915 there were in Ukraine under Russian occupation altogether 19,430 schools with 1,663,000 pupils. According to a one-day census of elementary schools in Russia on January 18, 1911, there were in the Kyiv school area, which comprised 5 Ukrainian provinces, 11,118 schools, of which 6,628 were church parish schools and schools for reading and writing, that is, 59.6%. In 1910 101,055 children were refused admission to the schools of the Kyiv school district because of insufficient places. According to the statistics of the Kyiv statistics committee there were in the villages of the Kyiv province on January 1, 1908 344,920 children of school age, of whom 136,382 attended school and 208,538, that is, 60.5%, remained without instruction.

But what could the instruction give the children, especially in the church parish schools and in the schools for reading and writing, when it was foreign to the children in its language and spirit?

Not much better was the situation in adult education, which likewise did not employ the Ukrainian language and was purged of all traces of Ukrainian culture.

This education both in and out of school, so foreign to the Ukrainian nation, led inevitably to the gradual decline of Ukrainian culture."

Olexa WOROPAY

CUSTOMS OF OUR PEOPLE

(Continuation — 3)

SS. Cosma's and Damian's Day

On this day (14th Nov.) Ukrainian peasants go to the forest and with an axe chop a chip of bark from a tree — this is carefully examined. If it is dry winter will be very cold with great frost and little snow — this is very bad for the corn. If the chip is wet, winter will be soft. This is the best winter.

In the evening the winter parties begin, this first one is given by the girls, who provide chickens — they say that chicken eaten on this day means plenty of new chickens in the Spring. Then the boys arrive bringing horilka (vodka) and music — it is always a happy party lasting nearly all night.

The folk story about SS. Kuzma and Demyan (SS. Cosma and Damian) is worth recounting. These two saints are reputed to be the protectors of people and animals from snake bites.

Saint Kuzma was a blacksmith so clever, that he could even make an old man young and strong again. One afternoon Kuzma was very busy when a young man named Demyan called at the smithy and asked for work. Kuzma regarded him thoughtfully and without saying whether he had work for him or not sent him along to his home for the night.

Now Kuzma had a young and very beautiful wife, unfortunately she was a great witch. When she saw Demyan so young, strong and handsome she immediately fell in love with him, and tried very hard to attract him. She started by giving him a splendid dinner with lots of excellent wine. Demyan ate and drank heartily but was not tempted by the lady.

The following morning Demyan went again to the smithy and saw Kuzma take a red hot iron with his bare hand and hold it while he beat it with his huge hammer. Demyan was amazed and begged Kuzma to teach him his art.

— Watch with attention and you will learn, said blacksmith Kuzma.

When night came he again sent Demyan back to his home once again where the witch wife was waiting for him.

It was very difficult for a strong young man to resist the charming and beautiful witch — but he would not be tempted even on the second and third night when she came to him unclothed.

When Demyan went to the smithy after the third night Kuzma said to him:

— You have nothing to learn, you are the conqueror of a dangerous fire. You have conquered the flame of passion. No fire can hurt you now. Boldly take the hot iron with your bare hands — it is not hotter than the heart of the beautiful witch.

From now on Kuzma and Demyan worked together. They made ploughs for the people. All would have been well but for Kuzma's wife who made up her mind to revenge herself on Demyan. She turned herself into a snake and going to the smithy demanded her husband to give her the young and strong Demyan.

The saintly blacksmith was not afraid of her. He caught her tongue with hot iron pincers and killed her with his heavy hammer. He then burnt the corpse — the ashes dispersed over the whole world. Unfortunately from these ashes rose different breeds of snakes and other reptiles. From that day Kuzma and Demyan, the two blacksmith saints, became the protectors of humans and animals from snakes.

St. Michael's Day

There are many churches dedicated to Saint Michael in Ukraine. On his feast day, 21st Nov., there are important church festivals. These celebrations are particularly interesting in the villages that have a church named after him. In the Ukrainian language this festival is called "khram".

St. Michael is the patron saint of Kyïv (Kiev), the capital of Ukraine and is held very dearly in the hearts of the people who believe him to be the protector of the city. According to folk imagination Archangel Michael is a heroic knight who conquers all the powers of darkness on earth. He never ceases to fight them, for when thunder rumbles that is St. Michael making war on the devils. There is no escape for them for wherever they hide St. Michael's arrow will find them.

Another legend says that when lighting forms a fiery cross, that is St. Michael blessing the world and the Archangel Gabriel shooting devils.

On the old coat of arms of Kyïv St. Michael was represented with spear in hand slaying the dragon.

The defender of the hunter.

Autumn time is the hunting season and the St. Michael is reputed to be the defender of the hunter. After a happy day's hunting, somewhere in the forest, sitting round a fire hunters delight in telling many interesting legends about their patron Saint. Someone may quote the old legend:

Once upon a time said the devil to God:

"You shall not kill me, from you will I hide."

"Kill you I shall" said God, "wherever you hide."

"I shall hide under man, to him will I fly."

"Man must die too, but I give him a Kingdom in the sky."

The devil enumerated all the places he would hide in, the only one he forgot was a nut-grove, that is why man can shelter with safety under a nut-bush during a thunder storm.

A huntsman, one day was in the forest when a great storm broke. He took shelter under a nut bush. Not very far from him, across the river, under a high rock stood a strange unknown man.

Whenever the rain subsided and the thunder ceased the unknown man came out from under the rock. He stood on his head, grimacing — defying the Archangel from whose thunderous shooting he had just escaped. The huntsman realised it was the devil, he took aim at him and killed him. He then crossed the river and came to the rock. He wanted to look at the body of the strange man — but there was no body. The hunter was not surprised because every Christian knows that when a devil is killed there is no blood — no bones — only a little tar.

The hunter stood and looked at the tar — suddenly the Archangel Michael appeared carrying a very good fowling piece:

"What do you want, good man", he asked, "for killing that devil?"

The hunter was a very fearless man, he answered:

"I would like your fowling-piece, Sir."

"Oh, no, good man, my fowling-piece is not good for you, choose anything else."

"I am sorry, Sir, but I don't want anything else. I am a hunter and all I want is your fowling-piece."

"Alright", said St. Michael, "but when you see this fowling-piece is not for you, come to this place and we will change our arms again."

"Very good, Sir!" said the hunter and off he went hunting. Never had he been so successful, it seemed impossible to fire a wrong shot, everything he aimed at fell to his gun.

Now in a nearby village was a lake, which was the private property of the squire of the district. One day the hunter saw many ducks on the lake. He fired one shot only and every duck was killed. He gathered them into his sack and went to see the squire.

"Why have you killed so many?" asked the squire.

"I have killed all the ducks that were on your lake!" he replied.

"How many shots did you fire?"

"Only one!" said the huntsman rather nervously.

"I heard what I thought was loud thunder", said the squire. The hunter felt really afraid because this fowling-piece did rumble like thunder. "I must return this to St. Michael", he thought, "this is too dangerous a weapon for me to handle." So going to the appointed place he returned the Archangel his gun, taking his own again — he

went away hunting again, knowing that his old fowling-piece would now be very good as it had been in the blessed hands of St. Michael.

Besides this legend there are many stories about the Archangel Michael, which tell of his knightly character, his wonderful justice and his defence of hunters. That is why on November 21st all hunters in Ukraine go to church and light candles before the icon of St. Michael the Archangel.

The Hunters' Stories

Formerly in Ukraine Autumn was the time for telling stories of the adventures of hunters — now it is not longer the custom under the communists, but sometimes it is possible and one can still hear stories from old men.

One of the most interesting is the one that tells of the Cemetery of wild beasts.

"When I was a young hunter", related an old forester, "on St. Michael's Day, after drinking plenty of beer with my friends, I took my fowling-piece and went off into the forest hunting. I wandered far, and strange to tell I lost my way. For two weeks I was unable to find a way back — I was in despair thinking I would never see my wife and young children again. I think my spirits were at their lowest when I stumbled on a strange place that I called the Cemetery of wild beasts.

The forest was very dense, and I was struggling through a terrible swamp when I arrived at a large clearing — perhaps it was one or two hundred hectares in area. In the centre was a lake from which flowed many brooks; with water as clean as tears. The trees were old and decrepit, many of them uprooted — and there was something about them. I saw one covered with green moss, I touched it and it crumbled to dust. The stench was terrible. All around lay dead animals, the newly dead still with skin and wool — some with flesh, others just skeletons and innumerable bones lay everywhere.

I stood under an old oak tree. This indeed was the Cemetery of wild beasts. I looked around and saw animals in death lying close together that in life had been bitter enemies; hare, fox, wolf, bear and jumping wild goat. Some had died from old age, others from hunter's wounds.

Some of the animals were still living and they crept to the lake or brooks for water — all wanted to drink before death — that's why the water edge was covered with bones.

This weird place was also a Cemetery for birds. When I lifted my eyes I was afraid. There on the branches of the trees were rows and rows of dissimilar birds — hawk, pigeon, swallow, sparrow, eagle, wild duck — they looked very old and decrepit — they did not eat or fight, they just sat silently waiting for death and as they bowed their heads they fell to earth as autumn leaves.

I lifted one duck by its wing, it was very light, nothing but a little bone and feather, but when I came near to the lake my hair stood on end, the air was suddenly filled with a terrible roar, screech and whistle — before it was all silence except for an occasional groan or a crack from a branch as some animal stumbled towards the water. It was as though all the animals and birds living and dead were protesting against the presence of an alien spirit, who without permission had intruded into their eternal rest.

I took off my cap, made the sign of the cross and went away. It is a sin, after all, to disturb a living creature before its death.

Story about leader of animals

Indeed! Did you not know that birds, beasts even insects have their own leader or headman. For example, the bee, one of God's smaller creations has its own laws, too. Let all the swarm die, providing the queen lives, the swarm will be replenished, but if the queen dies the whole swarm is ruined.

The hare, the wolf, the bear — all have their own headman or chief, who leads them from place to place, teaching them where to find food, how to take refuge from the enemy — in fact how to live. He is respected and obeyed.

Hunting of the beast is permissible, but beware; never kill the headman or misfortune will befall you.

This I was taught by an old beekeeper, Tymish Stepanovych Piddubnyi. He was a talented observer of nature. Many years ago he was a fine hunter, later a gardener, a forester and a fisherman. When I met him he was a beekeeper at a collective farm. The villagers called him a wizard because he gathered curative herbs, dried them and was of great help to the sick.

Tymish Piddubnyi was a very good story teller. Here are stories he related to me about the hare, wolf and bear headman.

The headman of the hare

Many years ago, when I was a young hunter, my friend and I were going hunting for hare. Andriy, yes, that was my friend's name, he was a good deal older than me and a far better huntsman.

"Tymish", he said to me, "remember if you see a huge hare with very long whiskers, don't shoot him, he will be the headman, to kill him is a sin!"

When I heard this I was keen with desire to see the headman of the hare. We set out for our hunt after the first snow — this is a capital time, you know, because the footprints are easily seen and the hares are confused not knowing which way to run for safety from the guns.

After a long day in the fields, we were pretty exhausted and went into the forest and hung our kill on the branch of a tree. We soon had a splendid fire burning. It was snowing and getting dark. Andriy

was busy by the fire, I was sitting on a stump of a tree lighting my pipe and enjoying the warmth.

Suddenly, I saw under a bush an enormous hare with whiskers as long as the moustaches our Cossacks used to wear. He was sitting up on his hind legs and looking at our kill of hares hanging on the branch of the tree.

It was a wonderful sight for me — I stood up to see him more clearly, Andriy saw him too, he was not at all surprised — it seemed to him to be the natural thing that the headman should come and take stock of his dead brethren.

At last Andriy gave a queer whistle. The hare jumped and disappeared in the bushes.

"It is the headman", Andrey said to me.

"What a pity we haven't a dog with us" I said.

"You have a lot to learn, Tymish", said my friend, "a clever dog would never touch the headman of the hare!"

The wolf Leader

"Many years ago I worked for a rich landowner — he was a good master. One day master was going hunting and took me with him. We had a fine pack — may be over thirty — foxdrivers of Kurland, wolfhounds of Siberia and the common hound — besides a few others — oh, but I forget now what they were. We hunted in a big forest — the Black Forest it was called.

Well, other hunters and the boys went off with master, I stayed with the cart and horses on the outskirts of the forest. They were not gone an hour before one of the boys came running to me crying:

"Trouble! We've stumbled on the wolf leader. Already about ten dogs are crippled by him. What shall we do?" He'd hardly finished telling me this when another boy arrived shouting:

"Tymish! Master said you were to give me all the dogs, quickly, because we've stumbled on some devil!" There were several dogs with me — such good dogs — they don't breed 'em like it nowadays — they could overtake any thing even with a distance of a hundred yards. When you hunt with such beasts, they jump over the hare but don't touch it. Power and strength they have — they can conquer a wolf at once.

The boys stayed by me waiting — I was in no hurry, I was thinking of my own skin. "Better wait a bit, boys", I said. But then I heard a cry from the forest:

"Help — help — quick! Tymish, where are you? Marko! Ivan!" The whole forest raised a cry. I heard the dogs barking and yelling — I could tell they were not doing well. I said to the boys:

"Take the dogs and go quickly!"

The boys ran off. I still stayed by the cart — I watched every movement from the forest — I seemed to be waiting for hours, but the beast didn't appear. The dogs couldn't drive him out. Foxes kept jumping out — and lots of hares, but when there's something happening as big as this, nobody bothers about hares.

I can hear: tan — tan — tan... Trampling in the forest. The barking of the dogs came near to me and then moved away.

Suddenly I heard a cry: "Take care!" Then the whole wolf pack jumped out of the forest, into the field. Quite close to they were — in the front was a huge beast. It was curly grey with the under belly red and yellow. I saw the forest wolf and the wolf from the steppes but they were like puppies against this devil. He really was the King of wolves. How many of our dogs has he ruined?! There's old man's saying that if the Chief of the beasts comes out of the forest it bodes no good — just misfortune.

When our dogs saw the brute in the field — they slopped. The young ones put their heads back and sent up an unholy howl. The great "Chief" sat down and gnashed his teeth. All our dogs sat around him, but not one of 'em jumped at him. The most daring, kept their ears up and their front paws ready but their tails were tucked between their legs.

The huge wolf still sat, gnashing his teeth — his ears were pressed back — his forehead was exceedingly broad — to and from he turned his head.

At last he stood up — and went off unhurriedly to the forest slowly, slowly — like a great landowner might walk round his estate. Our dogs gave way, as if he was not a wolf but a master. They didn't go after him and we didn't send them either — it was too dangerous.

Old foresters say that if you meet the wolf leader, very rarely can men escape without disaster — that is why God allows the wolves to have a leader only once in a hundred years."

The Leader of the Bears

"I was hunting with my master again, this time in the North Ukraine, in the district of Volynia. In those days the forest was bigger and there were many more wild beasts than there are nowadays.

You know all the excitement when the hunt starts — I heard the sound of the horn — the boys shouting, and beating, whistles blowing — such a row that it would raise the devil himself and drive him out of the forest.

I was making my way through a thicket, when I looked up and there I saw a huge bear up a pine tree, hiding from the hunters. He wasn't an ordinary bear — I tell you, I've never seen a wild beast so huge. He was very dark brown almost black with a large white

patch on his belly. I came into the glade and stopped to get a better look at the monster — I couldn't believe my own eyes — I was surprised the tree could stand his enormous weight. While I was looking at him the devil whispered in my ear:

"Cry out, Tymish, call the hunters." But I didn't give way to him. I just stood quietly looking at the beast. By now the hunt had moved a long way from me — and all of a sudden I became very frightened. I opened my mouth and wanted to cry out but the bear lifted its paw and shook it at me, as if threatening me. My legs trembled like jelly — I sat down on the grass.

The bear was watching, I think he wanted to say: "Go away, good man, — get on your way — it will be better for you and me." I stood up, pulled my cap down over my eyes and went after the hunt.

We had a grand day's hunting — maybe because I didn't take the devil's advice and call the hunters to the huge bear. We killed so many wild beasts and birds we could hardly carry them — it was the chief of the bears helping me, I think.

The next year — in the autumn — on St. Michael's Day, I was again in the forest. I remembered the bear. It was growing dark, night getting near — I saw a bush move and there quite close to me was a huge beast, I recognised my old acquaintance — the leader of the bears. He saw me too — he stood up on his hind paws, stretched out his front ones to me, and came slowly towards me, like a huge mountain. I was so frightened that my cap lifted up from my head. The huge beast towered over me and gave a roar like thunder. I sank down on the ground because my legs seemed to break under me. The bear bowed his head over me — he looked at me and it was as if he smiled at me — the devil. Then he roared again until the very earth under me was shaking. I closed my eyes and thought: "Hug me, hug me to death you devil, you." I waited and waited but he didn't hug me! I opened my eyes, there he was going off to the forest still walking on his hind paws and waddling from side to side like an old man — so huge he was — half a tree's height. I stood up quickly and looked after him. He went about two hundred yards, then turned and waved his paw to me — as if he wanted to say: "Go away, good man, you didn't touch me when we met last year, now I don't touch you."

I never met him again although I was in and out of that forest for three more years.

What I want to say is never touch the leader of the beast. If you kill it, you will never get away from misfortune."

St. Philip's Day

The 26th Nov. is the day when the girls give their second evening party. The following day is St. Philip's Day and is the beginning of

Advent — the fast before Christmas. The custom observed on this day is similar to the Lenten custom.

Kinsfolk exchange visits, taking with them a small piece of wood which in Ukrainian language is called "Kolotka." Much fun is derived from this. In advent it is bound to the leg of the mother whose son or daughter has remained unmarried or engaged.

In Lent "Kolotka" is put not on the mother's leg but on the unmarried son's. After every "Kolotka" there is a lot of drinking accompanied by singing and dancing.

However St. Philip's Day is a very joyful day — the Ukrainian peasant always watchful of the weather looks to see if there is a hoar frost on the trees — if so he believes the harvest of oats will be good.

A folk proverb says: "A hoar frost on Philip's Day is a sure sign that the oats will be as tall as lime-trees."

Anathole W. BEDRIY, M.A., M.S.

THE CONCEPT OF MAN IN THE WORKS OF VASYL SYMONENKO

To speak about Vasyl Symonenko's views on man — means to talk about one of the main concerns of a foremost Ukrainian intellectual of the last two decades.

Vasyl Symonenko was born in 1935 in the Poltava region, the heartland of Ukraine. His childhood was spent during the Second World War. In that period he surely witnessed the intensified struggle of the Ukrainian people to liberate themselves from foreign colonial yoke. In the post-war years he saw the incredible pogroms of the Ukrainian freedom-loving people by Russians under Stalin. He graduated from the Kyiv university in 1957 with a degree in journalism. Since the mid-50's, Symonenko himself inspired the intellectual leadership of the young Ukrainian generation. He died at the age of 28 of cancer.

The problem of the human being preoccupied Vasyl Symonenko very much. Everywhere in Ukraine he saw the oppression of the Ukrainian man, the rule of despotism and injustice, the persecution of manifestations of human rights and the disregard of human dignity by the Soviet-Russian occupation regime. Therefore, Symonenko soon crystallized his own views on man and became among other thing a champion of the individualistic man, of a human being in the best meaning of the word, in other words, he became a humanist.

Already in his early writings in the mid-fifties Vasyl Symonenko contemplated on the nature of man and his purpose in life. He said: "You know, you are — a man. Are you aware of it — or not?"*⁹⁹ His awareness of the uniqueness of a human being is very distinct. He indicated that a human being has some specific purpose in life:

"She stood by the stove like a captive
 She slaved to the accompaniment of skirts,
 She exchanged her girlish blush
 For the purity of tasty loaves . . .
 We shall have to bear less bitterness
 Our goal will draw nearer,
 When the women's life
 Will not rise to heaven like smoke."⁶⁷

Symonenko realized that in order to find an answer to the question: what is man's goal one must first find an answer to the question: what is man's nature.

On the premise that a human being is composed of body and soul, the analysis of Symonenko's works reveals his preoccupation with the spiritual aspect and his down-grading of the corporal aspect, but not its complete neglect. From the above-quoted verse, it can be deduced that Symonenko was against binding one's life too closely with the routines of daily living; he was against seeing the chief purpose of human life in the normal, rythmical functions and bodily needs. However, he believed, that "the renunciation of bodily joys is anti-natural and therefore cruel and reactionary."¹⁷⁴ Nevertheless the more inherent human component is the spiritual component. In an analogy with the work of the mower he concluded: "This field will probably be worked by hand for ever — it is useless to send a machine, where human hearts are toiling!"⁷³ Symonenko's "human heart" symbolizes the element in human nature, which distinguishes man from all the other living creatures and material things. Symonenko warns all those "who mow the poetic field" not "to borrow brains from machines."⁷² There are activities which can only be performed by the spiritual capacity of man, which cannot be replaced by any non-human or material thing.

In the poem "My Native Land!" Symonenko points to the "brain" and the "soul" as the main features which characterise the human being: "Under your (i. e. native land's) towering sky I have hardened my youthful soul." He argued: "Just as space is unthinkable without motion, poetry is unthinkable without thought. What kind of space is it when it is impossible to move in it? What kind of poetry is it when there is no thinking? In the poem "Trial", Symonenko called

*) All the poems quoted in this work were taken from *Bereh chekan'* by Vasyl Symonenko, "Prolog", Munich, 1965. The numbers refer to the pages from which the poems were taken.

"a new thought",¹⁶² the reasoning ability, the unique and most characteristic feature of a human being. He described this component as "the brain, fit to generate thoughts." On the other hand, he asked himself: "Shall I remain a man or will not only my vision but my mind be blinded?"¹⁷⁸

According to Vasyly Symonenko the soul of man with the functions of intellect and free will is the main characteristic of a human being. It cannot be distinguished from living creatures by any bodily function. A human being ceases to be a human being when it loses its intellectual faculty and free will.

It is very interesting to note Symonenko's views on the relationship between body and soul. This relationship is seemingly founded on a bi-polar theory, on a contrasting principle of potency and act, on passivity and dynamism. It is expressed in the title of a poem, "Calm and thunder",⁸² in which the poet writes: "Probably only calm can punish most harshly when it creeps alongside of you in life."⁸² Symonenko is against the domination of passivity in human life. He is for a strong, dynamic, creative and volitional life:

Although considerable strength was dormant within them,
They are only dreaming of wings.
In reality — they are entirely without wings."⁸⁴

Paraphrasing Symonenko, "the wisest man in this world is the man who loves life most." The man's fulfilment is to be found in maximum dynamism, in utmost activity. He said: "What can I say about myself? So far I have lived such a short time and have accomplished so miserably little, but I wish to be a human being, I wish to achieve something beautiful and good . . ."²⁸

Symonenko realized that man's intellectual and volitional faculties transform him from a member of a species into an individual, a being having some features which make him different from other men, while other features make all human beings similar to each other, for the intellectuals and these functions are capable of breaking away from the material imperfections of the body on their own, because of intellect's freedom from material limitations.

The indestructibility of man's individuality is stressed by Symonenko in the verse quoted from the poem "The Mower." The "individualized" human being cannot be supplemented by any machine, because any nonintellectual being is a being of a category lower than man. He explained: "Your smile is unique, Your suffering is unique, Your eyes are unique . . . For on this earth you are a human being, regardless whether you want it or not."⁹⁹ Why man has to be an individual? For "In the world there are countless like I, but I — by God, am unique."¹⁶¹ And then: "Because every I has his own name . . . We are not countless standard I's, but countless different universes." This poem, entitled "I", is a masterpiece of individualistic philosophy of

man. It shows the conflict between the collectivistic creature and the individualistic human being, between anonymity and individuality. The conflict between an active individual and an anonymous man is presented in the poem "I am running away from myself", the title of which is in itself revealing a paradox: a person expressing the desire to become an unperson. When man tries to be less than a man and fails to activate his human faculties he becomes a degraded creature, a man not worthy to be called a man.

Symonenko's conviction that man is an individual is followed by the realization that the human species is differentiated into a variety of individuals. "There are various people among us, likable, fine or strange." Variety in the lives of individuals is also reflected in the verse:

Although life is full of happiness
Both affliction, and grief and losses
Are waiting for every man
And he cannot escape them.⁸⁸

In another poem Symonenko presents the life of each man as an unpredictable adventure:

All the luck I have — devil take it!
On earth one should laugh and suffer,
Live and love among people!⁸⁹

Symonenko realized that an individual among millions of other individuals is "limited man."¹⁷⁵ This phrase is used in a wise statement: "Nothing could be more horrible than unlimited power in the hands of a limited man."

One of the main characteristics of the intellectual faculty is the ability to be conscious of oneself. It is the realization of the oneness of man's life. Symonenko brought out this phenomenon very keenly and acutely. He valued the life of each and every individual very highly. It is depicted in the words:

No matter how much I am destined to suffer,
Just the same, I will always bless the day
When my mother brought me into this world
For life, for happiness, for hardship.⁹⁰

Each man's life is unique, it will never return, and therefore "it should not go up in smoke."⁹¹

Symonenko probably derived tremendous satisfaction from the feeling that man has the power to apprehend himself:

You know, you are — a man. Are you aware of it — or not?...
You will never love again... Today the world is yours...
For you are on earth — a man.⁹²

He always treasured the individual very highly. At a certain critical moment in his life a fear came upon him: "Shall I remain a man or

will not only my vision be blinded but the mind as well?"¹⁷⁸ And then he inevitably had to ponder upon the problem of death and to reflect on his own past life.

Vasyl Symonenko also meditated on the question of man's faculty to perceive truth and being. He believed: "it is possible to blow out the brain, which generates the thought, the thought itself cannot be killed!"¹¹³ Thus he identified the brain as an organ by which man apprehends the truth and being. It is the "brain, which is capable of generating thoughts."¹⁷⁵

In the question "why a verbal mask for truth? Scream to me by silence"⁸⁶ is a hint that Symonenko believed in the existence of truth outside of man, which can be comprehended by a human intellect. Truth is potentially accessible to each human being if man wants to grasp it. He rejected the concept of truth being accessible to a few people only, who then make "their own brands" of truth. He rejected subjectivism, "All brands should be removed from this world."¹¹² and attacked dogmatism:

Our species is wise by nature,
We know everything, because we achieved everything,
We know everything! Everything is known to us!
We can produce so many truths in a second
That astonishment will for ever shut your mouth.¹⁶⁵⁻⁶

The attainment of the knowledge of truth is not an automatic, instantaneous, but a volitional act: "He is happy who expects little from life — he is never disappointed. The shortest and the simplest way toward so-called happiness is to become a Philistine. The brain, which is capable of generating thoughts, is not capable of making its owner happy."¹⁷⁹ Thinking and learning the truth is a deliberate process of the intellect.

Truth cannot be grasped by rational speculation alone: "...no teaching can monopolize the spiritual life of mankind. What I hate is formal, standardized and well-fed wisdom."^{174/6} Therefore, "no highly noble and highly humane aims of any kind of teaching can serve progress, when they become a standard."¹⁷⁴ Truth is not easily and quickly grasped. Absolute truth is "unattainable",⁸⁵ but there are "eternal and boring truths."¹¹⁵

Man has a duty and a task to reach out for truth, to acquire more knowledge about the world and being: "Only the one, who treats the weather with contempt, The one who does not serve the wishes of the stomach Will be able to serve truth and reason."⁷⁷ Not every man lives by the truth, which is demanding, and makes its follower a creature of a higher category. "Oh, those unhappy sailings (but how can I hide myself from truth?) My boat will smash against the cliffs, against your granite indifference."⁸⁵ However the imperative is to strive to acquire more truth:

Hey, new Columbuses and Magellans
 Let us stretch out the sails of our dreams! . . .
 Who said that everything has already been discovered? . . .
 Long live dreaming! My craving!
 Get out of the silt you rusty anchors —
 The soul is withering on the anchor! . . .
 To dream and to search, as long as one lives . . .^{106/7}

The enormity of truth demands a continuous struggle of the mind in order to move closer to perfection: "When you will grasp everything in the world, you will stop and die!"¹¹⁵

Vasyl Symonenko's epistemological realism is very close to the modern Neo-Thomistic conception of man's cognitive capacities. In connection with this view, Symonenko's man is a social being, namely it lies in the nature of every individual to be connected with other human beings. His protest against the atomistic view of a human being is expressed in the poem "Loneliness": "Send me, o God, at least an enemy, if you begrudge me a friend!"¹¹⁵ Consequently man cannot exist without other men.

A human being is indivisibly bound with preceding generations: "Graves are talking with me through the lips of bygone men. And their unsquandered energies are flowing into my chest . . . I am not only living for myself, I must also live for them."^{100/1} It follows that a man does not die with the physical death of his body. Symonenko explained: "I am ready to believe in the kingdom of God, for I do not want the anonymous saints of incomparable beauty, proud children of the soil, faithful children of toil to be buried in the earth without a trace. I do not believe that the old man will rise from his grave, but I do believe that no — he will not wholly die. His thoughts are not sly, they will be realized by his grandchildren . . . which while dying he had transmitted to the living."^{68/9}

From one generation to the next, man inherits much from his ancestors, lives through his individual life and passes his heritage on to his descendants: "We are thinking of you, great-grandsons. The future is lighting our faces, and linking creative restlessness with eternity . . . Dear descendants, we are defending you."⁷⁴

Man is a member in the chain of generations. He is an indivisible member of a national society: "You are my prime concern and I am living for you, I came from you and I will return to you."¹²⁰ He spoke about his native land. He regarded himself as a member of "his people."¹⁰⁴ This "people" is composed of "billions of faiths", of "billions of fortunes" of "all the deceived", of "all the killed."¹⁰⁴

And then, "We — are not countless standard I's, but a countless different universes. We — are the eternal bosom of the people . . ."¹⁶¹

Man is bound with his nation not just biologically but primarily spiritually. Symonenko believed that this link between the individual and the national society is natural, i. e., a cosmic phenomenon, permanent not temporary-historical. He said:

Son, you can chose everything in the world,
The only thing you cannot choose is your Fatherland.⁹⁷

This man-nation connection is very broad. He advised:

To honour my beloved homeland,
Because it is the only one in the world
Because it alone takes care of all of us,
It gives us both dreams, and words,
It fills us with its strength,
Warms us with its grace.⁷⁶

From the above analysis it is evident that in the opinion of Vasyl Symonenko man has a purpose in life. This purpose is indicated in the poem "Passer-by": "He looked straight ahead and again inspiringly directed his gait."¹⁰⁹

At this point I shall conclude the analysis of Symonenko's views on man. I am aware that it does not exhaust the subject. Symonenko's views on man's relation to nature, man's relation to God, and finally man's relation to politics are all very interesting. All of his works are imbued with moral attitudes, and express views on vital socio-economic, national and international problems. Symonenko's views should not be studied apart from the aspect of their practical application. Symonenko was a purpose-oriented intellectual. For this reason his views gained tremendous popularity in Ukraine and inspired the new generation of idealists who are attempting to realize his ideas in spite of the unheard-of persecution by the Russian colonial occupation regime of the very views propagated by Vasyl Symonenko.

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SHEVCHENKO IN SLOVAKIA (1861-1917)

The Slovak and Ukrainian peoples are next door neighbours. For centuries the Slovaks and the Ukrainians from the Transcarpathian region have experienced the same national and social subjugation and many a time have extended a helping hand to one another in the struggle for better living conditions.

Long time ago the historians began to notice this closeness of historic fate of both nations, often emphasizing the common efforts of Slovaks and West Ukrainians in particular, in their demands of national and social independence. A number of outstanding representatives of the Ukrainian and the Slovak peoples defended the right to a free national and social development of Slovaks and Ukrainians. These representatives, each in his own way, have performed a great task of familiarizing their countrymen with the culture and literature of the neighbouring people.

"Oh, Taras Shevchenko, you wonderful poet of Ukraine! Great is your fame as a painter, but we here have not seen your paintings, and have not even read or re-read your *Kobzar* . . ."

With these words a well-known Slovak writer and literary critic Štefan Krčmery (1897-1955) begins his article "On Taras Shevchenko" by which he wanted to bring the great Ukrainian poet and painter to the attention of his countrymen. In reality a translation of the *Kobzar* appeared only recently (1959) in Slovakia, but the fame about the great Bard reached Slovakia as early as the 19th century.

We come across his name on the pages of the Slovak press for the first time in the beginning of the 1860s, in connection with the funeral of the Ukrainian poet. This news item was completely insignificant, most likely reprinted from the Petersburg newspapers. The first, more extensive mention of Shevchenko in Slovakia is a short article which appeared in the Slovak newspaper *Pestbudinske Vedomosti* in 1866. This paper was published in 1861-1870 in Budapest and called for Slovak cooperation with all Slavic peoples of the whole monarchy. Aside from this *Pestbudinske Vedomosti* fought for linguistic, cultural and educational rights for Slovaks. No wonder, therefore, that in the early years of its appearance almost all civic leaders grouped around it. This newspaper published a short article by a Slovak literary critic, translator and writer Gustáv Lojko (pseud. Hostivý-Tisovský). Prior to this, G. Lojko wrote numerous informative articles:

about various writers. He was the author of the first news item about Shevchenko. In the issue dated March 20, 1866, in the section "O besedach", where the author himself writes that he would like to report on the Slavic concerts for this month, it is stated: "On the 10th of this month the Ukrainians of Vienna commemorated their great national poet, Taras Shevchenko, and on this occasion held a music and poetry recital. Ukrainians from Ukraine, not from Hungary", — emphasizes the author. He further states that this was the first recital by Ukrainians, the first time that they appeared in public "and tried to put before the eyes of an unacquainted public the depth and the force of the Cossacks in their pensive songs and poems." The author then speaks very warmly of Ukraine:

"Ukraine, the very word is able to produce in our imagination a picture of a country, wild but beautiful . . .

"Memories of Ukraine's glorious past have inflamed the spirit of Ukrainian university students, and the hope for a better future has unfolded the wings of their soul — they marked the anniversary of their resurrectionist. And who is this Taras Shevchenko? — A poet and a Cossack."

Besides this Shevchenko's biographical data up to 1838 are given. Speaking very concisely about the path of his further creative development, G. Lojko calls the poet "the father of his people."

As can be seen from the above article-notice, at that time very vague ideas about Ukraine were held in Slovakia. Romantic interest in her in Slovakia and Czechia became livelier to a degree after familiarization with the works of the so-called Ukrainian school of Polish romanticists, who were often published in translation in the Czech and Slovak periodicals and as separate books.

Thus Gustáv Lojko was the first in Slovakia to write a few words about Shevchenko, for a paragraph by Jonaš Záborský in "Halychyna and the Little Russian Literature" which appeared in the periodical *Sokol* in 1863 can hardly be considered a mention of Shevchenko. Here reference is made to Ukrainian literature, to Ukraine and a whole series of writers (Marko Vovchok, Kvitka, Kotlarevskyi, Shevchenko), but in the following manner: "What the Little Russians will gain by establishing their own literature, is their affair. But the Great Russians are very disturbed by this split, for this is connected with a spirit which is hostile to them. Those who write in Ukrainian have a hostile attitude toward the Great Russians and insist not only on literary but on political separation as well." This is the way Jonaš Záborský (one of the greatest Slovak poets and dramatists) informed the Slovaks on the state of Ukrainian literature, failing to distinguish between great Ukrainian poets and second-rate. At the same time, he himself does not reach any conclusions, calling this only a piece of information and asking his readers to come to their own conclusions. Here we are concerned with an important feature, which characterized Slovak reality of the second half of the 19th century. Here we

have to deal with the influence of the reactionary press of tsarist Russia, which regularly found its way to Slovakia. This very influence helped the Russophilism of J. Záborský; it was also intensified by the activity of the Transcarpathian "Russophiles", with whom J. Záborský was in contact.

However, at that time much was written about Shevchenko in Czech periodicals. Of course, Slovaks also found out about Ukraine and her great poet from these periodicals. For instance, articles about Ukrainian literature appearing in the Czech Rieger Encyclopedia, the translation of "The History of Slavic Literatures" by O. Pypin, which appeared in 1880 in Prague, — all these were sources known to and utilized by Slovak authors.

Thus, the Slovak periodical *Orol*, No. 5, 1874 carried an article by a Slovak publicist Pavol Hečko entitled "Slavic Poets." This is the first extensive article appearing in a Slovak periodical which speaks about the development of the Ukrainian literature with great tenderness and knowledge: "In the most recent time the literary spirit and activity are awakening in Little Russia as well . . . and as far as poetry is concerned it has to be emphasized that in this respect the Little Russians, by their poetic genius, are surpassing the Great Russians, and in particular by their language, which in itself is very colourful and tender."

Pavol Hečko says further down in his article that the national poetry of the "Little Russians" is also very extensive and beautiful. No other Slav nation can pride itself with so many collections of national creative work, as this . . . "original and outstanding people, rich in views, customs, morality, and for this reason also in stories, poetry, and proverbs." The author calls on all Slavic poets and artists to turn their attention to and to become acquainted with the creative work of the Ukrainian people.

Still further in his article Pavol Hečko enumerates Ukrainian books and collections of folk songs, which have appeared up to that time. Evaluating literature, among writers he mentions Kotlyarevskyi, then Hryhoriy Kvitka-Osnovyanenko (calling him Yuriy Fedorovych), Hulak-Artemovskiy, Kostomarov, Amv. Mohyla, Yakiv Holovatskyi, and devotes most time to Taras Shevchenko "who had become a real coryphaeus; the critics compare his works, as regards the depths of feelings, the poetic character of his scenes, to the great works of Pushkin and Mickiewicz. His writings emit pure love of nature, pain over destroyed hopes, of which he saw plenty in his own life as well as in the life of his people, and a strong love of Ukraine. Part of his works was published in 1846 under the title of *Kobzar*. The most favourite poems in it are: "Haidamaky", which describes an uprising in Ukraine under the leadership of Gonta and Zaliznyak, then "The Captive", a lyric-epic ballad. From his other works the ballad "The Caucasus" and "Jan Hus" (the poem regrettably has been lost) and

the play "Nazar Stodolya", dealing with the life of Cossacks in the 16th century, should be mentioned..."

This constituted the first more extensive characteristic of T. Shevchenko, with the enumeration of his most important works, in the Slovak language. It has to be added that this was not an independent work. Pavol Hečko's articles were mostly paraphrasings of other works. Thus the section on Ukrainian literature (and in particular on T. Shevchenko) were written by P. Hečko with the help of an article in the Rieger dictionary (1868, Vol. VII). In the dictionary this article was written by Jan Gebauer, a well-known Czech philologist. The article about Shevchenko was simply translated word for word by P. Hečko into Slovak. This can be revealed just by comparing the Czech text from the dictionary with the Slovak text of the article. But this does not degrade the fact that the Slovak reader had an opportunity to find out about the Ukrainian literature and its great poet, T. Shevchenko.

P. Hečko prized the Slavs very highly and placed them above all other peoples. He wrote many articles about Slavs in general: "Slavic Masters" (*Orol*, 1873), "Slavs — The Indo-European People" (*Slovesnost*, 1863), "The Sufferings of Slavs in the Ancient and Modern Times" (*Slovesnost*, 1865), "The Physical and Spiritual Character of Slavs", "Slavic Principles", (*Sokol*, 1864, 1866).

In his greatest work "The Slavic Poets" (where he mentions T. Shevchenko), P. Hečko first informs his readers about the Russian literature, then about the Ukrainian, and then also about the Dalmatian, Croatian, Serbian and so forth. In his other works P. Hečko is also utilizing various source materials: Czech, Polish, German — mostly retelling them.

A few words should be said about the Slovak periodical *Orol* which published the article about Ukrainian literature. *Orol* was a popular scientific magazine which was published in Slovakia in the years 1870-1880. It appeared each month at St. Martin and was edited by prominent Slovak leaders, as for example, Ján Kalinčák, Ondrej Sitniansky and Mikuláš Ferienčík. In 1880 the periodical ceased publication and in its place in 1881 Svetozár Hurban-Vajanský and J. Škultéty began to publish *Slovenské pohľady*, which appears to this very day.

The periodical *Sokol* informed Slovaks about various events in literature. It published many translations from Russian, Polish and world literatures. It published Slovak works. Regretably however, notices about Ukrainian literature, translations of Ukrainian works, aside from the afore-mentioned article by P. Hečko, did not appear in this publication. It published mostly translations of the representative of the Ukrainian school in Polish literature, M. Czaikowski, who painted a completely erroneous picture as regards the relations between Poles and Ukrainians.

It should be mentioned also that Slovak newspapers and periodicals sometimes informed their readers about the appearance of Czech articles about the Ukrainian writer. Thus the newspaper *Narodni noviny*, No. 130 for 1872 reported on the publication of an extensive article about T. H. Hhevchenko by Vaclav Dunder in the Czech periodical *Osveta*.

In 1876 when in Ukraine, by the so-called "Ems Ukase", the publication of any kind of books in the Ukrainian language or their importation from abroad was prohibited, the *Kobzar* was published in Prague. At that time this was the first uncensored edition of the works of T. Shevchenko in two volumes, which in great quantities found its way to Ukraine and other Slavic countries, in particular to Slovakia, although these are only our suppositions. Hence in 1888 on the pages of the newspaper *Narodni noviny*, No. 97, quite a large article about Shevchenko appears. Its author was a well-known Slovak popularizer of Russian literature Samo Bodický (1850-1919). The article was entitled "The Bard of Ukraine". From this article it is evident that Samo Bodický read the Prague *Kobzar* of 1876, since in his article he is utilizing materials which were published by Rusov in his *Kobzar*, e. g. the memoirs of Turgenev and Polonskyi. Aside from this in his article Bodický used materials from the Czech Riege Encyclopedia, a well-known autobiographical letter of the poet to the editor of the periodical *Narodnoye chteniye*, the article by M. Kostomariv published in the periodical *Russkiy vestnik* (1881). He is quoting these works throughout his article, i. e. he does not conceal the fact that he used these materials. This article is the first one to fully acquaint the Slovak readers with the life and the creative path of T. Shevchenko. The author describes in detail both the biography and individual works of the poet. In addition the great worth of Samo Bodický's work is to be found in the fact that he gives translations of some of Shevchenko's works. Thus as an epigraph to the article he gives the translation of the poem "Dumy moi" (My Thoughts), as part of the article he translates and cites an excerpt from the message to Šafarik, and at the end of his article the author gives the translation of a popular Shevchenko poem "Sadok vyshnevyy kolo khaty" (A Cherry Orchard). No doubt he was inspired to do this translation by the beautiful words of Turgenev about this poem. Even though S. Bodický's translations can hardly be called perfect he was nevertheless able to more-or-less recreate the spirit of the original. It is true that the translator himself said beforehand that he cites this poem only "in an imperfect translation" since, as was already said by P. Kulish, "the whole force and beauty of the Little Russian language revealed itself to him (Shevchenko) alone", and was "hard to recreate in a foreign, although related language." Of course, the greatest value was the fact that this was the first example of translation of the works of this great poet into Slovak. S. Bodický's article was the sole Slovak voice about Shevchenko for a long time.

After S. Bodický a subsequent translation of Shevchenko's work appeared in 1896 in a popular magazine *Slovenské pohľady*. It was the poem "Mynayut dni, mynayut nochi" (Days are passing). Its translator was Izidor Žak (pseud. Somolický) who did many translations from other Slavic literatures. The poem's translation is free. Instead of the author's 32 lines Somolický has only 24. Rhythm was not strictly followed. The emotional colouring of Shevchenko's call against inactivity and indifference to the surrounding was toned down.

Then again there is nothing for a long time. In 1905 Peter Bella, known under the pseudonym Horal, published a translation of Shevchenko's work "U tiei Kateryny" in a Slovak periodical for women *Dennica*. Peter Bella (1842-1919) himself wrote verses in the spirit of folk poetry; besides this he translated much from Slavic literatures.

Another interesting incident is connected with the poem "U tiei Kateryny." P. Bella's brother, Ondrej Bella (1851-1903), who himself also wrote poetry in the spirit of folk songs, spent some time in Ukraine, and perhaps there or perhaps still in Slovakia or Czechia became acquainted with Shevchenko's works. And thus taking the motives of the poem "U tiei Kateryny" Ondrej Bella wrote an immense poem "Anna Danylivna." For a long time nobody knew anything about this work. Then in 1922 (19 years after On. Bella's death) the Slovak literary critic and writer S. Krčméry published its incomplete text in the periodical *Slovenské pohľady*. Seven years later S. Krčméry managed to find the whole manuscript of this poem. It was then published in 1929 in the periodical *Slovenské pohľady*. As a matter of fact T. Shevchenko's poem "U tiei Kateryny" is not so big at all. It consists of 66 lines. The poem by Ond. Bella is divided into 10 parts and has 1920 lines. The Slovak poet utilized Shevchenko's motive and kept the folk-song rhyme. This perhaps is a single instance where a Slovak poet borrowed a Ukrainian subject, and from a great poet T. Shevchenko at that.

Subsequent articles about Shevchenko appeared only in 1911 and in 1914 on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the great Ukrainian poet's death and the 100th anniversary of his birth.

In August 1909 the Slovak youth decided to publish a young people's monthly entitled *Prudy*. The aim of the new Slovak youth magazine was to write about the young people for the young people. Only young authors were to contribute to this publication. This was to be an open forum, where everyone could try out his abilities.

In 1911 this periodical published an article entitled "Taras Shevchenko", which was written by one member of the editorial board Juraj Slavik, known under the pseudonym J. Neresnický. But in reality a greater part of this article, as well as the translation of the poems "Zapovit" (The Testament) and "Mynayut dni, mynayut nochi", was adapted by a well known Slovak critic, author and community

leader František Votruba. F. Votruba, while still a student, taught himself the Ukrainian language together with his friend Karol Ripaček. Thus in a letter to K. Ripaček dated June 4, 1902, F. Votruba writes that with great difficulties he was able to buy a textbook with a small German-Ukrainian and Ukrainian-German dictionary. An with its help he is reading *Synia knyzhchka* (The Little Blue Book) by V. Stefanyk. He mentions further that there are excerpts from Ukrainian literature (M. Vovchok, T. Shevchenko, M. Shashkevych). The young Votruba reads, and then begins to translate his favourite author, V. Stefanyk, then I. Franko, Lesia Ukraïнка and others. His translations appear in print beginning with 1903 (I. Franko — "Holod" (Famine), 1903; Lesia Ukraïнка — "Melodii" (Melodies), 1907; Stefanyk — "Synia knyzhchka", 1903; Franko — "Istoriya moyei sichkarni" (The story of my straw cutter) 1904, and so forth.

F. Votruba knew and liked Taras Shevchenko. And of course, the most credit for the fact that in 1911 an article about Shevchenko appeared in *Prudy* is due to F. Votruba. That Votruba worked hard at the adaptation of this article is evidenced by the fact that in Votruba's library, in his own copy of *Prudy*, next to this article is Votruba's own note, "This is 50% mine." Neresnický himself in a letter from Paris dated June 11, 1911 to Votruba writes: "What has been written on Shevchenko is only a patchup job, for I do not have time for it, and it is very hot here. I am mostly 'drawing' from *Slavische Tagblatt* even though I had Shevchenko's poems in the original for almost a month. From there I translated two poems, which I am enclosing. Because I have no time to work on it any more, I am asking you, as usual . . . But you should really sign your own name under my translations. This would be fair!"¹

As we can see from this letter, J. Neresnický himself is convinced that only with F. Votruba's help can his translations see the world. Neresnický could hardly know anything about the Slovenian writer Ivan Lah. This is probably an addition by Votruba who at that time admired and translated the Southern Slavic poets. In the article the poet is mentioned "as a bard of freedom and a fiery spokesman of the oppressed, the degraded."

"Shevchenko is completely unknown to us. But nevertheless, to another nation is his poetry so suitable as to ours. All his poetry is a cry, a melodious cry of the suffering, insubmissive, youthful soul . . .

As far as translations are concerned: the translation of the poem "Mynayut' dni" (which was earlier done by Somolický) was done more accurately and artistically. With regard to the translation of "Zapovit", then in the F. Votruba-Neresnický translation it appears in full, even three years earlier than in Czechia. The translation was skilfully done, the original was aptly recreated, and the translation is far better than the Czech one which was published in *Slovanský přehled*.

¹) F. Votruba's literary archives, Bratislava.

On May 12th of that same year (1911) an article, "Taras Shevchenko", of unknown authorship appeared in *Slovenské noviny*. The article is biographical in nature, without the evaluation of his works. The biographical data were probably taken from some scientific dictionary, but the author of the article added a few sentences of his own: "... They (Shevchenko and his friends) founded a clandestine organization, whose aim was to free Ukraine and to unite the Slavs on the basis of Christ's teachings... At the coronation of Tsar Alexander II, thanks to Count F. Tolstoi, Shevchenko was discharged from military service in 1858." Here an excerpt from "Zapovit" was also printed with Slovak translation.

On March 19, 1911 an article about Taras Hryhorovych Shevchenko was also published in *Narodné noviny*. This article was unsigned but from its leaning one can surmise that it was written by the managing editor of this newspaper, Svetozár Hurban-Vajanský. The article quotes such facts as for example: "Shevchenko, a member of the Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood, together with Kostomariv considered the literary all-Russian language as the language not only of Little Russia but of all Slavs in general." In support of this idea the article cites a passage from the message to Safarik. Or further: "Zhukovsky, who had an influential position at the palace (he was the tutor of the tsar-liberator) freed Shevchenko from bondage of an unworthy and cruel German, Engelhard. Zhukovsky was helped by painter Bryulov and Count Velgorsky. A part of the money was provided also by the Grand Prince Alexander, later Tsar Alexander II." Of course, it is useless to even talk about the absurdity of these claims. It has to be regretted that the great name of Shevchenko was being used by the reactionary Russophiles who misinformed the Slovak reader, in solidarity with the reactionary (Russian) press.

The above-mentioned facts convince us that Shevchenko's name and his works have found their way to Slovak periodicals and newspapers beginning with the second half of the 19th century. However, in comparison with other Slavic peoples — in particular Poles, Czechs, Bulgarians — this penetration was very insignificant. The reasons which were responsible for this state of affairs were the unusually harsh social and national oppression which the Slovaks experienced from the side of the Hungarian nobility and the lack of interest of the conservative Slovak intelligentsia in drawing closer to the Ukrainian people and its culture. This, on the other hand, was the result of the influence of the reactionary press of tsarist Russia, which regularly found its way to Slovakia.

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THE STRUGGLE FOR UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE IN 1917-1918

(Extracts from the unpublished M.A. thesis *The Hetmanate
of P. P. Skoropadskyi in 1918. Continuation — 7)*

Relations between the Ukraine and the Don

Along the south-eastern border of Ukraine there lay the Don Cossack Republic "... The move of revolutionary events forced the Don, this loyal son of Russia, to break off from the mother country when it turned Bolshevik... and forced it to think of its own independence."³³ The young Don Republic had many enemies. "... Besides the Bolsheviks others were against the Don as an independent state: they were the people who loved Russia and who did not wish to see it divided into separate states." The Volunteer Army "... also regarded the Don's separation from Russia as a threat to their cause."³⁴ Such a situation was forcing the Don Republic to look around for friends and for help.

Major-General P. N. Krasnov, who, on May 5th, 1918 was elected by the Don Republic Parliament ("Krug spaseniya Dona") to be the Ataman of the Don Republic, decided to send a mission to Ukraine for the purpose of finding out if there were any possibilities of concluding an agreement of friendship with Ukraine and of receiving from it some help. General A. Cheriachukin was chosen by P. N. Krasnov to be the head of this mission. The Ataman himself gave Cheriachukin oral instructions concerning this mission. Cheriachukin was to try to obtain the consent of the Hetman, of the Ukrainian Government, and of the Germans to the recognition of the Don Republic. This Don Republic should include, Krasnov thought, such territories as Tsaritsyn, Kamyshevsk, station Povorino, Voronezh and Luhansk. The Ataman would also have liked to have included in the Don Republic the whole Donetsk Coal Basin, and the Starobelsk district with its stud farms.

The second very important task of the mission was to obtain from Ukraine immediate help in ammunition and guns.

With A. Cheriachukin's mission, which consisted of five persons, the Ataman sent a letter to Hetman Skoropadskyi in which he asked

³³) See *Donskaya Letopis'*, No. 3, 1924 (Petrograd.) Article by A. Cheriachukin: "Donskaya delegatsiya na Ukraïnu i v Berlín v 1918-1920 g." p. 164.

³⁴) See *Donskaya letopis'*, *op. cit.*, pp. 165.

the Hetman's help and his agreement in assisting the Ataman "... in the reconstruction of the 'United and indivisible Russia.'"³⁵

When on May 11th, 1918 Cheriachukin arrived in Kiev he soon found out "... that the dominating movement in the country was not in favour of a 'United and indivisible' Russia." He informed the Ataman of this and Krasnov had to exchange the first letter for another one in which he did not mention "United and indivisible" Russia at all but wrote only that it was desirable to establish close and friendly relations between the Don Republic and Ukraine.³⁶

The mission aimed at the following points: the recognition of the Don Republic as an independent, sovereign and neutral state by Ukraine and by the Germans; declaration by Ukraine that it did not have any claims to any part of the Don Republic territory: the recognition of the Don Republic borders including Tsaritsyn; the acknowledgment of a recognition of the Don Republic as an independent and sovereign state by the Russian Soviet of Peoples' Commissars with the help of the Germans and the Ukrainians, thereby forcing the Bolsheviks to withdraw the Red Guards from the Don territory; dissemination among the population of Ukraine by means of press and official statements the conviction that the great part of the Don was freed from the Bolsheviks by the Cossacks themselves without any outside help; military aid from Ukraine in arms, cartridges and other equipment.

The Ukrainians agreed to help the Don Cossacks with ammunition easily enough and by the end of May general Cheriachukin was able to send to the Don as free aid, ten million cartridges and 28 light guns with their shells.

But the Ataman was not easily satisfied. He bombarded General Cheriachukin with letters full of requests. In his letter of June 2/15 the Ataman wrote: "... You have to send us guns and aeroplanes ... not later than June 17/30 ... we need the guns and ammunition more than independence. You should keep quiet about it but you have to remember it firmly."

In his letters Krasnov also demanded sugar, glass, plates and dishes, lamps, paper, textiles, sewing machines, etc.

In his letter of June 8th, 1918* the Ataman insisted that the Donets Basin, Tahanroh, Azov and Rostov were to be included in the Don Republic. In return Cheriachukin informed Krasnov that the demand was too excessive and that the Ataman's insistence hindered negotiations.³⁷

³⁵) See *Donskaya leteopis'*, *op cit.*, p. 167.

³⁶) *Ib.*, p. 172.

³⁷) See *Donskaya letopis'*, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

*) In the source the letter dated 8. IV. 1918 instead of 3. VI. 1918 must be a mistake because on 8. IV. 1918 Krasnov was not Ataman as yet.

Both the Germans and the Ukrainians agreed to help the Don Republic with goods, partly in cash and partly on credit, although not in the quantities the Ataman demanded. For instance, Krasnov asked for one million *puds* of sugar but was given 400,000 *puds* only.³⁸

According to General Cheriachukin's information, General Krasnov appears to have been a crafty as well as insistent man, and more often than not he succeeded in getting what he wished.

The question of the independence of the Don Republic was more difficult to solve than the question of supply, and it took two months to settle it. The first difficulty arose because of the proposal by the Kuban' delegation, which visited Kiev at the same time as the Don mission, of a federation of Ukraine, the Don, the Kuban', and the North Caucasus countries. Nothing came out of this proposals but it delayed the solution of the question of the Don Republic's independence. The second difficulty was presented by the fact that the first point in the declaration of the "Vsevelikoye Voysko Donskoye" (Great Don Army) read as follows: "The 'Vsevelikoye Voysko Donskoye' will remain an independent, democratic state until such time as Russia is reestablished in some form or other."³⁹ This meant that the Don Republic considered itself an independent state only temporarily and this complicated the question of the borders between Ukraine and the Don.

But Ukraine needed an ally against the Bolsheviks very badly and, besides, the agreement with the Don Republic would also solve — although, perhaps, temporarily only — the problem of the south-eastern border of the country and thus have simplified the problem of a joint frontier with Soviet Russia, with whom negotiations were going on in Kiev. The agreement with the Don Republic would be an advantage to Ukraine also in giving them an ally against the Germans. Therefore the Ukrainians ceded to the Don Republic the Tahanroh province and contented themselves with the Ataman's ambiguous explanation of the first point of the Don Republic's declaration.

The agreement thus made possible was concluded on August 8th, 1918 and its main points ran as follows: the border between the two countries passed along the administrative line which had divided Ukraine and the former province of the Don Cossacks under Russia; both countries recognized each other as independent and sovereign states; by both countries the customs could be established along the mutual border; to the Ukrainians living in the Don Republic were granted the rights of cultural autonomy and all the political rights of the Cossacks; the same rights were granted to the persons in the Ukraine which had been born in the Don province; both countries pledged themselves not to conclude in the future any agreement

³⁸) *Ib.* p. 177.

³⁹) See *Donskaya letopi'*, No. 3, 1924, p. 328; "Deklaratsiya Vsevelikogo Voyska Donskogo."

which could damage the interests of the other with a third party, country, or armed organization (meaning the Volunteers' Army); both sides pledged themselves to conclude with each other, as soon as possible, the agreements concerning free transit, exchange of goods, the customs, financial relations, railway and post and telegraph conventions, etc.; the "Vsevelikoye Voysko Donskoye" agreed to supply the Donets Basin with food and lubricants and Ukraine agreed to supply it with wood and metal wares. The agreement was signed by A. Cheriachukin from the Don Republic and by Paltov from Ukraine.⁴⁰

By the separate agreement of 5/18 September, 1918 it was decided that the economic life of the Tahanroh district was to be regulated by a special Don-Ukraine commission situated in Kharkiv.⁴¹

While in Kiev General Cheriachukin was all the time in contact with the Germans. At first Krasnov advised Cheriachukin to negotiate with Baron Mum but later he changed his tactics and began to correspond directly with Fieldmarshal von Eichhorn and at the same time was organizing a delegation to present his letters to Wilhelm II. Krasnov wrote two letters to the Emperor. One was generally known, the second was sent secretly. But its compromising contents became known and the General had many troubles since his opinion concerning the Germans was not shared in the Don by everybody and some thought his collaboration with the Germans too close.⁴²

Although the Ukrainian nationalists were very much displeased that Skoropadskyi's Government ceded the Tahanroh province to the Don Republic, D. Doroshenko reasoned that it was much better to have the Ukrainian irredenta in the Don Republic than to have Cossack irredenta, viz, Russians, in Ukraine. Moreover, he thought the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs were obliged to help the Ukrainian national movement with money in the Don just as in the Kuban' and Crimea.

On November 2nd a meeting took place between Hetman Skoropadskyi and General Krasnov. They met at the station Skorokhodovo in the Hetman's carriage. The Hetman had a light chill and did not wish to leave the carriage, so at first they talked without witnesses. Later with their suites in attendance they formally decided to call a conference of the representatives of the Volunteers' army, the Don Republic, the Kuban', Ukraine and, if possible, the representatives of Georgia, Poland, Byelorussia, Finland and Siberia. The idea was that these countries should prepare themselves for the future general peace conference by a discussion of the following subjects: the kind of Government which Russia should have in future; what could and

⁴⁰) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-193.

⁴¹) *Ib.* pp. 192-193.

⁴²) See *Donskaya letopis'*, No. 3, 1924. Article by K. P. Kaliugin, "Donskoy ataman P. N. Krasnov i ego vremya."

what should be done to help Russia, by her former allies as well as by the Central Powers . . . ; what parts of Russia had to be allowed to separate from Russia and which parts had to join the new Russia; the relations between these latter parts of the country with the parent state; how to stop the Bolshevik terror in Russia and what measures to take in order to wipe out its Soviet Government; how to determine the borders of the neighbouring states. It was fixed that the Hetman, as the elder of the two, would send the invitations to this conference.⁴³

As mentioned earlier, at his meeting between the Hetman and the Ataman, the two leaders also agreed that general Krasnov should take command of the "Yuzhnaya armiya."

This meeting did not have any practical results however, because the end of Skoropadskyi's regime in Ukraine, and General Krasnov's on the Don were very near. But till the last the Don and Ukraine kept up friendly relations.

The Relations with the Kuban

Concerning the Kuban Republic the Ukrainian Government believed that sooner or later the Kuban had to join Ukraine as an autonomous province or on federal principles. The question was simplified for them by the fact that the majority of the Kuban Government were of the same opinion.

However, the matter was not all that easy. The Kuban Government were not free to act on their personal preferences. It was bound by alliance with the North Caucasus mountaineers and with the Terek Cossacks. Besides, the Russian elements in the Kuban could not ever be disregarded.

But the main difficulty lay in the occupation of Ekaterinodar, the capital of the Kuban, by the Bolsheviks on March 23rd, 1918. The Kuban government had to move from Ekaterinodar (Katerynodar in Ukrainian) to the northern part of the country, the north-eastern corner of which was held by the Volunteers' army under the generals Alekseyev and Denikin. General Denikin hated the Ukrainians not less than the Bolsheviks and was extremely hostile both to the independent Ukrainian state and to its Hetman.

Such were the circumstances when on May 28th, 1918 a delegation of the Kuban Republic consisting of six men came to Kiev. The head of the delegation was M. Riabovil who held the post of chairman of the Kuban Legislative Council. His deputy as head of the delegation was Sultan Shakhin-Girei, the head of the Caucasian Committee.

The Kuban delegation was received very warmly in Kiev. On June 3rd a lunch was given in their honour in the Hetman's palace during which very friendly speeches were made on both sides.⁴⁵

⁴³) See Cheriachukin, *op. cit.*, pp. 209-210.

⁴⁴) *Ib.* p. 210.

⁴⁵) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, pp. 196-197.

Three members of the Kuban delegation were eager that their country should join Ukraine. These members and the Ukrainian Foreign Minister decided to work secretly in this direction.⁴⁶

The Kuban Government as a whole asked for help from the Ukrainian Government, and, in the first place, for arms. The Ukrainians willingly met their demand and in the end of June, 1918 sent to the Kuban the first transport of arms, consisting of 9,700 rifles, five million cartridges and 50,000 shells. In July they sent batteries of four guns each with a full supply of ammunition for them, a few hundred machine-guns, and other arms. And such transports went to the Kuban from Ukraine almost every month thereafter.⁴⁷

Meanwhile General Alekseyev was preparing his army to attack Katerynodar. According to D. Doroshenko it was clear to everyone that the powers which could remove the Bolsheviks from the Kuban would gain the sympathy and support of its population. So he and the three Kuban pro-Ukrainian delegates agreed among themselves that the Ukrainian forces ought to be sent into the Kuban.

For this object they chose the General Natiev Zaporozhian Division which was situated at that time in the eastern part of the Kharkiv province and consisted of 15,000 men. The design was laid before the Hetman who approved it.

They planned to send the Division to the Azov Sea, to embark, and then to make a landing on the Kuban sea coast. Meanwhile revolt against the Bolsheviks would start inside the Kuban and the General Natiev Division would help the rebels to drive out the Bolsheviks. It was very important to capture Katerynodar before General Alekseyev could do so; and after capturing the capital of the country, it would be easy, the Ukrainians and their Kuban friends thought, to proclaim the unification of the country with Ukraine.

At first the Germans would not agree to such a scheme of action, but in the end they gave in and agreed to bring in the German units to free the Natiev Division and even volunteered to help the Ukrainians organize their proposed landing on the Kuban sea coast.⁴⁸ But according to D. Doroshenko, all was ruined because of treachery in the Ukrainian War Office. One of the higher officials had been a supporter of the Volunteer army cause and he deliberately delayed the beginning of the Kuban landing operations, despite the orders from the Hetman and the War Ministry.⁴⁹

Meanwhile General Alekseyev with his army pushed the Bolsheviks out of Katerynodar and then moved his forces towards Novorosiisk.

⁴⁶) *Ib.* p. 197.

⁴⁷) See D. Doroshenko, *op cit.*, p. 197.

⁴⁸) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-198.

⁴⁹) *Ib.* p. 198.

At that point the Germans stepped in and announced that they could not allow hostilities to be opened between the Ukrainians and the Volunteer army and therefore the Kuban landing operation to be carried out.

Thus the Kuban became a centre of the Russian movement for a "United and indivisible" Russia, which had a very hostile attitude towards Ukraine as an independent state. V. Shul'gin, the editor of the "Kievlіanin" — the strongly anti-Ukrainian newspaper in Kiev, now transferred his office to Katerynodar.

The Kuban Government now had no choice but to carry out the orders given by the Volunteer Army Headquarters. Nevertheless they wished to preserve neighbourly relations with Ukraine and in the second half of October, 1918 they sent a mission to Kiev with colonel V. M. Tkachev as its chief. The official task of this mission was to conclude a military convention between the Kuban and Ukraine; unofficially, the mission was supposed to find out from the Ukrainian Government the conditions under which the Kuban could join the Ukrainian state.⁵⁰ In November the Ukrainian Government and the Kuban mission decided to introduce exchange bank operations between the two countries. On November 14th the agreement concerning post office and telegraph relations was concluded and on November 16th another agreement was concluded on commercial, consular and nautical relations. At that time also a railway convention was concluded.

In response to the friendliness of the Kuban Government an extraordinary mission, headed by colonel P. Borzhinskyi, went to Kuban, where at the session of the Kuban Rada colonel Borzhinskyi greeted the Kuban Cossacks in the name of the Ukrainian Government.*

And then came the end of the Hetmanate.

The Relations with Roumania and Bessarabia

The development of friendly relations between Ukraine and Roumania was hindered by the Bessarabia question. At the end of March, 1918 Bessarabia was occupied by Roumania as a compensation for the Dobrogea which she had officially to give up to the Central Powers according to the Bucarest peace treaty between the Central Powers and Roumania finally signed on May 7th, 1918. The occupation of Bessarabia was conducted with the silent approval of the Central Powers. After occupation Bessarabia's Provisional Government, Sfatul Tsarii, declared itself dissolved and handed over its power to the Roumanian Government.

Bessarabia was the land between the Prut on the west and the Dniester on the east. The Dniester thus formed the border between

⁵⁰) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

*) The end of the Colonel P. Borzhinskyi was tragic: he was captured by the Volunteer Army, tried for "treason" to the "United and indivisible" Russia cause and was shot on the spot.

Bessarabia and Ukraine. Its population of 2,347,000 included many nationalities among whom the Moldavians in 1920 composed 47.8%, Ukrainians 19.6%, Jews 11.8%, Bulgarians 5.2%, Germans 3% and others.⁵¹ According to the Ukrainians sources, the Ukrainians were in the majority in the Khotyn district, situated in the northern part of Bessarabia, and in the Akkerman district, on the very south. Till the end of the 18th century Bessarabia was under the Turks. Then through the 19th century and till 1917 it belonged to Russia where it formed a separate province. It did not join Ukraine when the latter became an independent state but all through 1917 and 1918 it existed as a separate state on its own. In the spring of 1917 a Provisional Government was organized inside Bessarabia which called itself Sfatul Tsarii,⁵² and was similar in structure and function to the Ukrainian Central Rada.

In the second half of December, 1917, this Bessarabian Provisional Government declared the country to be the Moldavian Democratic Republic which joined the Russian Federative Democratic Republic. On 24th January, 1918 this republic became an independent Free National Moldavian Republic.⁵³

Roumania watched the situation in Bessarabia attentively and in January 1918 Roumanian troops entered the country. The Sfatul Tsarii, which had to choose between Ukraine, where at that time the Central Rada was fighting the Bolsheviks, and Roumania, chose Roumania. When the voting of the Sfatul Tsarii members for or against joining Roumania took place, 86 of 123 members were in favour, 3 against, and 36 abstained.⁵⁴ But although Bessarabia joined Roumania, it still preserved its autonomy inside the Roumanian state.

When it became clear that Roumania intended to occupy Bessarabia, Holubovych, Premier of the Ukrainian Central Rada Government at that time, sent a note to the German and the Roumanian Governments, pointing out that Ukrainian were in the majority in the northern region of Bessarabia and formed a large element in the

⁵¹ See *Ukrains'ka zahal'na entsyklopediya*", Vol. I, pp. 255-254; L'viv, Stany-slaviv, Kolomyia; Prof. R. W. Seton-Watson in his work *A History of the Roumanians*, Cambridge, 1934, p. 566, gives the total Bessarabian population in 1930 as 2,865,600. Charles Upson Clark in his work *Bessarabia: Russia and Roumania on the Black Sea*, New York, 1927, p. 146, gives the following percentages for the Bessarabian population in 1918: 70% Moldavians, 14% Ukrainians, 12% Jews, 6% Russians, 3% Bulgarians, 3% Germans, 2% Gagauzi (Turks of Christian religion), and 1% Greeks and Armenians. The number of Moldavians is obviously exaggerated and that of Ukrainians underestimated here.

⁵² Sfatul Tsarii was a Provisional Diet whose members were not elected but appointed. It was planned that it would act till the Constituent Assembly of the Moldavian Republic was convoked. Its total membership was 150, 105 of whom were Moldavians.

⁵³ See Rakovskii, Kh., *Rumunia i Bessarabia: k semiletiyu aneksii Bessarabii*. Moskva, 1925, pp. 19-20.

⁵⁴ See D. Doroshenko, *op cit.*, p. 200. Bib. ref. No. 3.

south. Besides, continued the note, since Bessarabia bordered on Ukraine their economic ties were close. Therefore the Ukrainian Government held that they had every right to put forward its point of view in the discussions concerning Bessarabia.⁵⁵

When Roumania sent its units to Bessarabia, the Central Rada Government again protested to the Roumanian Government, declaring that this act, which they called annexation, could not be recognized by the Ukrainian Government because it had been done without consultation with the Bessarabian population, and they insisted that the part of the Bessarabian population which wished to join Ukraine should be allowed to do so.

At this point Skoropadskyi's coup d'état took place in Kiev and so the Roumanian answer to these demands was received by the new Ukrainian Government. They were informed that: Bessarabia had by no means been annexed but had voluntarily joined the Roumanian state: the Roumanian Government did not know any part of Bessarabia where the population would call themselves Ukrainians; and even if some group of the population did consider themselves Ukrainians, sentiment was not proof; when Ukraine signed the Brest-Litovsk treaty with the Germans, Bessarabia was not mentioned in it. Therefore, announced the Roumanian Government, they declined to admit the Ukrainian protest.

D. Doroshenko has explained that the contents and the tone of this Roumanian reply showed the new Ukrainian Government that protests to Roumania could be effective only if supported by an armed force which Ukraine at this time lacked.

Hence the Ukrainian Government had to be content with taking the view that because the Roumanian occupation of the Bessarabia had been done forcibly and was against the interests of the Ukrainian state, it could not be recognized. Furthermore, the Ukrainian Government declined all proposals by the Roumanians for closer economic collaboration between the two countries and supported the Ukrainian irredenta in Bessarabia.⁵⁶

The Ukrainian Government decided to renew its formal negotiations with the Roumanians only when Ukraine would have its own army. Consequently when the Central Rada representative in Roumania, M. M. Halahan, got to know about the coup d'état and returned to Kiev, no one was sent to replace him.

Thus only the consuls were left in the country, who were entrusted to look after the military stores left in Bessarabia after the collapse of the Russian "Roumanian" front.

One of the very first decrees issued by the Hetman's Government was an order signed by Premier Lyzohub and Minister of Commerce

⁵⁵) *Ib.* p. 200-201.

⁵⁶) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

S. Hutnyk on May 11th, 1913, which put under a ban export of all goods to Roumania and to Bessarabia.⁵⁷

But Roumania was in a difficult economic situation and was seeking an opportunity for closer diplomatic and especially economic relations with Ukraine. On June 10th, 1918 therefore it sent notes to the German and Austro-Hungarian Governments asking them to influence the Ukrainian government to the effect that Ukraine would renew their diplomatic and economic relations with Roumania. In response to their plea, Austria and Germany limited themselves to informing the Ukrainian government about the note.

Meanwhile the Ukrainian government considered it necessary to inform the Roumanians of their point of view concerning Ukraine-Roumanian relation. On June 5th, 1918, a note was sent by a special messenger to the Roumanian Government. In it the latter was informed that the Ukrainian Government considered the Roumanian action in Bessarabia to be illegal. Further the Ukrainian Government explained its own attitude, namely that Bessarabia should belong to the Ukrainian state. The note ended expressing a hope that this conflict between Ukraine and Roumania over Bessarabia could and should be solved, by applying the methods used in similar international conflicts by civilized countries.⁵⁸

On June 19th, 1918, the Ukrainian Government received an answer to their note, in which, using the same line they themselves had followed, the Roumanian Government explained that according to history Bessarabia should belong to them.

Meanwhile Kiev was receiving many delegations from Bessarabia. These delegations consisted of priests, peasants, landlords and all of them assured the Ukrainian Government that the population in Bessarabia was in favour of joining Ukraine. Even those, insisted the delegates, who previously had been in favour of joining Roumania now had reason to be disillusioned by the behaviour of Roumanians in Bessarabia. If only a Ukrainian division were to appear at the Dniester, all Bessarabia would rise and fight the Roumanians, they said. But the Ukrainian Government of course could not take such a step, being bound by the agreements with Germany and Austro-Hungary. Therefore the Ukrainians in Bessarabia, as in the Kuban, had to confine themselves to helping the Ukrainian irredenta. For instance, on the Foreign Minister's suggestion the Minister of Finance would sell sugar to the Bessarabian cooperatives for a very low price; or the Minister of Justice would pay salary to the Bessarabian court officials who did not wish to swear allegiance to the Roumanian king, and so on.⁵⁹

⁵⁷) *Ib. p. 202, Bib. ref.*

⁵⁸) See D. Doroshenko, *op cit.*, pp. 203-205.

⁵⁹) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

During the summer of 1918 the situation changed. The Ukrainian Government was searching for the means to contact the Entente powers. Roumania was the only neighbouring country which had diplomatic representatives from the Entente Powers. Therefore their recognition as a sovereign state by Roumania grew in importance.

Hence it was decided in Kiev to consider the Bessarabia question as a legal matter now in abeyance, which the Ukrainians did not wish to enter into at the moment but were waiting for the international situation to revive in their favour. Meanwhile they began negotiations with the Roumanians. The aim of these negotiations was to conclude an economic agreement.

In the middle of September the Roumanian mission, headed by the Deputy Roumanian Foreign Minister, Contcescu, set out for Kiev. The Ukrainians formed a special commission for the negotiations with this mission. It included councillor Prof. O. Eikhl'man, councillor A. Halip and others. The negotiations took place in the building of the Foreign Ministry. Many difficulties arose during these negotiations but diplomatic considerations won in the end and the commercial agreement between the two countries was finally drawn up.

According to this agreement the Ukrainian Government agreed to sell to the Roumanians 650,000 puds of sugar; 300,000 puds of grains; iron and its products, agricultural machinery, and calcium carbonate. The Roumanians agreed to sell to the Ukrainians sugar-beet, lime, old and new wine, dry and tinned fruits, fresh and salted fish and firewood. The Ukrainians also promised the Roumanians some sugar in exchange for oil. Import and export had to be of equal value. Both governments agreed also to renew in the nearest possible future the train and ship service between the two countries and telegraph and telephone services. There had to be concluded also a special convention concerning the exchange of cars, engines and commercial ships belonging to one of the countries but being left on the territory of the other during the war.

This agreement was to be effective till May 1st, 1919, and it was signed on October 26th, 1918, in Ukrainian, Roumanian, and French texts. After signing it the Ukrainian Government sent a special mission to Roumania headed by General V. Dashkevych-Horbatskyi.⁶⁰

But then came the fall of Skoropadsky's Government, and this agreement was never put into action.

Ukraine and the Crimea

Because of its geographical position, the fate of the Crimean peninsula was of prime importance for the Ukrainian state.

At the beginning of April, 1918 Ukrainian units of the Zaporozhian Corps under the command of Col. Bolbochan were sent to the Crimea

⁶⁰) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

by the Ukrainian Government and were given the task of pushing the Bolshevik units out of the region and of taking possession of the Black Sea Fleet. On April 24th, 1918, those units captured Simferopol' and Bakhchysarai⁶¹ but were immediately ordered by the Germans to stop their advance and, later, to withdraw from the Crimean peninsula altogether.

Although the Germans allowed the Tatars to preserve their National Council "Kurultay", which was formed in the beginning of 1917, they also called to power the Russian elements of the Crimean population. The Provincial Crimean Government was headed by General Sulkevich and included Senator A. Akhmatovich, Tatar and Moslem, former Russian ambassador in Constantinople, N. Charikov, count Tatishchev and others. Simferopol' became the capital of this newly formed Crimean Government.

On June 18th, 1918, this government published a declaration in which it announced that it "considered its task to safeguard the independence of the Crimean peninsula till the time when international position would become apparent, and to keep order inside the country."⁶² By the same declaration the Crimean Government announced also a validity of all Russian laws issued before October 25th, 1917. Then the new Ministries were formed and all other sides of the country's life were regulated.⁶³ A National Flag and Coat of Arms were created.

D. Doroshenko implies that it soon became evident that the Crimean Government considered the Crimea an integral part of the Russian Empire which was to be independent only till the "united and indivisible" Russia would be re-established. At first neither General Sulkevich nor his Ministers wished even to hear about union with the Ukrainian state. But, continued Doroshenko, the Ukrainian Government could not allow the Crimea to separate itself from Ukraine and to become the nest of the future "united and indivisible" Russia. There was also another very strong argument against the separation of the Crimea: the whole Crimea and especially Sebastopol is a key to the Black Sea.

When the Ukrainian units were ordered to withdraw from Crimea, the Hetman, on May 10th, 1918, through baron Mum, handed in a note to the German Government in which he tried to explain why it was necessary for Ukraine to have the Crimea and the Black Sea Fleet.⁶⁴

Meanwhile the Crimean Government made attempts to contact Berlin directly. The Ukrainians, on their part, were helping the pro-

⁶¹) *Ukrains'ka zahal'na entsiklopediia*, Vol. 2, pp. 388-389. 1918: Crimea had 700,000 population of whom 42% were Russians, 25% Tatars, 11% Ukrainians, 6% Germans, 6.4% Jews.

⁶²) See D. Doroshenko, II, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

⁶³) See D. Doroshenko, II, *op. cit.* For the contents of this declaration see pp. 209-210.

⁶⁴) See Brieftelegramm No. A IV 9968.

Ukrainian elements in the Crimean peninsula. Three newspapers which were in favour of the Union with Ukraine, were subsidised by the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry. Help was also given to some communities and to the "Committee of the Steppe Ukraine."⁶⁵

When the Crimean Government learned of this they began to fight the Ukrainian propaganda in the country, persecuting the pro-Ukrainian newspapers and communities.

The Ukrainian Government decided to act. In the middle of August its Council of Ministers approved the move of the Foreign Minister and passed a resolution for an economic blockade of the Crimea. The protective tariffs were announced, all exchange of goods was brought to a standstill and only the goods for the German units in the Crimea were allowed to pass the border between the two countries. The autumn was approaching and the Crimean fruit gardeners desperately needed wood for their boxes, shavings and sawdust for the fruit-packing. They also needed sugar to bottle their fruits and firewood to dry it. All these products used to be brought to the peninsula from Ukraine, so prices inside the country jumped up and fruits began to rot. Germans who had bought fruit crops in advance, in the summer, were not able to take them away from the peninsula because Crimean fruits would not stand transportation across the sea and, after that, by the railway. Therefore the Germans asked the Ukrainian Government to lift the blockade. The Ukrainians refused to do so and told the Germans that they considered themselves responsible to provide supplies for the Germans from Ukraine, but not from the Crimea, which, they said, considered itself to be a separate state anyway.

By that time the Crimean Government of Sulkevich decided to yield to the Ukrainians and sent a telegram to the Ukrainian Government saying the Crimean Government was ready to conduct negotiations concerning the contents and form of a Crimean-Ukrainian association. After this telegram the Crimean Government was told by the Ukrainians to send to Kiev their delegation. When the Ukrainian Government was informed that such a delegation had left the Crimea for Kiev, the blockade was lifted at once.

In the middle of September this delegation arrived in Kiev. It consisted of senator Akhmatovich — the head of the delegation — Charikov, Minister of Education, Friman, Minister of Communication, and Nikiforov, Minister of Food.

From the Ukrainian side the negotiations were conducted by F. Lyzohub and D. Doroshenko. The Germans also sent their representative.

During the negotiations the Crimean delegation made attempts to avoid the question of union with Ukraine. They talked, as D. Doroshenko reports, of the rights of all nations to independence, of the desire of the Crimean population, etc. On hearing this the Ukrainian

⁶⁵) See D. Doroshenko, II, *op. cit.*, pp. 211-212.

Government declared that it did not recognize this delegation to be competent to defend the rights of the Crimean population. It demanded that representatives of all the main national groups of the Crimean population should be sent to Kiev to take part in the negotiations. In a week's time the representatives of the Tatars, Ukrainians and Germans came to Kiev. These representatives held a much more favourable view on the union with Ukraine, and in a short time the conditions for such a union were worked out.

According to them the Crimea received internal autonomy (home rule) within the Ukrainian state. It was to have its own Council (soim), territorial army, administration and a State Secretary in the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian State.⁶⁶ It was agreed that these terms had to be approved by the "Kurultay" and by the assembly of the national and public organizations of the Crimea.

Meanwhile the Germans, who were having a very hard time on the Western front, began to loosen their grip in Ukraine and agreed to hand over to the Ukrainians the Black Sea Fleet. The Ukrainian colours were displayed on some of the ships of the Black Sea Fleet. It seemed that all was moving towards a satisfactory end. But the snag was that this promising aspect of things was caused not by the strength of the Ukrainians but by the German weakness. That is why all ended in the revolt against the Hetman Government which came into being if not with active German help, certainly with their silent approval.

Relations with Russia

According to Article VI of the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty between Russia and the Central Powers — Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey — Russia obligated itself to conclude a Peace Treaty with the Ukrainian People's Republic and to recognize the Treaty of Peace concluded between that state and the Powers of the Quadruple Alliance. The Ukrainian territory was without delay to be cleared of Russian troops and the Russian Red Guards. Russia also was to put an end to all agitation and propaganda against the Government or the public institutions of the Ukrainian People's Republic.⁶⁷

That article in the Peace Treaty forced the Russians to conduct negotiations with the Ukrainians. And at first the Bolsheviks even were anxious to conclude peace treaties with Finland and Ukraine.⁶⁸ But later they pursued the policy: "to do all that can be done for a rapid development of the country's economy, to increase its defensive

⁶⁶) See D. Doroshenko, II, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

⁶⁷) See The Treaty of Peace... Article VI.

⁶⁸) See "Postanovleniya TSK RKP (b) po voprosu o mezhdunarodnom polo-zhenii", 6. 6. 1918. Lenin *Sochineniya*, Vol. 27, p. 526. Moskva, 1950.

capacity and to form a powerful army, on one hand, and on the other hand, in international dealings, to keep up the policy of manoeuvre, retreat and waiting for the moment of international revolution...⁶⁹

And again: "International policy of the Soviet Government has to be kept up (at the present level) disregarding the costs. Our military preparations are not finished and that is why our general line should be manoeuvre, retreat and waiting. At the same time we should continue our military preparations with all our might."⁷⁰

In order to show the Central Powers that they were fulfilling the sixth paragraph of the Peace Treaty, the Bolsheviks sent their delegation to Kiev to conduct negotiations with the Ukrainian government. Kh. Rakovskii⁷¹ was appointed the head of it, D. Z. Manuil'skii,⁷² his deputy. In all the Russian delegation, including various experts, consisted of 22 men.

The head of the Ukrainian delegation was senator S. P. Shelukhin, and his deputy at first was Igor Ol. Kistiakiv's'kyi, (till August 10th) and senator P. A. Stebnyts'kyi, later. The Ukrainian delegation, including experts, consisted of about 30 men. It had eight commissions: political, army and navy, finance, communications, culture, economics and law.

At first the work of this Russian-Ukrainian peace conference was running smoothly and on June 12th the preliminary agreement was signed providing for the suspension of all hostilities and the lifting of all restriction on the exit of Ukrainian citizens from Russia and of Russian citizens from Ukraine. Ukrainian consulates were established in about 30 Russian and Siberian towns to facilitate the southward movement of the Ukrainians in Russia. A Soviet consulate was opened in Kiev. Postal, telegraph and railway communications were resumed between the two countries and the Russians agreed to return to Ukraine all the locomotives and rolling stock seized during the Bolshevik retreat.⁷⁴

When the preliminary agreement was signed the conference began its work on a Peace Treaty between the two countries. A plan was

⁶⁹ *Ib.* p. 282. (Shest' tezisev ob ocherednykh zadachakh sovietskoy vlasti).

⁷⁰ *Ib.* p. 325 (Tezisy o sovremennom politicheskom polozenii).

⁷¹ Rakovskii, Khristian Georgievich (1873-), Roumanian socialist, later Communist. 1919-1923 he was head of the Ukrainian Soviet Government; 1925-1927 he was a Soviet Ambassador in England and France. In 1927 he was expelled from the Communist party and was sent to Siberia.

⁷² Manuil'skii, Dmitrii Zakharovich (1885-1959) Russian Bolshevik, Ukrainian by origin, son of a priest from Podillia. 1907-1917 political emigré. 1920-1921 Commissar of Agriculture in the Ukrainian Soviet Government.

⁷³ Shelukhin, Serhii Pavlovych (1860-) was born in Poltava province to a landlord parent. He was a graduate of the Kiev University (Law), worked as interrogator, public prosecutor of the provincial court. During the Government of the Central Rada he was appointed Minister of Justice.

⁷⁴ See D. Doroshenko, II, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-167.

worked out according to which the agenda of negotiations had to be divided into three sections. Section one consisted of the following items: final ending of the war between the two countries; establishing of the frontier between Ukraine and Russia (excluding the frontier with the Crimea, the Kuban, and Bessarabia); citizenship; public and private property; diplomatic and consular relations; Siberia and other colonies.

Section two included such questions as the division of state, community, and private property and the final settlement of all accounts.

Section three contained items on communications — post, telegraph, roads and other means of communication; commerce and industry; finance; medical questions; international private law; arbitration (the Hague Conference) and amnesty.⁷⁵

There were two main questions around which arguments flared up: the settlement of finance and the frontier between the two countries. Especially heated were discussions on the frontier question. Both delegations agreed that the frontier had to be drawn according to ethnographical principles, but here the mutual consent ended. The discussions were especially bitter when the frontier or the northern part of the Chernyhiiv province, Western and South-western district of the Kursk and Voronezh province and Donetsk region were discussed. The frontier question was also discussed in a lively way at the Political Commission as well as at the Plenary session but after a few weeks of discussion the solution still was not found.

The settlement of the question concerning the division of State property and State debts of the former Russian Empire between the Ukraine and Soviet Russia had also met great difficulties because of the different approach to this question by the two delegations.

In the first place, the Ukrainian delegation would recognize only the debts of the Russian Empire made before the 7th of November, 1917.

Secondly, in their opinion assets and liabilities ought to be divided on one principle, that is to say, the assets and liabilities of the Empire ought both to be divided according to the proportion of population in the two new states. Both because, as the Ukrainians argued, the old state debts had been raised on the principal or security of not only the State's properties but also the taxability of the population. So the new Ukrainian government, in taking upon itself a proportion of the old debts, had a right to the corresponding part of the properties which used to belong to the Russian Empire.

The Ukrainians were willing to take upon themselves one-fifth of all the debts.⁷⁶

The Soviet Government, which had cancelled all the debts of the Russian Empire, was, of course, neither interested in the Ukrainian

⁷⁵ See D. Doroshenko, II, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-168.

⁷⁶ See D. Doroshenko, II, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-180.

willingness to share them nor eager to share with the latter the property it had gained.

In the end of July, 1918, it became evident to the Ukrainian delegation that Russians did not intend to conclude the peace treaty with Ukraine but were playing for time. S. P. Shelukhin on July 31st reported to the Council of Ministers on the Russian-Ukrainian negotiations. In this report he expressed his opinion that the Bolsheviks were doing all they could to avoid conclusion of the peace treaty.⁷⁷

On July 17th during one of the sessions of the Political Commission, Manuil'sky informed the Ukrainians that the Bolshevik position was now much better, because the Germans needed them and therefore would not give such support to the Ukrainians as they had at the beginning of the conference. Besides, the Ukrainian Government, continued Manuil'sky, could neither recruit the army nor hire it because its policy inside the country embittered the population which had now started revolts against its government. Because of that internal situation German units were now busy fighting the population and there were no available units to fight the Bolsheviks.⁷⁸

The main concern of Germans and Austro-Hungarians in the Ukrainian-Russian peace negotiations was to prevent foodstuffs being sent anywhere else but to Germany and Austro-Hungary.⁷⁹ At the beginning of the peace conference it seemed to the Ukrainians that the Germans really wished the Peace Treaty between Ukraine and Soviet Russia to be concluded. But when in the end of the summer the political situation changed and the Murmansk, Czecho-Slovak and Volunteers' White Army against Soviet Russia were formed, the Germans, suffering defeat after defeat, in the Western front, began to be afraid of any possible changes in Moscow. That was when they started to block up the road to the conclusion of the Treaty between Ukraine and Soviet Russia.

At the end of summer Rakovsky and Manuil'sky entered into secret negotiation with the Ukrainian opposition to the Hetman Government, the Ukrainian National Union, an alliance of Ukrainian parties which prepared and later carried out the rising against the Hetman Government.

The negotiations between these two parties took place in September, 1918 and were concluded by Manuil'sky and the chairman of the Ukrainian National Union. V. Vynnychenko. The Soviet delegation agreed to support the U.N.U. by increasing activity of their intelligence service at the front and in this way to divert the attention

⁷⁷) *Ib.*, pp. 172-174.

⁷⁸) See D. Doroshenko, II, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-174.

⁷⁹) See Forgach telegramm No. 502, May, 1918.

of the German and pro-Hetman units from the internal situation. They agreed also to recognize the new Ukrainian Government which would be formed by the U.N.U. and promised not to interfere in the internal policy of this Government.

In return the leaders of the U.N.U. promised the Bolsheviks to legalize the Communist party in Ukraine when they came to power.⁸⁰ Quite naturally, with such an encouragement, the Russian delegation stopped altogether to think and to work for the conclusion of the Peace Treaty and put all their energy to one task: to gain time and at the same time help secretly the Ukrainian communists to make ready to rise against any but a Communist Government in Ukraine.

Being able to see through the policy of their opponents, the Ukrainian delegation on October 3rd sent a note to the Russian delegation in which it stressed a "perniciousness and intolerability" of this policy of delay and an answer of the Russian delegation to this question was demanded. The answer was very evasive. Then a second note, demanding a resolute answer, was sent by the Ukrainians. To this second note the Russian delegation gave answer at the last session, which took place on October 7th. It said that the delegation had to go to Moscow for instructions, and they asked the Ukrainian delegation to suspend the negotiations for some time. This was granted and Rakovsky left Kiev for Moscow while Manuil'sky stayed behind. Meanwhile the Ukrainian Government decided to dismiss the members of the Ukrainian delegation and the delegation was told to round up its work.

At that time the State Guard made some arrests among the members of the Soviet Consulates in Kiev, Odessa and other towns on the charge that they worked for the overthrow of the Ukrainian Government. The Soviet Government strongly protested against this action and on November 3rd, Manuil'ski received an order from his government to leave Kiev for Moscow with all his staff. It meant actually a rupture of diplomatic relations. At the border, Manuil'sky was kept till the train with the Ukrainian consular staff arrived from Russia. That was the end of the four months of Ukrainian-Russian negotiations.

⁸⁰) See V. Vynnychenko, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3 pp. 158-59, and also V. Vynnychenko, "Yevreis'ka sprava na Ukraïni", *Nova Ukraïna*, 1923, Nos. 7-8.

(To be continued.)

Yu. GERYCH

VASYL ORELECKYJ

(On the occasion of his birthday.)

On January 30, 1970 Prof. Vasyl Oreleckyj became 75 years old. He is one of the very few living professors of the Ukrainian Free University who were on the University's staff prior to World War II.

Prof. Vasyl Oreleckyj was born on January 30, 1895 in the village of Luzhany in Bukovyna. There he completed his primary education. He received his secondary education in various gymnasiums of Chernivtsi. In the course of his secondary education, he exhibited an unusual talent and interest in foreign languages. And thus, in the First State Gymnasium, besides the required German and classical languages, he also studied Polish. With special permission from the Regional Board of Education he took an English language course in the Chernivtsi Commercial School, and transferring to the Secondary State Gymnasium, he began to study French. He completed his secondary education with honours on July 2, 1914.

Prof. Oreleckyj began his university education at the Franz Joseph University in Chernivtsi at the Law Faculty. However, his studies were interrupted by the outbreak of the First World War. Drafted into the Austrian army, Oreleckyj had undergone officers' training and with the rank of an officer himself in that unit which, according to an agreement with the Government of the Ukrainian Central Council, entered Ukrainian territory in 1918. In November 1918 he fought against the Rumanian military units, which at that time were occupying Bukovyna. With the rank of platoon commander Oreleckyj joined the Ukrainian Army of Halychyna (UHA) and commanded one of the units of the Third Corps of UHA, participated in the Kyiv Offensive, was wounded (June 22, 1919 in the village of Skoromokhy), participated in numerous battles with the Bolsheviks and Denikin's White Army, became ill with typhus and lived through the "square of death."

After the war, following the failure of the Ukrainian liberation struggle, Oreleckyj did not return to Chernivtsi any more. He moved to Prague, and there with unusual energy resumed his studies, and devoted much time to educational and community affairs. Community work was not new to him. While still a pupil at the Second State Gymnasium in Chernivtsi, he — together with poets Dmytro Zahul and Volodymyr Kobylanskyi — worked on the problem of the Ukrainian system of education in Bukovyna. This action brought significant and successful results, for the Austrian government, at long last, opened two gymnasiums, in Kitsman and Vyzhnytsia, and a teachers' training college in Chernivtsi, all with the Ukrainian language of instruction. In other secondary schools parallel courses with the Ukrainian language of instruction were introduced.

In Prague, Oreleckyj became the head of the Bukovyna students' group "Cheremosh" and edited a newsletter "Bukovyna." He played a prominent role in the organization of the Rebirth of Ukrainian Students (SVUZ), edited its English language organ "The NU News" and contributed to the periodical "L'Orient Libre" and others.

The most significant period in Oreleckyj's activity during his student years was his years-long presidency of the Central Union of Ukrainian Students (TsESUS) with headquarters in Prague. TsESUS was founded in 1921 at the Third Congress of Ukrainian Students in Prague and it coordinated and represented all Ukrainian students' organizations in Western Ukraine and abroad. TsESUS was a full member of the International Student Organization (S.I.E.) and these circumstances gave it great opportunities to influence and form the views and opinions of the world student organizations with respect to the Ukrainian question. It goes without saying that Oreleckyj was most suited for this function. Mastering practically all languages of international communication, he took a very active part in international student congress, conferences, discussions (Copenhagen 1925, Prague 1926, Rome 1927, Geneva 1927, Paris 1928, Budapest 1929, Brussels 1930, Bucarest 1931, Riga 1932, etc.).

At these congresses he not only defended the academic interests of the Ukrainian students, but also, and primarily, the interests of Ukraine. There he was able to make contacts with influential delegates of various countries, and having the possibility of direct contact in the language of his interlocutors, he accomplished a great deal for the Ukrainian cause and won many genuine friends for it.

Besides serving as president of TsESUS Oreleckyj was also the editor of its organ "The Student Herald" and "Information Bulletin" which appeared in German, English and French. He also contributed to the "Ukrainian Student" an organ of free thought of the Ukrainian students, founded in 1922. In spite of such intensive cultural and civic activity at the student forum, Oreleckyj, of course, did not neglect his studies. He graduated from the Philosophic Faculty of the Czech Charles University and the Ukrainian Free University, as well as the Higher School of Political Science. At last he returned to the study of what he began originally: the study of law. Graduating from the Faculty of Law and Social Sciences at the Ukrainian University he received his Doctor of Laws degree on June 24, 1932.

After graduation Oreleckyj became an assistant to the honorary professor Otto Eichelman in the Department of International Law. However in the early 30's the UFU found itself in financial difficulties and Oreleckyj had to earn a living by making translations to the official publication of the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which appeared in German. He held the post of assistant until 1939. In February of that year he submitted his habilitation thesis entitled "The Theory of S. Puffendorf", which received an excellent review. On this basis he was permitted to take his habilitation examination in the presence of the College of Professors of the Faculty of Law and Social Sciences and received a "veniam docendi" which was confirmed by the Academic Senate of

UFU. Prof. Eichelman, then 85 years old, praised the habilitation work of his assistant and gave him his blessing for the chair of international law. Oreleckyj began to lecture at UFU in the spring semester of 1938 and in the winter semester 1939/40 he was already considered Eichelman's successor, prior to the latter's death. At the same time Oreleckyj was named a permanent member of the political and final examinations' committee, i. e., he began to perform all professorial functions, besides the academic and administrative ones.

Nevertheless, it was hard to live on the salary paid by UFU to its professors. For this reason Oreleckyj was forced to teach German at the Ukrainian secondary school at Modřany, a post which gave him relative financial security.

Besides his work UFU and the Modřany secondary school, Oreleckyj wrote a great deal. Many of his writings appeared under various pseudonyms.

War... occupation... German terror... starvation... Under such conditions, you get to know a person without ornaments, without a mask, in all its directness. And if you would have known Oreleckyj at that time, you would have known a man of excellent character, high spiritual values, a man who does not change his views depending on "cultural influences."

After leaving Prague Prof. Oreleckyj found himself in Aschaffenburg, West Germany. There he headed three Ukrainian refugee camps (UNRRA and IRO) and organized a Ukrainian gymnasium, in which he also taught. With the resumption of activities by UFU and the Ukrainian Technical and Economics Institute, Oreleckyj had to move to Munich. At UFU he was the professor of International Law, served several terms as dean of the Law Faculty, and in the academic year 1965/6 was first elected rector. In subsequent academic years Oreleckyj served as rector for two more times.

In the Munich period of his activity he became member of a number of scholarly associations, published several research works, participated in various academic conferences, as well as managed to find his way to the West European press: Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, without mentioning the German or French press. Since 1954 Prof. Oreleckyj has headed the Editorial Board of *The Ukrainian Review*.

His articles, dealing with Ukraine's international relations, also appear in the Ukrainian press. It is to be regretted, however, that most of his articles are signed by his pseudonyms, which are unknown to the general public.

Recapitulating the above remarks about the life of Prof. Oreleckyj, I would like to call the attention of the organized student groups in particular, to the fact that in his person we have the reincarnation of the important period in the history of the Ukrainian student movement, one of the founders and organizers of this movement, i. e., a very important aspect of the Ukrainian national development.

Scholarly, pedagogic and political activities of Prof. Oreleckyj are separate subjects, and we have every reason to believe that people are going to be found who will turn their attention to them.

THE GUN AND THE FAITH

**Religion and Church in Ukraine
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by

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The
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REVIEW



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1970

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Yevhen ORLOVSKYI

SECOND CAPITULATION OF GERMANY

When the famous Ukrainian leader, Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky (1648-1657), took the oath to honour the Treaty of Pereyaslav (1654) by which Ukraine entered into a personal union with Muscovy, one of the most outstanding Cossack leaders, Colonel Ivan Bohun, a man of firm principles, refused to take the oath. The great Hetman Khmelnytskyi also felt that Muscovy was not to be trusted, but it seemed to him that there was no other way out in the circumstances. Soon afterwards Muscovy began to interpret the agreements of Pereyaslav to her own advantage, increasing the pressure on the Hetman. Khmelnytskyi saw his mistake of entering into partnership with Muscovy, for Moscow respects only the stronger and keeps the agreement only when forced to.

Hetman Ivan Mazepa (1687-1709) a great statesman and diplomat was well aware of the faithlessness of the Muscovites. Mazepa was aware of Muscovite lies, deceit, baseness and treachery. The poet Shevchenko (1814-1861), too, in his prophetic visions warned his nation and its leaders from trusting the Russians again and again. But did some of our Ukrainian politicians learn anything from our own foreign history by 1918? Have they learned anything by 1960 or 1970? By far not so. A document has appeared, for instance, about the democratic movement of Russia, Ukraine and the Baltic States, in which its authors — following into Lenin's footprints — promise Ukraine even less than Lenin himself had promised in tsarist times and many politically naïve people have begun to talk about the necessity of a common front with those "one and indivisible Russian swindlers as a precondition of victory in the anti-Bolshevik fight. History is not a teacher of life.

Not only for us, Ukrainians.

We have before us a document: the treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the USSR about renunciation of the use of force and cooperation. Its contents are: recognition by Germany of the *status quo* created by the Russian victory on the battlefield without any *quid pro quo* on the part of the Russians. In fact this is a second capitulation of Germany to the Russians. Germany, or more precisely Bonn, or still more precisely the SPD-FDP Government on behalf of the Federal Republic, recognises the existence of two German States, although one of them is an outright Russian colony.

the setting up of West Berlin as a de facto separate unit, for Berlin deputies even so have no vote in the Parliament, the renunciation of all claims to the German territories occupied by Poland and Russia, as well as Czecho-Slovakia. Moreover, without a recognition by the Russians even on paper, even in the form of a declaration, of the right to self-determination, to the reunification of both parts of Germany, the FRG and the "GDR", in one German State. This is not all. The Russians failed even to promise to pull down the Berlin wall, to democratise even to some extent the relations in the "GDR", to ease the visits between the two parts of Germany, or to repatriate the remaining Germans from the concentration camps, etc. The Bonn Government has accepted all the Russian demands simply for the sake of "improving the atmosphere", creating conditions for cooperation, for mutual exchange of economic, scientific and cultural "goods"... Russians want to receive from the FRG industrial products, assistance for the construction of factories on the territory of the USSR, every possible advantage from the second strongest trading and the third-strongest industrial country in the world in a situation of the development of their own military industry, when the FRG will supply them with the necessary industrial goods for the everyday use as well as partly with components for the armaments industry, and the Russians will concentrate their industrial potential primarily in order to overtake the USA in the armaments and to prepare a possible war with Peking, if in the meantime no understanding between the USSR and Communist China is reached. The latter possibility we have mentioned previously, including the possibility of coming to power of Moscow's supporters from under Liu Shao-chi's banner. After 25 years since the end of the war, when almost the entire world has forgotten that Germany had lost the war, in a situation of a fundamental change of the attitude of the world to the FRG, which is regarded in Europe as an important anti-Russian factor, when the FRG has become a partner of the USA and the strongest militarily and economically, after the USA, partner in NATO, and further in the European Common Market, when the FRG is now a friend of France and Great Britain, and particularly the USA, the Bonn Government has reminded the world by its second capitulation in Moscow that Germany had lost the war and has to go on paying for it... Is this naiveté, treason, stupidity or Macchiavelism?

The prime mover of the entire present German foreign policy — and not only foreign policy — is a former outstanding leader of the Communist Party of Germany and former Russian collaborator — Wehner. Chancellor Brandt also used to belong to left-wing socialist opponents of Kurt Schumacher, a socialist, for many years prisoner of Nazi concentration camps, but an ardent patriot who hated Russians and Communists like a pest. Brandt and Wehner are both former emigrants who did not take any particular interest in the fate

of Germany in the past . . . There are other members of the present government who were also left-wing socialists, there are also former Nazis . . .

Surely Wehner is not so naïve as not to be able to grasp the essence of the matter? Who better than him knows the Russians, when he used to sit for many years in Moscow at the Comintern HQ with Ulbricht whose wife was formerly Wehner's first wife? . . . Wehner knows what he wants. Is his dream a left-wing "people's democratic Germany" united under his chancellorship in alliance with Russia?

Each treaty has two partners: I give so that you give, too. The FRG has given everything, but what has it obtained from the Russians now? Lenin taught: one step backwards, two steps forwards! Even if the Berlin wall had been pulled down, this would not have meant a success, because in 1961 it was not there yet! And there is no unification of Germany either. This is Moscow's art to make two steps forwards, perhaps to go back one step, but never the less to make one firm step forwards. Meanwhile Brandt went even further. He failed to achieve the destruction of the Berlin wall, or an improvement of conditions in the "GDR", or security of West Berlin, or the recognition at least in the form of a declaration of the right of the German people to self-determination and reunification of Germany in freedom . . . But he did recognise unconditionally the status quo. He explains that he did this in the hope that the Russians would now have confidence in Bonn and would meet him halfway in other fundamental problems. He has recognised Oder and Neisse and the loss of East Prussia, Pomerania, Silesia and the Sudetenland and the partition of Germany, and the admission of two German States into the UN, even without deciding the matter who would represent West Berlin in the UN, although until now Western Allies recognise West Berlin as part of the FRG. And now? Will it be a free city like Danzig? A cheque has been signed in blanco . . . Thus Wehner trusts the Russians for the sake of "peace and quiet" and hands themselves over to the mercies of Moscow — voluntarily, unnecessarily, in conditions of a mighty power of the FRG!

By surrendering its trumps Bonn wishes to gain the friendship of Russian imperialists and their supporters, the Russian people. But they have intentionally forgotten that there are the enslaved nations who make up over a half of the population of the USSR, and with the population of the satellite states, the relation of forces is 1:2 to the Russians' disadvantage. Hence Bonn seeks friendship not with the enslaved nations, but with their enslavers. The SPD-FDP follow into the footsteps of the Nazis. Is Brandt copying Hitler? This means that Germany is again losing her natural friends — the enslaved nations — while she herself continues to be partly enslaved. This is a consequence of the underestimation of the importance and the role of the subjugated nations in the struggle for a better world, in the vanguard of which stands Ukraine. Germany again binds herself with

tyranny against its victims. Hitler's pact with Stalin is repeated. History does not teach anything. Does the SPD-FDP hope to achieve liberation with the help of the enslaver? To defend sheep with a wolf?

Thus the SPD-FDP have missed the opportunity to win the friendship of the subjugated nations for Germany. The FRG is placing itself today on the side of despotism, of the subjugator against the subjugated, recognises the status quo fully in Russia's favour, thus guaranteeing the state of enslavement of all the countries in the USSR and the satellite states! By this treaty Moscow has achieved in advance the liquidation of any second front in western Europe. And Russia has already fronts in Asia — China, the Near East — the Mediterranean Sea, and the most dangerous front: the subjugated nations headed by Ukraine. FRG guarantees the inviolability of her frontiers including the "GDR." Russia can transfer some of her divisions to the Chinese frontier and to increase the pressure on the subjugated nations. The Federal Republic of Germany favours an agreement with its enemy. And what will the USA say? Surely the time will come when Moscow demands the withdrawal of the US, British and French troops from the FRG, now that treaty renouncing the use of force exists? What is the need then for the allied troops when Russia is becoming a friend of the FRG? And then pressure after pressure will come, blackmail after blackmail . . .

And Senators Fulbright and Mansfield will repeat in the US Senate tomorrow: why keep troops in West Germany, when there is an agreement between Moscow and Bonn? And Moscow will demand that atomic weapons be removed from Germany, because there is an agreement . . . An agreement . . . Moscow has all the blackmail trumps in its hands because it did not take upon itself any obligation even on paper, it is only Bonn that has made concessions! The complex of a lost war after a quarter of a century when the entire world has almost forgotten it, has again been brought back to the public mind by Wehner-Brandt by a gratuitous second capitulation of Germany to Moscow. Without any reason and sense. And all this has happened because statesmen have fallen into a state of a hopeless lack of vision, because they see only RUSSIA, but do not see the tremendous explosive force in that empire: the subjugated nations — their natural allies in the struggle against Russia for the liberation also of the enslaved part of Germany.

Finally, does Moscow really plan a preventive war against China, about which we have written in one of our earlier commentaries, and wants to have a safe West-European flank and rear? Or does Wehner perhaps intend in a Macchiavellian spirit, according to Stalin's style, to manoeuvre Moscow into a war against China, giving up positions in Germany in order thus to encourage Russia to attack China, in the belief that her European flank is safe, and in this way to bring about war of attrition between Russia and China? It was how Stalin planned

things when he concluded the non-aggression pact with Hitler. The Ribbentrop-Molotov non-aggression pact provoked a war of Germany against the Allies because Hitler had a safe back on Russia's side. Does Wehner speculate similarly, combining the variant — the Hitler-Stalin pact (in the present situation — Brandt-Kosygin) — thus encouraging Russia to begin a preventive war against China with a future variant: Bonn-Peking-Washington (in which we do not believe)? On Russia's part the war can be either atomic or conventional with the threat of an atomic war which should compel China to capitulate. Does Wehner intend that in this way Moscow should involve itself in a prolonged war with China and — deceiving Moscow by its capitulation — Bonn will utilise the opportunity of Russia's weakening in a war with China in order to exert pressure on Moscow to gain concessions during the latter's exhaustive war with China? But Moscow has also its own political and strategic staffs and Wehner knows this better than anyone as a former member of the Politburo of the CP of Germany and of the Presidium of the Comintern. One remembers the occasion when Stalin put pressure on Ribbentrop to make Hitler agree to the occupation of the Baltic States and additionally to the occupation of another Baltic port by Russia, but Ribbentrop procrastinated. Having asked Hitler by telephone, he received immediately an answer favourable to Stalin. Rejoicing, Ribbentrop went to see Stalin, shouting out: "The Fuehrer has agreed!" An expression of fear appeared on Stalin's face. He understood that Hitler had ulterior motives when he so easily agreed to Moscow's demand. Does really Wehner, an experienced decade-long communist leader, hope to manoeuvre Communist Russia into preventive war against China and to gain from it?

More than once we have expressed our view on the Moscow-Peking conflict and consider it reasonable. If one is to abstract from the political stupidity of German leaders, a scandalous opportunistic atavistic pro-Communist complex of the present-day leaders brought up on Marxism-Leninism, one thing perhaps remains to explain the reasons for the second capitulation of Germany to Russia in a situation of the extremely weakened positions of Russia in connection with a number of fronts which she now has: a naïve Macchiavellianism of Wehner and Brandt. For "to renounce voluntarily and without compulsion one quarter of German territory which has legally belonged and still belongs to the State territory of Germany, to sanction politically the partitioning of the remaining legal territory and to take upon oneself the obligation to respect the subjugation of 17 million Germans by an alien totalitarian domination", writes Baron Guttenberg, the most important after Strauss German Christian foreign policy maker, — moreover "by a freely elected German government" — is something nightmarish . . .

The Bonn Government continually stresses that it has obtained an agreement of the governments of the USA, Britain, France to the

conclusion of the pact, but it has forgotten the objections in nuances on the part of each of these governments. How can a government of another country forbid a sovereign country to make these or those moves? But this is not the point. Surely neither Britons, nor Frenchmen, nor Americans can be greater, more fanatical, more consistent defenders of German interests than the Germans themselves? In addition, none of these states desires, for instance, economic competition from a strong united Germany. Why should Nixon or Pompidou be more papist than the Pope himself? A great part of the German public opinion cannot understand it, however. And why should British or American troops shed their blood for Germany when Germans have no wish to do so?

Political naiveté of the politicians brought up in the Marxist spirit has no bounds. How can they think in patriotic, national categories when not nation but the class was everything for them still yesterday? And Lenin was an idol no less than Marx.

However it may be, the USA, Britain and France have to recognise that the real permanent unbroken allies of the freedom-loving nations and people of the entire world are and will remain forever the **NATIONS ENSLAVED BY RUSSIA** headed by **UKRAINE!**

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R. DRAGAN
(Australia)

RUSSIAN AND COMMUNIST SLAVERY OR LIBERATION —THE GLOBAL ISSUE

1. Introduction

The danger, which plagued mankind ever since the end of the World War II and since the Cold War started, has against our hope reached almost an explosive force and a very dangerous stage today. We are facing the dilemma either to fight the enemy applying all our forces, or to accept passively our annihilation. Communism, in spite of its splits into fractions, has embraced a third of humanity, that means one billion people are enslaved by red dictatorship.

Political chaos in the Free World enhances this extremely dangerous situation. No thinking person can deny today what are the causes of the world-wide disequilibrium. The local political skirmishes fade away in face of the only front, which goes throughout the whole world. On both sides of this front two worlds are facing each other with hostility and alternative — fight or perish in red slavery. The time has come to realize that we are in total war for our survival and it is the high time to face the reality.

And we had better to wake up, as Moscow's recent strategy does not limit itself to ideological warfare only. It is based on the achievement of nuclear parity and they are preparing very rapidly indeed. Considerable failures of our civilization are dangerous voids which communism is rushing with diabolic skill and utter dedication to fill. They possess no morality or our standards and their goal is to wipe out completely all their adversaries. They will not hesitate to kill half of the humanity, according to Lenin's precepts.

2. The face of communism

We have to be intimately familiar with the communist threat and the real nature of communism if we want to be successful in our dealing with the enemy. We face a hostile ideology, global in scope, ruthless in purpose, insidious in method and the last fifty years of our calamitous history have proved it. Anti-West and especially anti-American propaganda is as vicious as ever today. The Cold War, in spite of beautiful phraseology, through civil wars, guerrilla and underground activities, has never stopped for a moment.

Russian offensive has continued for all those fifty years, following Lenin's teaching: "Confuse our enemies" — and these words have become the guiding light for communism. In a confused situation a determined communist party, even a very small one, can easily seize power, Cuba the best example. And we have seen that wherever communism has seized power it brought inevitably only misery and unhappiness.

At Yalta in 1945 Russia accepted the principles of the Atlantic Charter for tactical purposes only. The flexibility of communist tactics, all kinds of provocative incidents, political unrest and terror are the ways to communist victories. It has to be realized that Soviet Russia is not simply another world power, it is permanently and surreptitiously a dangerous and a very aggressive foe we never can trust. Can we rely on arms treaty with Russia? Is arms limitation talks with the USSR the only real hope for stability? Just another naïve delusion. Let us only look at the record: More than one hundred treaties, from the recognition of the independence of Ukraine in 1917 to the violation of the independence of Czecho-Slovakia in 1968, have been broken by Soviet Russia in the last 50 years.

Here and there we also speak of peace, especially the much talked peace in Vietnam. Peace for the communists is just another propitious occasion for further aggression. The vital element in keeping the peace is a strong military establishment. We have to be ready for instant action and the might of arms is the only deterring force to any aggressor. Every country in the world, Vietnam or Egypt, or even Italy, is the target of long range communist ambitions. Following the aggression in Hungary, Cuba, Korea, Vietnam, Moscow is arming Egypt to sharpen the crisis, arming Arab rebels in Aden to control the Red Sea, arming Ceylon to control the Indian Ocean. But word "aggression" is never used.

Communism cannot exist in the face of truth. Permanent lies and treacheries are the nature of communism. "War of liberation" on one side and depriving captive nations of the Russian Empire of the right to national independence and individual freedoms. They speak of victims of capitalism, while more than 50 million people died during the 50 years of Soviet Russian rule from starvation and genocide. Rule of terror within their own empire, subversion and lies in the Free World.

3. Imperialist Russia

We have not yet forgotten Krushchev's words: "We will bury you", and there has never been renunciation of that cruel assertion, because it projects the aim of imperialistic Russia. This boundless empire has integrated enormous territories by conquering neighbouring lands and by exploiting the dependent countries like Ukraine and others. At the same time they hypocritically proclaim their support for national liberation movements and their anti-colonialism.

The Russian empire has been adorned with several satellites, which act according to the instructions of Moscow. There are Polish, Hungarian, Czecho-Slovak and other "socialist states." Nobody ever asked the people if they desired the present form of government. The right to life or death belongs not to the people, but to the party. The habit of tyranny, once acquired, is impossible to shake off. Dostoevsky once remarked in the "House of the Dead": "Tyranny is a habit." Liberal

intellectuals have been suppressed and men who suffered a temporary eclipse after the death of Stalin are again in prominence. There are still about half a million inmates in Soviet camps. Central to all is that if anybody in the West hoped for change, there has been no substantial change in the system, which the present rulers inherit from Stalin. Destalinisation under Krushchev was merely a tactical manoeuvre, allowing Krushchev, and Brezhnev afterwards, to tighten the grip on the reigns of power. To this day there has been no total exposure of Stalin's crimes in the USSR.

Russian inferiority with regard to the West has created a sharp chauvinistic explosivity. They pride themselves on the superiority of everything Russian. To visitors the reality everywhere contradicts the splendid picture presented by their guides. The drab spectacle of everyday life is appalling. The Russian thinks in terms of extremes or contradictions, conforming to Marxism, with its Hegelian dialectic which is very close to Russian mentality. Lacking a precise imagination a Russian activist has a tendency to cloud the reality with dire and fallacious visions, the only justification of his drawbacks an embarrassment. Plans are never fulfilled and prepared statistics replace the firm ground.

At the same time the atmosphere of terror reigns in every corner. Only a word or two carelessly murmured against the existing dictatorship can land a Soviet citizen with all his relatives and friends in a concentration camp or insane asylum. Even the workers and peasants at large are hardly any better off than the convicts. In many circumstances they are worse than in 1914. Millions of human beings are degraded to the state of slave labourers and all big projects are carried out by forced labour. It is the biggest and the most ruthless organized perversion of truth and justice in the history of the world — the system invented by Lenin and perfected by his followers.

But in spite of the iron fist of terror the captive nations of the Soviet Russian Empire are not subdued. The refugees tell the same story — that the so called USSR is seething with unrest and that behind the Iron Curtain everything is in ferment. Russian rulers are aware of both sides of the front, the outside and the inside one, and act correspondingly, suppressing national rebirth of subjugated peoples and confusing the Free World. We have to realize that the so-called Soviet Union is not a monolithic state and it is not impregnable. The "Soviet Union" is a tragic political fraud. There is no such thing as a Soviet Union. Many in the West are under the impression that the constitution of the USSR is a true constitution and the USSR is a truly federated type of state. But in reality the very name is a lie. It is a serfdom of nearly 200 million subjugated peoples, speaking different languages and stemming from different cultures, trampled upon and held in leash of terror.

120 million Russians constitute the ruling nation oppressing 12 million non-Russians. Those peoples are denied the basic rights to be

free. Moscow does not hesitate to murder the leaders of the national liberation movement in the Western World, like Ukrainian leaders Petlura, Konovalts and Bandera. The list of the freedom-fighters, who were murdered by Moscow emissaries, is very long. Why were they so dangerous? Because the idea of disintegration of the last colonial empire in the world is the explosive and guiding idea of our time.

The communist regime in Moscow is getting old. It is unable to crush all freedom-loving trends and therefore is condemned to its downfall. That is why Russian armed forces are being built up very rapidly and at any cost. Russia has atomic bombs and all kinds of modern weapons. Russian navy is built up to the level which is today second only to that of the USA. They are watching every move of the American fleet. Russian submarines appear in every sea and the Russian fleet is patrolling the Mediterranean and the Indian and Pacific Oceans. Russians are trying to impress the whole world with their might.

But in spite of that and because of that the men who rule Russia walk in dead man's shoes. And they learned to walk in them with very shaky care. The great majority of men who now rule Russia came to prominence amidst the reek of fear of Stalinist era and learned the habit of continual hypocrisy and above all learned to disregard any suggestion that there could be any other political principle beside total cynicism and tyranny. The victims of communist oppression, coming in touch with the Free World, are alarmed at the proportion of unawareness and misinformation, which reigns among the people at large.

4. Asia and the underdeveloped countries

Lenin seized power in one of the least developed countries of Europe and although marxist theory was supposed to apply primarily to highly industrially developed countries Lenin's followers turn to underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, especially to the last vestiges of colonial dominions. All subversive actions and civil wars in Africa, Latin America and especially in Asia have been inspired, organized and financed by Moscow and Peking. Marxism is a disease of modern industrial society, but the most vulnerable are underdeveloped countries. They are the weakest link in the world system of capitalism.

Guerilla warfare is greatly favoured by the Communists. Mao's coming to power is the best example of its success. Mao said: "Power grows out of the barrel of a gun." They exploit the shortcomings and manipulate mass discontent. The slogans of self-determination and of human rights are very propitious for colonial peoples. Incidentally Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the United Nations in 1948, the only abstentions being those of the Soviet Union and its six bloc members. Asian nations have experienced colonial

yoke and a new cloud of more cruel colonialism is over their heads. The closest menace is Red China. The 9th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party has reestablished full and undisputed control over all national life and plans for further conquest of neighbouring lands. Russia is only a zealous rival of Red China in the conquest of South-East Asia.

We have to encourage Asian nations in their struggle for freedom and independence. The prolonged Vietnam war is the central battle for the freedom of Asian nations. They have long experience in fighting colonialism, and Soviet Russia and China are the most cruel colonial powers that ever existed. Security of Asia is related to the security of the Free World. And although Asian problems should be solved by Asians themselves, the whole free world cannot stay apart. The communists trained by Moscow and Peking are a persistent lot. They know what they want and where they go. Only force can stop them. Solidarity in the face of a deadly enemy is the first command.

Communists nourish the idea of a class conflict within each nation but also of a clash between nations. But Asians, who have gone through hell and water, are no more deceived by any communist slogans. The events of particular importance, like the impending withdrawal of Great Britain from East of Suez, the reconsideration of the USA-Japan Security treaty, the downgrading of USA bases, call for the mobilisation of all resources in Eastern Asia. The infiltration of communist agents, the re-invasion of the South by the North, are the ominous signs of the impending danger. The American plan of deescalating the war in Vietnam has to be met with apprehension and deep concern, because Red China and Russia's attitude toward South-East Asia will never change.

Japan, enjoying her economic prosperity and freedom and as a beachhead to Pacific is also very much exposed to strong attack and subversion to bring her under the communist control. With its excellent geographical position that country is particularly attractive to communists. Emerging as a big power and ally of the USA Japan can contribute considerably to building a barrier to communist expansion. Asia has given example to the whole world by heroically fighting for freedom, to mention only Korea and Vietnam.

5. The war in Vietnam

Since the war in Vietnam started till today there is no end to Vietcong terrorism and sabotage. Vietcong is supported by North Vietnam, whose potential is again rebuilt by Peking and Moscow. The guerilla warfare in South Vietnam is directed by the Military High Command in Hanoi. If the so-called "war of liberation" technique succeeds in Vietnam, it can succeed everywhere in the world. North Vietnam's commitment to seize control in the South is no less total than was the commitment of the regime in North Korea in 1950. The interval was not very long. This war fits into the pattern

proclaimed by Peking and Moscow, by which the real focus of revolutionary struggle is now in the underdeveloped areas of the world.

Nixon's end of the war in Vietnam by a one-sided pull-out is a fairy tale, not devoid of a very naïve imagination. This plan is doomed to failure with the tragic results for the USA and especially for the South Vietnamese people. The other side has never renounced the fight for a complete victory over the "imperialists" and will never renounce it. Paris talks are a useless comedy and a waste of time. Even more comical are plans to end the war honorably by a one-sided withdrawal from the battlefield, meanwhile warning North Vietnam not to use this pull-out to their military advantage. The advance of Viet-Cong and North Vietnam will never be stopped. The quick and decisive blow in Cambodia was the real answer of strength, which communists can understand.

That the Almighty would interfere in order to save past and present American Presidents from humiliation for their bad mistakes is very doubtful indeed. The question arises — can the Vietnam war be gracefully concluded? Let us not be deluded with any naïve answer. Even if the peace were concluded, the communists would infiltrate and dominate the whole of Vietnam and all treaties with communists exist only on paper. After Vietnam would come another war, another guerilla action, in another place. Communists will never renounce their plans for complete invasion and domination, be it Vietnam, Korea, or other places. As many Vietnams as possible is the desire of the communists. It is the way to world revolution.

We have to be there, because Vietnam war is the war of the entire free world. This small and brave nation, after so many years of horrible suffering, cannot be abandoned to its enemies, like many other nations and the biggest of them, the Chinese nation, had been abandoned in the past. We have to prove that we are able to resist and strengthen the faith of the Free World in victory over communism. Vietnamese like any nation in the world have to be free and independent.

6. America on the crossroads

After the Second World War we have got used to turn all our hopes and expectations towards the most powerful nation in the world, the USA. But slowly the free world has become disillusioned by this god on the political Olympus. It was discovered that this giant has feet of common clay and has developed within it a kind of moral cancer. After the Cold War followed containment and peaceful coexistence with the ruthless enemy, whose peaceful words are only cunning brainwashing. Following Marshal Plan for war damaged nations Americans started lightheartedly to contribute to communist dominated countries, hoping to win the hearts of governments and push them into liberalization. Eleven billions dollars' worth of the war debt has never been mentioned. Instead of that generous contributions were flown on a wide front.

By bolstering a communist regime we do not make it less communist. American economic aid only stabilizes unpopular regimes in Yugoslavia, Rumania or elsewhere. In these countries we bring the population to despair. The communist oligarchs are determined to maintain the status quo and the party dogmas, whatever the situation or capitalist attitude. But American bridge-builders are very persistent to gain a smile from Soviet leaders as a hope of reconciliation and peaceful cooperation. In the meantime American help and exports lend themselves very conveniently and surreptitiously to be used on the Americans themselves. It looks like America is passing ammunition to the enemy to be shot with it.

Pragmatic and permissive system, moral decay and lack of any clearcut policies lead to revolt of the young generation and to non-conformist movements. The heroes are Che Guevara, Trotsky and Carmichael. By all the frenzy of protesting they don't know what they want. Education is going very often without any purpose. The Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights are empty words. In this situation America has to make up to reeducate itself and having an immense potential to become again a real leader of the world and to regain its prestige in the Free World.

7. Peaceful co-existence

Some Americans as well as Europeans believe that communism will change by evolving into a capitalist democracy. Therefore they advise by all means peaceful coexistence with the enemy. They take peaceful coexistence at its face value, without understanding the real nature of communism. Some leading Americans do nothing to offend the men in the Kremlin, hoping naïvely for the best. The broadcasts to captive nations are very mild and the Soviet aggressiveness is treated as a harmless play of politics. This way they completely psychologically disarm, neutralize and expose the West. Anti-communists are regarded as a nuisance. This coexistence atmosphere is very intoxicating.

We have accepted the legality of the communist rule in Central and Eastern Europe, in Ukraine, Turkestan, Georgia, and Baltic States etc. Compassion for the victims of communism becomes no more fashionable. We are exposing our weaknesses without realizing that peaceful coexistence does not mean to Russians the same as it means to us. Lenin never used the word "coexistence." For communists peaceful coexistence is only a cover for intensified preparations. Smiling enemy does not admit foreign newspapers into the USSR and evolution into democracy means millions of informers who spy on neighbours and an undisputed monopoly of the party. Attacks on Stalin have stopped and the satellite regimes depend completely on Moscow. National independence under the pressure of Russification and centralization has become an empty slogan. These are the ways of "evolution."

The "Soviet bloc" countries are openly supplying arms and money to subversive elements in the free countries — this is coexistence.

The peaceful engagements to build bridges to Eastern Europe have been met by communists with sneering and insults. They are becoming bold and aggressive, because the adversary is weak and disoriented. Brezhnev calls with boastful oratory for unity and action. Krushchev said in 1955: "If anyone thinks that our smiles mean the abandonment of the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, he is deceiving himself cruelly. Those who expect this to happen might just as well wait for a shrimp to learn to whistle."

The so-called "liberalization" is only a desperate effort to bring the whole system out of the dead end. Real liberalization is a myth. Communism and democracy are incompatible. The policies of the West are geared to selfdeception. It looks like we are dancing to the Kremlin's tune. This orgy of optimism makes us ridiculous. Against our hopes there is a new emphasis on Marxist-Leninist orthodoxy. Constant purges of so-called bourgeois nationalists among the non-Russian nations is the best proof. The security police establishment is the largest in the world and forced labour camps are full.

Discussing coexistence nobody discusses the definition of the world to come. Sheer peaceful illusions are very dangerous. We have to put limits to any restraint, as the communists will inevitably misjudge our restraint as impotence.

8. Lenin's anniversary

In the dense atmosphere of coexistence United Nations' Human Rights Commission declared Lenin a humanist and the year 1970 is proclaimed "Lenin's Year." Thus the conquest of the world through subversion, a dream of Lenin, will be made easier. Lenin the humanist is costing humanity blood, which could fill the sea. UN Commission is whitewashing the past and blearing the future. All misdeeds, which are perpetrated by today's leaders of the Kremlin against freedom and democracy, are the practical outcome of the theory and practice advanced by Lenin. We have to honour man, who created the cruellest system of tyranny of all times.

It is a bitter irony of historical interpretation. Why don't we honour heroes of the anti-communist fight, the fighters for national liberation and for human rights? Tribute to Lenin is an insult to hundreds of millions of human beings deprived of all human rights. Leninism has become a scrap of meat between two hungry dogs — Moscow and Peking. For the rulers of the Russian Empire and Red China it is justifiable to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the birth of Lenin, as no one contributed so much to the establishment of the empire. He mobilized the Russian masses for the conquest of other nations. He called his empire the USSR to put a smokescreen on his criminal deeds.

Lenin's "dictatorship of the proletariat" was a dictatorship of a clique of fanatics and butchers, history has not seen before and his "self-determination" was only another petard of propaganda. Lenin's anniversary is an anniversary of totalitarianism, terror, genocide and

cruel exploitation. He used a cunning trick to impose marxism in 1917, but it produced such a confusion that to save himself he introduced his New Economic Policy. Since then marxism never lived up to what Marx visualized.

Following the dogmas of Lenin communists make it their goal to change the nature of man and fuse nations into a faceless, soulless mass, Russified and subdued to communist dogmas. Whatever helps to ruin the civilized world is good and justified, according to leninism, regardless of methods and approaches. The UN Commission is only spreading confusion among the nations of the world. There is no doubt whose interests serves UN Organization.

9. International communism

Although communists claim the allegiance of a third of the world's population, communist ideology throughout the world is in disarray. Inside the Russian Empire it is the victim of doubt, and outside — of turmoil and distrust. Communist parties throughout the world are asking for more freedom from Mother Russia. Red China has turned a very bitter enemy on the brink of war with brotherly Moscow. The nationalist tendencies promise to stab at the heart of communist prime objective-internationalism. The nationalism in Europe, China and Africa has given a diversity of thought, which Moscow fears may cause disintegration of communism.

Communism as philosophy is dead. The hard reality is mollified with empty phrases and flying words nobody believes in. The ironing out of the differences at Summit Conferences is to no avail. A third force, independent from Moscow and Peking, is emerging. Communist China is conducting an open ideological and political war against Russia. Peking said about the last Summit Meeting in Moscow: "A handful of traitors and communist robbers held a so-called discussion. It was an abominable counter-revolutionary performance." The Sino-Soviet rift is based on nationalistic ambitions. Ten years ago it was only a shadow on the communist horizon. Today it is a very dark cloud. Revisionism and leninism clash at the expense of nationalism. Moscow's attempt to combine ideological authority with state authority has led to outspoken Russian nationalism.

There are numerous signs that communism is fighting for survival. The communist bloc begins to disintegrate. Russian Empire is holding out not because of its strength, but because of the weakness of the ideological and political offensive of the West. The satellites, not completely absorbed, possess a measure of identity and a potential for freedom. Everywhere in Europe and in Cuba are rumblings dissatisfying Moscow. But Brezhnev said in Bucharest: "We are deeply convinced that these differences cannot and must not impede joint actions of the fraternal parties in the struggle for our common aims." But intimately Brezhnev relies on force.

Two biggest communist parties in West Europe, the Italian and French parties, are in disarray. If they are numerous strong the cause lies in anæmic vegetation of other parties. The Italian communist party is the largest in the world outside the communist bloc. It has 2 million members, 140 seats in the Chamber and is the second biggest party in Italy. Allied with Nenni socialists it is the largest left-wing power in the Western world. Many of them are communists and catholics at the same time. The country has 95% catholics and 25% communists. Communists don't care if their members go to church and church does not attack communists. The chief cause of communism is poverty and emotional disillusionment, loss of faith in higher ideals, nation, patriotism and occidental values. Similar situation is in France. Both parties are very suspicious of Moscow.

Some people had high hopes of the Prague "spring", hoping not so much for the disintegration of the bloc, but at least for certain relaxation of the dictatorial regime. Some had the illusion that even in the Soviet Union itself a more liberal and productive line asserted itself in the face of gloomy stalinism. New form of humanitarian socialism was expected and more respectful treatment of the individual. Dubček tried pragmatically to come to terms with the situation allowing some intellectual freedom. Czecho-Slovakia veered imperceptibly from rigid communist orthodoxy towards the Western democratic system. But the hopes of those, who harboured any illusions, have been dashed. Moscow ruthlessly trampled down the helpless Czecho-Slovakia. Brezhnev doctrine of the right of interference has dispersed any illusions.

Despite fraudulent documentation in Moscow the invasion has not gone unnoticed in the USSR. Captive nations listen very intently to the voices from the West.

10. The powerful rival of Moscow

The idea that the Soviet Union may contemplate military measures against the marxist regime in communist China, just as it intervened in Czecho-Slovakia in 1968, may not be as fanciful as one might think. Several battles and skirmishes on the border is no football match between friendly partners. Lap Nor, China's nuclear weapon centre, is close to the Mongolian border. The question is — will other "socialist countries" give "fraternal help" in the conflict? China's size is no reason for not applying the so-called Brezhnev doctrine, according to which "the socialist countries" have the right to interfere in each other's affairs, if their own interests or those of the others are threatened.

Moscow and Peking interpretation of the world revolution is dictated by their imperial interests and not by the interests of proletariat. The conflict between Moscow and Peking is not the conflict of ideologies, but of two imperialisms. The one and the other are looking for new territories. Both imperialisms are disguised in

rhetoric phrases. Their interests are clashing, but it does not mean that the war is inevitable. Burning with jealousy neither gives a free hand to the other. But they also realize that the conflict between them would mean a victory of the USA and the uprising of the subjugated nations. They will think hard before they start something serious. Both have thermo-nuclear weapons. Besides, the national armies of Free China, Korea and South Vietnam are ready for any eventuality.

We cannot orient ourselves on either of the big adversaries. Imperial wars are further subjugation of peoples. Communism, whatever its face, can never be trusted. We don't have to regard Russia as our friend in the conflict with Peking. Russia is the main enemy, although both pursue the same objective. Soviet Russia is trying to move in the area of South-East Asia by proposing a "system of collective security" to replace the USA and to encircle and isolate Red China. So the differences between Chinese and Russian plans are nil. They both desire ardently world revolution. The differences between Moscow and Peking should only strengthen our determination and our anti-communist front. Not Peking and not Moscow, but our own freedom-loving forces.

11. Captive Nations

The historical development of our century has been marked by the downfall of colonial empires. The national idea is pointing to the future. Freedom of expression and political rights are the guiding light of humanity. The struggle for these ideals will never stop until all liberated peoples of the world form a just and harmonious human society. Moscow's striving towards world domination counteracts these forces. The final clash is inevitable. We do not want war, but we also do not want to perpetuate slavery and perversion. Captive Nations are at war with their oppressors, a war which will never stop until they are free. Captive nations are a very explosive colonial crisis in the Russian Empire as elsewhere.

The peoples of communist dominated countries have not resigned themselves to their fate. No one wants to be enslaved. There is a long list of recent events behind the Iron Curtain, pitifully meagrely publicized in the Western press: The revolt of Ukrainian intellectuals and writers, the pressure in Rumania for relaxation, the fanatical attempt at strangleholding the public opinion in Poland and East Germany, the strong resistance in the Baltic States, followed by deportations to labour-camps. The cries of desperation in Eastern and in Northern Asia have to be heard and supported.

The spirit of nationalism is dividing the structure of communism, so that it will not stand in history. These people are a great asset to the non-communist world and our staunchest allies in war with communism. Their freedom should always be our objective. Let us stop giving aid to communist dictators, let us stop trading with communist regimes. Let us give our support to wars of liberation behind the

Iron and Bamboo Curtains. The real H-bomb that Russia fears is a simultaneous revolt of all the nations she holds captive. The vulnerable spot of the Russian colonial empire lies in the national urge to freedom and independence of the subjugated nations. USSR is not a national state, but a state of nationalities. If the West believes in freedom, then the Russian Empire must go. In conformity with the underground movement of the subjugated nations a world plan of action should be put in preparation. There is no other way to destroy the communist regimes and the Soviet prison of peoples. The Asian people oppressed by communism have the same problem.

Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Turkestan, Byelorussia and others were absorbed by the empire under the czar. During the revolution 1917 the right of self-determination was granted by red Moscow only on paper. The proclaimed independence of those countries was ruthlessly destroyed by Moscow's communists. In 1940 Russians overran the three Baltic states. After the war small nations, like Kalmyks, Chechens, Crimean Tatars and others were destroyed. The Communist Congress of the Soviets in 1966 passed a resolution urging a merger of the non-Russian cultures and languages into Russian. The present Soviet Russian despotism cannot indefinitely perpetuate its rule over hundreds of millions of people, who want to retain their cultural heritage, their rights of self-determination and national independence and their personal dignity.

The Russian colonial empire as well as all communist dictatorships has to be liquidated. We are also for the disintegration of such political artifices as Czecho-Slovakia and Yugoslavia, the reunification of Germany, Korea, Vietnam and for the liberation of the Chinese Mainland, Cuba and Tibet. The subjugated peoples, while fighting the communist tyrants are at the same time defending the freedom of the whole world. The guiding light for the captive nations of the Russian empire is the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) as a coordinating centre of the national revolutionary liberation movements. The ABN rejects emphatically imperialism, but recognizes the right of the Russian people to their own national state within their ethnographic frontiers. The fundamental principles of the ABN are entirely in keeping with the freedom aims of the peoples of Asia.

Only a positive policy can hope to exploit the seething discontent behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains. They have to be inspired by good example from the free world. It is our moral obligation to let these captive people know that they are not forgotten, that we are not reconciled to their fate and we are not willing to confront their captivity by giving official recognition to their communist domination. We have common ties with them, which originate in a common devotion to freedom. We have not to fear Russia's military might, as subversive warfare is progressively replacing traditional warfare. The resistance of the captive nations is very encouraging to us. Every day

we receive numerous messages in the form of underground literature, passed from hand to hand in manuscripts.

We can enlist more among captives to participate in our liberation fight than the communists can among free men. The Cold War between captive nations and the communist clique is of the utmost importance, and coexistence helps the tyrants not the oppressed people. Let us not be mesmerized by communist strategy of lies, which tries to drown the voice of the captive nations. The Resolution of the USA Congress 1959, concerning captive nations, recently very softened, shook the foundations of the Soviet Russian Empire. It was also very significant to the whole human race as a historical document of human rights.

We should make the most of the forces of liberation within the communist empire and encourage them in every respect, instead of building bridges over their heads. We may not be able to help them directly, but at least we can abstain from fortifying the power of their oppressors.

12. The key position in Eastern Europe

As the biggest captive nation in the Soviet empire, Ukrainians are in the key position in Eastern Europe. In spite of massive Moscow genocide and persecution they do not show any signs of breaking under the communist rule. In spite of forceful Russification and intimidation they will continue to remain a thorn in Russian side, until they are fully independent. You cannot exterminate fifty million people overnight.

A Ukrainian, Didyk, burned himself to death in 1966 in Moscow Lubyanka square with words: "Better death than slavery." And again Ukrainian Teacher Makukh burned himself to death on the main street in Kyiv. He shouted: "Freedom to Ukraine." Several artists, writers and scientists, like Chornovil and Karavansky, have been sent to labour camps recently, or expelled from their unions and establishment, condemned to misery and starvation. Kremlin makes every effort to eradicate the culture and language of the Ukrainian people. Strikes in Donbas and Novocherkassk were cruelly suppressed. The religious persecution in Ukraine has been increased. The biggest state library in Kyiv was burned. Ukraine was even accused of failing to celebrate Peter the "Great's" victory over the Ukrainians at Poltava, another Ukrainian battle for independence. Special attention to Ukraine was concentrated by Stalin, Khrushchev and followers. There is the major obsession of Kremlin with provocation to blame heroic Ukrainians.

There is striking similarity between the purging of Communist Party of Ukraine and the invasion of Czecho-Slovakia. The Communist Party of Ukraine tended to assume relatively independent attitude towards cultural problems. Similarities illustrate the fact

that techniques learned by men like Brezhnev under Stalin are very useful today.

The free world should celebrate Taras Chuprynka, Commander in Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, who died the death of a national hero, fighting in underground till 1950, and not Lenin. Chuprynka is the symbol of true humanism for the whole world. The revolutionary forces in Ukraine and in other neighbouring countries under Kremlin tyranny show the signs of rebirth and steady growth, stimulating permanent unrest and staunch resistance.

13. Conclusions

The anti-communist struggle is a long and arduous task and needs a lot of enlightened people and solidarity. More information, instruction and leadership is needed urgently. All peoples and individuals, who love freedom and justice, have to be united in this decisive struggle. The time has come to propose and apply in practice effective solution in order to save mankind from slavery or nuclear destruction. To ignore the danger is an irresponsible and utterly dangerous attitude, which we have to reject immediately, if we have to think of the future of our children and our countries.

There is no alternative — either fight or surrender. Let us not dilly-dally in the moment of crucial necessity. Communist tactics and slogans can be easily unmasked. We have to be well equipped to counter communist revolutionary warfare. Our experience is our power of deterrent. The communist conspiracy must be opposed with a united front of freedom-loving people of every nationality and denomination. It also has to be done with the participation of the USA, the greatest power of all.

We must have more dedicated persons to outthink, outmanoeuvre and outfight communist agitators. Communists have advantage over us — they train in every skill necessary for the warfare. Propaganda, infiltration, provocation and subversion follow many different lines and it takes a very cautious and well instructed mind to understand and counteract appropriately. We must see through the make-believe front of Soviet Russia and match the propaganda with more effective weapons of mass-communication. We have to work by all propaganda media and communication networks, use all possible channels to help captive nations. We should have a more forthright, clear and determined policy to roll back the communist menace.

The call is — counteract and not negotiate. Coexistence means chasing a rainbow and falling into the trap. Our concept of victory should be national liberation revolutions supported politically and morally by the freedom-loving forces of the free world. The way to prosperity and happiness lies in freedom, national independence and self-determination. Burning with dedication we shall never fail to create a new tide of history.

Yevhen SVERSTIUK

CATHEDRAL IN SCAFFOLDING

Reflections on O. Honchar's Novel Sobor (Cathedral)

Editor's Note. The author, a brilliant Soviet Ukrainian literary critic, discusses some ideas expressed in O. Honchar's novel *Sobor*, published in Kyiv in 1968. The essays printed below (in slightly abridged form) have been circulating clandestinely in Ukraine and published so far only in Ukrainian, in the West, in 1970. The author has protested publicly several times against the arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals and Russification of Ukraine.

CATHEDRAL IN SCAFFOLDING

My civilization is kept up by the cult of Man which breaks through persons. For ages it desires to show Man in the same way as it teaches us to see a Cathedral through stones.

Saint-Exupéry

"As of old, the great monuments of the spirit — cathedrals — are towering on the earth, framed by the soaring structures of the new technological age. As of old, restless man grasps a patch of the warm soil and the high sky in order to find his bearings, to find himself for a moment and to try to accomplish something within himself.

But the earth is covered with asphalt and concrete, the sky is being overcast by smoke and roar of engines, and life is speeding madly in some direction in a fussy anxiety. It sucks one in and does not leave in one's soul that pure hour when one can meditate on oneself and think about what is the most important.

Whither goes life? Are we leading it, or life leads us having thrown to us as playthings cheap substitutes of the Word — TV, football, drinks?

Does man matter still in this stream of life? Or is he only a passenger of a blind ship which speeds towards the night? If he matters nothing, then what can the ship matter?

Nonetheless — does he matter, does he weigh at least to such an extent that he is able to stop before an abyss by the efforts of his own reason and will?

In order to remain a man, he must weigh at least that much . . . But for this he needs the greatest efforts of mind and spirit. He must be reborn — in order to understand that it is on him, personally on him that everything depends — both the heritage of ancestors, and the fate of the earth — the motherland of the people.

Today, as never before in history, everyone has to be a human being in mankind, in order to feel its pains and anxieties with every nerve. Today in particular everyone has to feel oneself an organic part of a great cathedral of human civilization, with all his being to be a firm stone in this cathedral, in order to hold it selflessly on himself. For though this structure may be imperfect, unfinished and already obsolescent in some respects, it is the only temple of the human spirit and we have to try to complete it, and not to build on a new spot.

Today, everyone who has realised this, understands that the point is not poetisation of a Cathedral of all mankind, but above all its quite concrete embodiment in oneself, the elaboration of one's *individuality as part of one's own nation*, as a reliable foothold for culture and spiritual life. And everyone faces an acute alternative — to be either a son of one's people or its evil hireling and marauder.

In the search for modernity, i. e. one's place in life, a man unavoidably comes across the lever of responsibility and reflects on his own conscious and subconscious participation in the great problems of contemporary age. And here, behind the façade of a normative work in his own profession, behind the active participation in the constructive work of society, the reverse side of the medal is revealed — the passive coparticipation of the contemporary man in the processes of social degradation, toleration of the ruinous activity of unreasonable will which utilises our silence as a sign of agreement.

We are passing through an unheroic zone of history where a feat is accomplished by one who has merely lifted himself up from the state of passive conformity and follows his voice of conscience. The cautious ones are the most irresponsible. They know the only science — not to have one's fingers caught by the wheels. No matter whether these wheels turn forwards or whether they pull anything at all. They think that it is enough for them to abstain from doing dirty work and wait until it is done by someone else.

But we ought to remember that history has written on our foreheads all the caution, passivity, procrastination and laziness of our ancestors, and every new generation from the cradle has to pay for it by its fate and honour. And once again it searches for the spiritual heritage of our Don Quixots among the muddy sediments of the heritage of slaves.

Today the times have passed when a vegetative existence and anabiosis of entire generations produced only a grey spot on the map of the world. The present age is different. Irrespective of our will,

we are joined as a link into the life of our planet covered with a nervous system of atomic mines and political volcanoes that are roaring ready to explode.

The world crisis of spiritual life in view of the invasion of scientific and technical means capable of changing physically and even to blow up our planet — is the greatest problem, it is absolutely new in our history. In the past there was no shortage of insane acts bordering on crime (wisdom always yielded to force), but insane people lacked the fabulously destructive force.

Today, the lack of great wisdom, great respect and love of man, great responsibility for the heritage of ancestors and the fate of the descendants is felt as the greatest wounds of mankind. A wound in which a deadly infection can set in. Its most terrible bearer is the semi-educated corporal, a resolute semi-intellectual. From grammar school or a seminary he knows the phraseology of culture and civilization. But he is ignorant of that condensed spiritual force, that vital force which stands behind words; therefore he likes to substitute words, boldly juggles with them and makes a blinding firework — a momentary illusion of truth. Without reflecting on the eternal laws of the development of life, he acts as if they did not exist, and afterwards dozens of geniuses are unable to cope with what he had managed to cook up . . .

The international trial of fascist experimenters produced the least lesson — the punishment of the bankrupts — instead of an eternal condemnation and extermination of their principle cultivated on a negative basis.

Nevertheless today we live in the hope that mankind will continue to purify itself spiritually and grow — owing to the instinct of self-preservation. There is no other path before it.

SUPPORTS OF THE SPIRIT

The fundamental sense of Oles Honchar's novel¹ is a search for supports of spirituality, the search for the living sources of humanness, unravelling the puzzles of folk traditions and sacred things which the people hold firmly in this shaken world of standardisation, in the urge to preserve their essence, their face.

"Man has in him some sort of an instinct — the desire to do good — the old Izot Ivanovych thinks. — If you do even a small good to him — how light and pure one feels in one's heart. They used to say in olden times, that on Man's shoulders, both on the left one and on the right one, there sits an invisible . . . comrade Spirit, let us call

¹ The novel *Sobor* (Cathedral), the most talked about literary event in Ukraine since 1968.

him that. One of them sits and urges: do good, and the other one whispers into another ear and persuades one to do evil . . . Do you think they no longer exist nowadays? Everyone has them sitting on his shoulders, both on the left one and on the right one . . . To which of them one listens more eagerly . . . ”

Popular wisdom grasps the origin and the end of all philosophies. And all sages built “a citadel in the human heart”, created hymns, temples, poems, cathedrals, in order to *strengthen Man in doing what is good*.

“ . . . Misfortune comes when comrade Spirit falls into slumber, — the old man meditates further. — Just take this “more bacon and meat per head.” This, naturally, is good — you cannot live without it. But if you finally get a hundredweight of bacon per head, if you fill your soul with fat, will you be happy up to the brim? Will it feel no pain any more, will it not want anything more?”

One can get used to anything — and then it will seem that what one wants still is vodka . . .

Ivan Bahlay had to rest from these meat-and-bacon posters and to spend a while among the primitive Indian tribes, and afterwards to be interrogated by the soulless principle, in order to grasp another great truth about men: “One cannot build life on suspicions and distrust, one cannot live on the dogmas of hatred. Something higher than that lives in man — that is the need for unity, support and brotherhood.”

The novel poses the great problem of Man and his spiritual milieu which has to strengthen, crystallise “something higher” — the human principle and to protect it against corruption under the influence of soulless factors.

This is in fact the initial principle of Marx — “One has to arrange the world which surrounds us in such a way as to enable man to receive impressions worthy of him, so that he could get used to really human relations, to feel himself a man.” A man needs constant favourable conditions in order to grow stronger on the path of the creation of what is good, to graft higher ideals and immunity against petty material temptations or corrupting temptations of an arbitrary nature . . .

All thinkers relied on man's good will, and all political leaders thought about working out wise and firm laws, about the construction of great temples, about the establishment of such a sacred thing in man which he would be unable to trespass. All found one and the same way out: working out institutions which strengthen man's good will.

And though the great idealist Kant did not believe in the revolutionary improvement of conditions for man — revolution nevertheless is called upon to push aside the rotten and fictitious supports, un-

steady and unrespected laws, to remove people who had become savage from arbitrariness and irresponsibility, accumulation of injustices and lawlessness — in order to build genuine strong supports for the rebirth of man — for the grafting of the ideals of goodness and justice, for the facilitation of choice for his free will.

When even during the revolution Lenin wrote about the presservation of monuments and about the assimilation of all those cultural treasures which mankind had produced during its history, what was at stake was above all the restoration of the spirit of preservation and creativity, as well as the saving of tested supports on which rest higher motives and spiritual needs of man.

From the very beginning, even during the revolution, the matter turned on the restoration of new conditions, new laws for the education of a new man which came to replace the slaves, opportunists and servants. This is why *publicity* (contrary to the old regime's universal secretiveness and furtiveness) and *democratic freedoms* (the power of the Councils contrary to autocracy and regimentation of the entire life from above) were proclaimed (not temporarily but for all time).

Free man was to create public opinion, and public opinion of the working people was to determine the actions of the government. For only public opinion, the people's conscience, honour, truth, honesty, popular fame and popular condemnation could have replaced, and taken over the functions of the old institutions of religion and morality. Before the people — as before God. Public opinion was considered to be the supreme authority and legislator of the Republic of the Councils (Soviets). Members of the government have no privileges before the people and no caste interests of their own — except the duties to carry out the will of the people determined by the public opinion.

I quote all these ABC truths in order to make clear: the euphemistically called "violation of the Leninist norms of legality", the arbitrariness of the "cult of personality", "the violation of the rights of the working people" in conditions of the preservation of the revolutionary phraseology, was in fact greatest counter-revolution and anti-Soviet turn-about towards despotism of the old regime type.

This was the greatest crime of Stalin before man and the people, because by "the violation of legality" the support of public opinion, the support of conscience, the support of dignity and independence of person was destroyed. *Human honesty* which keeps civilised society together was being corrupted. Since the time when man stopped caring whether honest people took care of his destinies, and began to curry favour with the appropriate organs which were not guided by the law but by secret instructions, since when a man began to be afraid to defend the truth and began to guess basely how best to utilise the opportunities, since when a man ceased to think independently about the fate of his country, about the fate of his neighbour,

about the purity of his conscience — and began fully to rely on the authorities, began to adapt himself to their weaknesses — civic virtues began to fade into the background and yield to the animal instinct of self-preservation.

Thus man forgot the eternal truth formulated still in Juvenal: "Know that the greatest shame is to prefer dishonour rather than death."

It is not our task to accuse our grandfathers or fathers: many of them preferred death rather than dishonour. Many did everything *they could* to preserve not only themselves but also the principles of justice. But the general *trend* was such that it was one who could adapt himself best who survived, one who showed vigilance with regard to his neighbour and knew immediately how to profit at his neighbour's cost. An artificial selection according to the worst attribute took place in society.

Human substance is unstable — since time immemorial it is supported by the moral legislation of people eminently honest and independent in their honesty.

Since it was crushed, the type of an irresponsible, indifferent, opportunistic man who does not damp down, but supports hysteria fanned from above, was coming into existence. In our country he even created his own language from which one cannot say that he is very loyal to his own people, but also one cannot accuse him that he opposes a "national form", his own tactics from which one cannot say whether its object is saving or drowning . . .

Let Stalin be judged by history, and this is not the place to judge to what extent he was hypnotised by the Messianism of his Western neighbour who frankly "did not come into this world to make people better, but to utilise their weakness." For the time being the hypothesis may be right that, given all his negative traits of character, he remained at his most responsible post an unbelieving seminarist who is not afraid of the corrupting force of absolute power, because he does not understand what a precedent of the violation of justice and law from above means, and in what geometric progression it is multiplied while descending downwards. Nor with his character was he able to understand that the highest power is a *power guarding the laws* and a misuse of power means a devaluation of laws which even without it quickly become mere formalities, or are even forgotten in a country of centuries-old lawlessness. Absolute power corrupts absolutely — both everyone around, and the ruler himself, because he risks ruining personality in the attempt to subdue it. In short — when his gilded monuments crumbled and fell into oblivion, there were neither the laws, nor the people who would serve as supports for his authority. Since time immemorial this happened to those who cared more for power than for man.

A new religion "did not happen." People saw the incapacity of the new god who began to rot from excessive victims:

He was more crafty and evil
Than that, another,
Under the name of Jehowah,
Whom he dethroned,
Detracted and burned to coal,
And then lifted up from the abyss
And gave him a table and a corner.

(Boris Slutskiy, *Literaturnaya gazeta*, 1963).

But over the years of his worship demoralisation set in. "The great philosophic doctrine" was reduced to the Chapter IV of *The Brief Course*² — to this pragmatic extract "from dia-mat"³ suitable for a course for liquidation of illiteracy, which however it was simply obligatory to profess. But for the elaborated type of man, for the unbelieving servant of the cult even this philosophy was too great, and what is more important — superfluous. For him the incantation of the very name of "the great teacher" was sufficient. The Plan, the Plan, the Plan became God. And remuneration — tons, millions of tons of pig iron, steel, bacon and meat — per head of population...

We found out that it was extremely easy to slide down: it was necessary only to remove the really living and to repaint the monuments of the high lights of the spirit who serve as an eternal call, reproach and remembrance.

We are sliding down to a sensuous, physiological materialism, to the routine fulfilment of the monthly and annual production plans, to the accompaniment of the noise from the loudspeaker, the satiated chewing and soothing talk about football, ballet and outer space.

We are sliding down to the ideology of the one-day fly. For many decades now we have been putting away newspapers from the day before yesterday as ideologically obsolete and throwing down from their pedestals the gods from the day before yesterday. And in order to maintain the present day calm — how many fire extinguishers, levellers and professional supervisors have been put into position with the old motto on their brazen foreheads: "that nothing should happen!" And where they pass, the past becomes non-existent, the future — unreal, and the present — it is they!

For millenia the efforts of the best and noblest from mankind were spent in order to cultivate in human breasts the energy of the human spirit —

² *Kratkiy kurs istorii VKP(b)* — The Brief Course of the History of the All-Union Communist Party (of the Bolsheviks) — an extremely truncated and distorted brief account of the history of the CPSU, whose authorship was attributed to Stalin.

³ "dia-mat" = dialectical materialism, obligatory subject at higher educational establishments of the USSR.

Spirit which spurs body to battle,
Spurs towards progress, happiness and freedom . . .⁴

For only the energy of spirit, that irrepressible "Eternal Revolutionary" of Franko, expresses the true essence of man and forms a lasting sense of the life of generations, united by their highest peaks. Riches disappear without a trace — each generation earns its own living; but sometimes after thousands of years spiritual wealth of old civilisations that perished in an age of decline of the Spirit, comes to the surface again. They perished because of the interruptability of the spirit in some generations, at some stage which sank below its historic calling.

By the entire history our ancestors formed the backbone of our nation — not that in ontogenesis we should repeat philogenesis — in accordance with the elementary law of nature, but in order that every one of us should have that backbone. And in order to form it, everyone has to live through, to suffer through the stage of becoming of a nation.

This is why people instinctively grasp at the smallest rungs of spiritual uplifting and desire the uncovering of our own history. Today they despise those who irresponsibly, with an idiotic boldness trespass across popular customs, traditions, holies, because they know that an idiot, in doing it, has nothing in his soul. Today they wag their heads at those "promotion-seekers" who in a new religion of atheism bring offerings in the form of cheap blasphemy, peopling old shrines with stuffed animals, in order to become themselves later such stuffed dummies and an addition to fodder.

But what is one to do with the new victims of demoralisation, with the youths generated by spiritual distrophy, who impudently and from above ridicule that which they do not understand and jeer at their own mother? When ground begins to roll under one's feet, involuntarily you seek a certain point of support and grasp at a page of a chronicle, at Cossack reliquia, at the cathedrals of the past — as at a lost secret of spiritual recuperation; for after all they had such a wonderful force which made knights out of the people.

WHEN HISTORY BEGINS

If one can judge about the spiritual development of a man by the way in which he gives a sense to his life, then, similarly, one can judge about a people by the way in which it remembers and understands its past. Having lost their independence and freedom, our

⁴) Quotation from "Eternal Revolutionary", a poem by the great Ukrainian poet and writer Ivan Franko (1856-1916).

ancestors nonetheless preserved in monasteries the Kyïvan and Halych-Volynian chronicles, and in the period of the Ruin [17th C.] managed to write the chronicles of Velychko, Samovydet, Hrabianka and later — the *History of the Rus' People*, composed historical songs and ballads, because our great drama could not be forgotten and vanish for their descendants. Meanwhile, when the memory about the last acts of that drama — the Koliyivshchyna uprisings [18th C.] and the destruction of the [Zaporozhian] Sich [1775] — was dying out among the people, it seemed in the graveyard silence that it had completely vanished...

"Little Russia" — hungry and in rags — becomes famous as the breadbasket of the empire and as the most hospitable country which gives away, without opposition and without counting the cost, above all its talents, its intellectuals. "And the wise German plants potatoes at the site of the Sich." Only here and there a blind bard "would sadly sing how the Sich was ruined" or about [Hetman] Bohdan [Khmelnyskyi]...

Since the time when "Catherine's bastards swarmed like locusts" on Ukraine — the past was declared unreal. But the past does not disappear. The heroically shed blood does not vanish. It is transformed into a new form of spiritual energy, gives birth to a man who has to sing of it. The past comes back to life and flourishes in a genius.

"Taras [Shevchenko's] muse broke through some underground dungeon, locked for many centuries with many locks, sealed with many seals, covered with earth purposely ploughed up and sown over in order to hide from the descendants even the memory of the place where the underground cavity existed." (M. Kostomarov)

Our Prometheus came with his fire there and awakened to life the Cossack world on which a spell had been cast by bad witches.

The chief of gendarmes Orlov made this "top secret" report to the War Minister:

"Shevchenko composed verses in the Little Russian language, in which he sometimes expressed his lamentations about the alleged misfortunes of Ukraine, sometimes described the glory of the Hetman times and the former liberty of the Cossacks, adding to it many subversive ideas, sometimes poured forth slanders and gall even against persons to whom he was duty bound to entertain the feeling of the most devoted respect."

Consequently — "slanders against persons" — was the last point. The main accusation after all was that he "expressed lamentations" and "described the glory"...

He paid dearly for that glory — for the "idealisation of the past"...

But since that time the memory began to revive among the people and the danger arose that a new type of intellectual would come into being who instead of the "fatherland" [Russian] history would absorb the Ukrainian history.

In spite of all the prohibitions, open and secret supervision, it grew, our history grew in it — and no one, except the Russian Orthodox priests, bothered to condemn Mazepa for the fact that he preferred the alliance with a distant European and gentleman Charles XII rather than with the nearby barbarian Peter I . . .

And when after the Revolution, when all the “top secrets” had been revealed to the people, the growth of literacy and culture promised to the entire Ukrainian people that its history, its own unborrowed spiritual world would be returned to it.

But in the 1930s again, there were no thieves but the father was stolen.

One after another colourless textbooks of the history of Ukraine appeared, but immediately they were shown to be “harmful” and “nationalistic.” One had to be very courageous and very stubborn not to understand that the very subject was “harmful . . .”

One should not wonder therefore if many of our countrymen, with diplomas and degrees, are ignorant of the history of Ukraine and are not interested in the subject. For what is the point? Generally speaking, one who takes an interest in the history of Ukraine even now evokes suspicion not only among the officials, but even among the candidates of historical sciences.

On the background of such a spiritual pauperisation it has become possible to introduce into the school programmes and text-books the point about a beneficial influence of the Russian culture on the Ukrainian one after the “reunification” and to place it in the basis of the dogma about the provincial and imitative character of the Ukrainian culture. Despite the fact that in the *Large Soviet Encyclopedia*, or in any other book of an earlier edition, one was able to read how intellectuals used to be taken away from Ukraine to Russia, not only artists and poets, but often teachers of literacy, that Peter I opened a window to Europe, hermetically shutting at the same time the door that connected Ukraine with Europe through Poland. Despite the fact that in any library one can read V. I. Lenin’s theses, used in H. I. Petrovskiy’s speech at the session of the Fourth State Duma on May 20th, 1913:

“The 1652 study by Archdean Paul of Aleppo about literacy in Ukraine showed that almost the entire households [in Ukraine] and not only the males, but wives and daughters, were able to read. The censuses of 1740 and 1748 state that in the seven regimental districts of the Hetman State, in the Poltava and Chernihiv gubernias, there were 866 schools with the Ukrainian language of instruction for 1094 villages. One school per 746 inhabitants. In 1804 a ukase prohibiting the instruction in the Ukrainian language was issued. The results of the national oppression made themselves felt further. The census of 1867 showed that the most illiterate people in Russia were Ukrainians, they stood at the lowest level . . . At the same time R 3,500,000 of revenue were collected from Ukraine over 9 years, but only

R 1,760,000 were returned in the form of various kinds of expenditure." (H. Petrovskyi, *From the Revolutionary Past*, p. 79).

Despite the fact that in any bookshop one can buy Herzen's book where it stands written: "Wild and martial, but Republican and democratic independence of Ukraine survived for centuries until Peter I. The Ukrainians, infamously tortured by the Poles, Turks and Muscovites, absorbed in an endless war with the Crimean Tatars, never fell down. Little Russia, having voluntarily joined Great Russia, reserved for herself considerable rights. Tsar Alexis swore to honour them. Peter I, under the pretext of Mazepa's treason, left a mere shadow from these privileges, and Elizabeth and Catherine introduced serfdom in Ukraine. The poor country protested, but how could it oppose the fatal avalanche which was rolling from the North towards the Black Sea and covered everything which bore the Russian name with the same shroud of the same icy slavery... A century of serfdom has been unable to wipe out everything which had been independent and poetic among this famous people. It has more individual development, more local colour than we have; among us, the unfortunate uniform covers the entire folk life without any difference. Our people does not know its history, whereas every village in Ukraine has its own legend. The Russian people remember only Pugachev and the year 1812."

All this in vain. The facts? We have many people just to organise "new facts", and paid blind men are ready to swear that they saw with their own eyes.

Recently we had the campaign for the creation of the history of the towns and villages of Ukraine — on the methodological level which has become customary among us.

For what it means to write history in the popular sense? This means above all to take the highest oath of loyalty to the facts and the truth, to write truthfully about all the outstanding events and all the outstanding people — one cannot throw out a word from a song! — through the famine of 1933, the plague of 1937, through the fire of 1941-45.

Little of that memory survives among us, few historical books have survived, and even fewer of those who valued and collected books, few monuments of the past. Only churches — if they survived — cathedrals in which the spirit of our ancestors made itself eternal, the secret code of their relay race into the future; much has flowed down the river so that not even a song remained. On a soil plundered for centuries — how many talents, works, ancient manuscripts could have been lost without a trace, how many times Kyiv libraries were burning — perhaps only the cathedrals managed to survive the trial with fire. After all it is there that books, manuscripts, icons and other cultural values were preserved. And it is not by chance that during the demolition of an old church in *Sobor* (Cathedral) schoolchildren

"used to find among the rubbish and trash dried out fragments of birch bark with strange characters on them... It remained undeciphered, all that had been written on them by ancient scribes or by craftsmen themselves who were able to build structures without a single nail..."

The beginnings of the new historiography were made by a swing of the axe at the undeciphered characters.

An acquaintance of mine received the task to write the history of his village. People told him that the village had been visited by Shevchenko, there had lived excellent craftsmen, bards, interesting old bee-keepers. He wrote it and brought to the editors, but they told him: "All this is very well, but we don't need it; you should write a history chiefly from 1953 onwards." He did not try to philosophise in a malicious manner, collected papers, documents and created it. He brought it in 1964 and received the final instruction: "All this is not so important; you should pay the main attention to the Revolution, but particularly to the history of the village since 1963 — for this is the most important."

Certainly, the most important... It happens so that a small "Nestor" [chronicler] will get promoted upon having written the history of a collective farm starting with its most recent chairman — recording when the cattle-shed or the pig-stye was built, what plan was overfulfilled, when it received mention in the newspaper, and all this is truly history. But it is very shaky methodologically: if one is to write about a cattle-shed, then why should one not mention the cow, especially when she is a record-breaking milk-cow, why should one not mention the milkmaid or not to name the cowherd?

It is a clever business this collective farm chronicle... The cow creates only milk, the pig — only bacon...

Today, each of us can again freely decide when history did begin. Is it from the earliest date which your memory has retained? Or from the revolution? Or from the event which struck you personally most? Or from one's date of birth? Or, perhaps, from the beginning of one's promotion up along the official ladder?

Who you are, and to what extent you can consider yourself a part of the national whole depends on it.

That is why we again turn our eyes back towards our history — because our head is big but very savage... Slowly we discover great names, monuments, events — "this is what we feel hunger for." But whether we are turning our eyes "correctly" we shall be told by our wonderful directive pedagogues. "For some time now — writes the newly-baked academician O. Mazurkevych — some excessively fussy amateurs of antiquities have embraced the fashion to laud indiscriminately "our own", "native", "national past" (*Radianska osvita* — *Soviet Education* of May 18th, 1968).

When O. Mazurkevych puts these "negatively coloured words" between inverted commas, this acquires great significance. Our learned teacher will immediately guess that this is the present-day line — to take the fussy "amateurs of antiquities" and "our own native" things — for the time being — between inverted commas.

At the same time the respected academician seeks support even from [the 19th c. writer] P. Hrabovskyi. He strains his efforts to glue together from his quotations the most modern "incontrovertible truth", that is a conception of debasing and making repulsive the Cossack history — instead of showing how that great martyr desired not so much to criticise "our own" past, but to activate and make it topical for "the saving of our nationality through the utilisation of the achievements of the universal progress of mankind."

And this is stated by a "pedagogue" about that apostle sick from nostalgia, who in waking and sleeping dreamt about our native matters and cared so much about "the formation of a national Ukrainian consciousness." About that Hrabovskyi who stepped over all the past and future Mazurkevyches by stating: "Nationalism is the necessary condition of universal progress of mankind; not only nations themselves but the entire mankind suffers from the death of a nation . . ."

In attacking O. Honchar's *Sobor*, the academician boldly constructs his verbal scaffolding over "the Christian Cossack republic" which "had been fixed by Marx's pen" (as if it was not Marx himself who did it) and learnedly hints that "the works which Marx used were obsolete in some parts" and had "a number of factual mistakes . . ."

It is not difficult to guess from it that Marx himself has become obsolete in the face of the "incontrovertible truth" of our most modern academicians, and today he would be completely confused before such a truly Loboda-like construction of the scaffolding: "This is all we find in those *Chronological notes* of Marx . . ."

Meanwhile one need not always be an academician to know that this is not "all" which "had been fixed by Marx's pen" on this subject . . . Furthermore, who does not realise that Marx even in his "mistaken" writings managed to grasp the truth better than Loboda in the infallible ones, because he had a well-ingrained feeling of truth and the need of truth.

What are we then to do with "all that" upon which O. Mazurkevych casts a shade and assures us that there is "no idealisation of the Cossack republic"? There is no idealisation, comrade Mazurkevych but is there or is there not a Cossack republic?

It is for you that idealisation is required — for your learned corrections, but what we need is the recognition or denial of the fact that in the environment of the fierce and sinister regimes — the absolute regime of the [Turkish] Sultans, and the boastful [Polish] regime of landlords and nobles — there lived a "Christian Cossack republic" It lived without tsars and kings, with an elected Hetman and Kosho-

vyi (Commander-in-Chief) and fought with dignity for glory and freedom against the most powerful states of its times.

Like sons we may simply take pride in it and in a human way give an objective picture of our own history. And boasting — this comes from a feeling of inferiority, just as condemnation comes from a feeling of one's worthlessness.

With a heart pang M. Shamota warns us against "an enrapture with the past" (*Radianska Ukraïna*, May 16th, 1970): "Apart from songs, campaigns and victories, Ukraine heard the wailing of the captive girls, saw the tears of widows and orphans."

She heard — o, she heard! In old times and during the war still in our memory — well after we "had won the struggle against the past"!

Thus it appears that there is a reverse side not only to the Cossack past with which one should not get excessively enraptured, but also to our recent past — the revolution, the Civil War, the Patriotic War [German-Soviet War] — in which it is recommended today to see only heroism and victory, and "the tears of widows and orphans" are written off as overhead expenses of a victorious march forward.

Is it worthwhile for M. Shamota to worry so much about those "cripples", "who are unable to see grief, tears and misfortunes of the millions in the past"? To assure him one can even add: in the past there were also bloodstained stakes, gallows, rib-hooks, copper oxen, and campaigns from which less than half of the participants returned, and bloody battles one after another — but they went again and again in the name of their freedom — for the faith of their ancestors! Those were people! It was not possible to analyze them simply in terms of tears, pain and losses — they created what is sacred in spirituality and voluntarily burnt at the altar where a new shrine was to be built.

"The flaming red *sharavary* (baggy trousers) of the Zaporozhian knights became covered with the black mourning of cassocks . . . You [Catherine II of Russia] have taken our ramparts by deceit, and our colours, and our military seal, but we — you can chop us if you will — shall build instead a holy shrine, we shall send our spirit towards heaven and it will stay there for ever . . ."

And so today the point is not to estimate the value of stones in that cathedral, but to awaken in that shrine filial feelings! The point today is to utter a loud and truthful word, worthy of their history.

For what is the fault of the "incontrovertible truth" prepared by the teams of doctors and academicians? Above all — its indigestiveness. It seems that in preparing it the scholars did not pay attention not only to the modest relative human truth but also to the reader himself. In their writing they seemed to have brought their undeniable correctness to the highest level.

For this reason its fault is that it lacks those purely human attributes — “so that a soul could speak to the soul”. Obediently making notes, the readers simply do not digest it, but merely — under the pressure of the circumstances — they keep it temporarily — until an examination — they exchange it for marks and immediately throw away because of its unviability: it neither makes one feel cold nor warm . . .

Of course, pedagogical sciences do not care about it. They have done their own job so that nobody can find any fault with it. But when people without a real knowledge of history, literature and culture are condemned to gulp nervously anything blown by the wind — this belongs to another department — State Security. Let them cure people without an ideal — “those wingless ones”, and those who “demand: give us happiness! — as if they were asking for a scholarship”, and those who have confidence and even an “unhealthy interest” in old editions and “samvydav” [self-publications].

Today, the creators of “incontrovertible truths” have averted an entire generation from their native matters and turned them towards the foreign literature.

Our youth in its great majority does not know the history, culture and even the language of their own nation, and often does not believe that one can find anything of value in Ukrainian language in the book stream of everyday occurrences presented in the form of *belles lettres* and of cheap humour.

We have experienced the idealisation of the past which appears as the first psychological reaction on the basis of the negation of the past, a hundred years ago. Today we ought to have a knowledge of our past . . . But, today as at that time, we are consumed by the lack of our self-awareness, self-respect and the elementary education in national dignity.

And so today, with the entire arsenal of distilled book production we are facing the problem: how again to awaken the youth to the feeling of a fatherland, how to awaken in them a spiritual life on the native soil.

Our learned pedagogues, naturally, do not give a thought to the problem on what soil there appeared the fact that “senior schoolchildren broke up their ancient little wooden Hutsul church into firewood. And their teacher — their teacher-educator — directed this work . . .” This fact is so shameful and unbelievably criminal above all from the moral and educational point of view, that it would have been best to pass it over in silence for shame. But it will not vanish for all that. And the grains sown in the souls of those schoolchildren would not be overgrown . . .

And what are this teacher and his superiors occupied with now? Perhaps we, too, “even now are sowing indifferent people — are

giving birth to cruel people... we ourselves are cultivating the destroyer!" Do you think he changed his character after the organisation of the societies for the protection of the monuments of the past?

As far as idealisation of the nation in the past and present is concerned, then in the best case a superficial puerile romanticism (which is cured by knowledge), or hard-hearted indifference (which cannot be cured by anything), are hiding behind it.

And when some well-rounded fellow methodically talks in superlatives about my wonderful, great, free, happy, cultured and prosperous people — I remember the caution of the hard-headed ox in Hrebinka's fable:

When you approach me with kisses —
Shivers run down my spine.

I remember the old poem by Oles:

O, it's true! My people is terribly funny . . .
Blind, hunchbacked and strange,
It wanders like a beggar with a lyre in his hands —
And even does not know who he is —
He is so . . . so lacking in memory!

I think that from its heroic epic history it has managed to preserve only the spirit of songs and the riddle of the legends. Over half a century, when the population of our planet has jumped to four milliards, its numbers have declined. It lifted itself up weakened after 1914-1921, barely alive it rose after 1933, slashed and chopped it came back to life after 1945, and today its organism is such that it does not ensure increase . . . And it drinks terribly, in a horifying manner . . . It ridicules itself and says to the glass: "Moonshine vodka, is there anyone who does not make you nowadays?"

For centuries it recklessly defended and cultivated its language, it defends it even today. But one becomes afraid for the language when the minister of education makes a victory announcement that "Ukraine, as one of the first among the union republics, has realised in practice general eight-year education", and a young chap from the army writes to Yel'ka the following letter: "At present one has not yet got used to army service, it is difficult to get used that other people tell you what to do, but one will get used to everything, the food ratio is sufficient, I feel full up on eating." (Written in a mixed Ukrainian-Russian volapuke).

Here you have his language, his consciousness, his culture — his entire ideology. If there appeared today a work which would precisely, without filters, recreate the language of various strata of the Ukrainian population, one would probably become grey in the course of reading it.

And one becomes afraid for that young Ukrainian intelligentsia which in the conditions of today's "Ukrainian" city has to spend its

energy for the defence of its own national face — instead of fighting at the forefront of the life of our planet for the appropriation of a new truth of a new era. Man fails to cope with making sense of facts and events — one's life is not enough to absorb information in a single branch of science! This is one reason why the present-day Ukrainian technical intelligentsia, deprived of a healthy national upbringing, in its overwhelming mass does not know that it is Ukrainian intelligentsia, the brains of the Ukrainian nation, and the "cathedral vocabulary" of Mykola Bahlay is indeed an exceedingly "difficult text" for it.

Our history and in general human history has not yet been translated into logarithms for it. For it even their own picture has not been made sense of even to the extent that it could be modelled and thus the reliability of its functioning within the limits of logic checked. I abstract from the fact that in the basis of its logic lies the very ordinary "naïve realism" which accepts that which is customary and visible for real, and that there is nothing to open a chink in a spiritual world for our present-day technocrat.

And one is reluctant to accuse him of a lack of strength and character, of the fact that in a world of determinism he is unable to rise to a "free will", but one cannot fail to blame him: hypnotised by new terminology, he has rejoiced that its structure and the very truth determined by information, and has forgotten that these new terms change nothing in the old story: "I am alright, Jack."

But this is what a genuine modern scientist says in old terminology: "We have a freedom of choice. Perhaps, it would be better to say: not we *have*, but it *appears*. It appears when it becomes necessary. At such a moment a man fulfils his human duty" (Academician N. Konrad).

And the ancient song in the voice of young Yel'ka recalls the old puzzles:

What grows without roots?
What rises without shoots?
What plays — and has a voice?
What weeps — but has no tears?

... if you guess — I shall be yours, if you do not guess, I shall belong to someone else ...

A stone grows without roots ...
The sun rises without shoots ...
A violin plays — and has a voice ...
The heart weeps — but has no tears ...

A stone grows without roots — only a stone! And the sun rises after all — even without shoots ...

THE EMBLEM OF AN OSTRICH

... The novel *Cathedral* deals with those young and old people who do not remember pre-revolutionary life. More than that, they do not remember a life easier than today, because never before have they eaten so well, drunk so much, and had greater "material interest." It deals with the generations which have been supplied with information only about the positive aspect of life and have been brought up in the spirit of optimism! Where does then this pessimism and that paradoxical effect of the entire system of our upbringing stem from?

For entire decades we had saving formulas, calming like bromide, about the "survivals of the past" and "some cases." Today these formulas have been worn off — and is it not the time for us, instead of incantations, to think seriously and to find out: why this suppressed and low-gearred tone of life of our young people?

To reproach the writers that there are many such (negative) features in the novel, to fix a limit for them and to accuse the writers of "slander" — amounts to the same thing as smashing a thermometer because it wants ... to freeze us deliberately. To say that literature gives birth to people who do not see the "prevalence of the good over the bad" — is the most subjective idealism, diametrically opposed to the principle "being determines consciousness."

A falsely disparaging literature is not to be feared by anyone, because it contradicts the sane nature of a reader who looks for artistically generalised truth in a book. As regards "political hints", comrade Shamota, can one in all seriousness transfer to the epoch of the construction of communism Engels' bitter ridicule of bourgeois society and literateurs who "are straining to make up for the lack of talent in their works by dropping political hints capable of drawing the attention of the public?"

What do you think of our public? I quote this slip of the tongue only to ask: do you really think that Oleś Honchar did not base himself on life and was not guided by social ills, the voice of his conscience and traditional for a Ukrainian writer civic duty, but simply slipped down to the weakness of "drawing the attention of the public", even at the cost of "poaching and corruption?"

... Who today would derive any joy from political hints, when what is at stake is the life of our nation, the education of our children, preservation of our culture and prospects of our own development? Who are we — foreigners on our own soil who are pleased to disparage and pour dirt on ourselves just for someone else's amusement? Something is wrong here ...

Oleś Honchar's novel — is a literary attempt to restore justice, publicity, public opinion, and without doubt it will pass into history as one of the most humane works of the socialist literature. Sharpened

intonations, acute moments in it derive only from our creative atmosphere in which even today it is possible to raise problems only in the form of hints, suddenly and hurriedly — in one breath... But there cannot be any doubt that these burning vital problems are brought up from the depth of conscience, from the anxious civil feelings. Had we been able to bring them up some ten years ago, our society would have gained a lot from it. We cannot avoid our problems. They, like a chronic disease, will not disappear somewhere by themselves and will not solve themselves. Examples? They can be met at every step. Thus we used to sing about an "artificial sea" only from the bright, advertising side, carefully keeping silence about the which should have been brought up loudly for public discussion until we began to construct other "seas."

None of the critics of the *Cathedral* "reacted" even with a word to this problem put in the sharpest way — to flood or to drain?

This problem is real to such a degree that it can be measured in money. It is the problem whether there is any purpose in building those "artificial seas" and those hydroelectric power stations which have been built or are being built at present — by the same "cheapest" method — "clearing" and flooding of fertile land instead of constructing dams. "It will be the same as at the Kakhovka Reservoir where a half of Ukraine has been submerged. They thought they would construct a sea but they have created a swamp. It is covered with rotting plants and it stinks all over Ukraine!" — the old Nechuyviter began to grumble...

But in the article "How much do we lose" (*Literaturnaya gazeta*, No. 14, 1968), signed by deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet, scientists, writers and artists, this problem is formulated as follows: "The soil ameliorators now face the task of draining that zone of the Kakhovka reservoir in order to transform it back again into flourishing land. Plans of winning back from the "sea" the flood-lands of the river Sulá and other parts of the flooded lands, are being discussed. This is it. At first we ruin it and then we restore it." Meanwhile "forest is being felled in the area of the Kaniv hydroelectric power station and meadows and pasturelands are being prepared for flooding... In the area of Mohyliv-Podilsky hydroelectric power station 78 villages are to be flooded", etc.

This is the most modest echo of that talk which took place in February 1968 at the Kyiv House of Writers during a meeting with the scientists and builders of the hydroelectric power stations, when, as one, quoting figures and facts, spoke about terrible devastation and even more terrible prospects of new hydroelectric power stations that are being built on the Dnieper. It was stated then that the person who would take the responsibility on themselves cannot be found.

There are signatures under the blueprints sent from Moscow... And as for others: once blueprints have been sent — one had to sign them

if one wanted to keep the job. The authors of the blueprints were not present, but they would have answered: the blueprints are appropriate to the costs... "For, you understand, the cheaper the project, the greater premium for the designers."

This is what a highly qualified microman means! A situation of choice appeared before him: this was precisely the moment when a man had to carry out his human duty...

But where does human duty originate for which people give up peace, an easy job, comfort, reputation, work — everything? Even one's life — but not one's conscience? Perhaps from love and respect for people? From valuing national wealth which one has not created and has no right to destroy? From the ability to understand deep in one's heart the corruptive consequences of irresponsibility?! From self-respect and the feeling of being part of a nation in the complexity of its spiritual characteristics? From an organic prohibition, cultivated from one's youth, not to trespass over some sacred things recognised by people?

In that microman's breast there appeared at that moment only one good — material interest!

Of course, he calculated that he would not be fined for anything, but would be able to boast that he had fulfilled the task and duty to the State — "our sacred duty" etc. And when it becomes clear how much it would cost to the nation and how the State had been duped, then they would write it off. Why does everything come to the surface later on? Perhaps, if we really admitted contradictions and their conflict, if we were not afraid to talk and to consider all the "pros" and "cons" — and were not afraid of "sabotage", we would have discovered even at the construction of the first hydroelectric power station a number of questions which needed public discussion — discussion of problems instead of pure approval of pathetic phrases. Their elucidation in the press with reasonable arguments and not with timid hints and cautious responses.

That dialectic of development over which we step across to the noise of practicicism into the sphere of cultural life rebounds at every step in the sphere controlled by figures.

The State needs obedient executives, but the obedience of the executives ready to do anything gives birth to voluntarism and the "late wisdom" from above, where after the very first harvest they come rushing: why did you, specialists, not report to us, why did you not warn us... So it appears the State in fact needs principled people, who can reason coolly, who have firm principles and the courage to say "No."

The State needs mass support for any measures, but in fact it needs a firm support of responsible people who morally take these measures on themselves as their own more than the support of that mass which tomorrow will in a similar unanimous way ridicule the same measure.

The State needs scientific support, but where [the carrerist] Loboda's science merely provides justification for State measures — degenerates, putting it mildly, into a profitless advertisement. And in the final reckoning it appears that the State in fact needs a science which develops freely according to its own laws, conscientiously works on its own problems, while at the same time it can give competent independent opinion regarding practical problems.

Any State finds it easiest to deal with a microman, but it is only at the first glance so. It will come out later that although microman is yielding, does not fight back, neither can he serve as a support.

It appears then that the State needs independent public opinion which criticises and controls its actions, but in return supports it in essence in the main things and directs it to a good path.

Who today has the strength and ability to think about the main interdepartmental matters above production levels — who except public opinion? Everyone — from top to bottom — is up to the neck engaged in his own affairs and concrete duties in his department. . . . Everyone wishes to avoid responsibility for something bigger — and all that is biggest arranges itself without any control as a resultant of various forces.

Only public opinion can achieve everything, to sound a call of alarm in time, to raise some important questions in time, in short — to be the highest regulator of the complicated social organism.

It rests on the honest, genuine citizens who enjoy the rights and duties worthy of man, that is who take upon themselves higher duties and work out rights within the framework of the law, which they then enjoy fully. For what are rights to a toady slave who is unable even to think about them, but is adept at begging for alms from the higher authorities and thus confirms the unwritten laws and manufactures microcults which impose themselves on the laws and regard themselves as laws. What is above all necessary is for every one to learn to feel himself a master and citizen, for who is afraid of demanding his higher rights invariably releases himself also from higher duties.

We are a generation which is happier than that of our parents. We are present at the birth of the public opinion which dares to differ from the official one. It is growing and spreading (earlier it used to flicker feebly in separated individuals and was extinguished at the first shout from above). Today it already exists, and is nourished not only by the "self-publishing" activities but also by those newspaper and magazine articles and artistic works which manage . . . to slip through, for they cannot fail to slip through because they slip through even in the heads of those who have to filter them and to stop them.

One can only rejoice at that: a process of democratisation is going on in society according to the laws appropriate to it: from below. Public opinion — is the highest authority in all languages: everyor

has to reckon with the public opinion. All governments always changed appropriately under the pressure of the public opinion. And when the life of the society has been formed so unhappily that there is a great gap between the public and the official thought

when in a frightening momentum
words part ways with the deeds —

official thought tends to approach that of the public opinion and not vice versa. In our country it was essentially likewise — in the final result. For when has the public opinion been wrong? And when did the official opinion err? Only in retrospect... Let us mention the generally known cases. The critique of Stalin's crimes was not a personal whim of Khrushchev: it stemmed from the necessity to come closer to the people, to the hidden but living public opinion about the anticonstitutional activities of one who according to the official version was simply a genius etc. And no one had to agitate: the people immediately accepted that critique of the "cult" understanding it as the beginning of rectification of various deformations in the social life.

Likewise A. Solzhenitsyn's novel "One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich" did not break through by chance: its historical mission was to tell a word of truth about what was festering in the consciousness of the people and occupying in it a place similar to the camps in the USSR. Why is it that this previously unknown author was immediately recognised and proposed for a Lenin prize? Thanks to newspaper advertisement? He had no particular advertisement; he was lifted up by the public opinion and it holds him even now on that height to which a writer ought to rise only by his uncompromisingly honest works. Similarly suddenly quite a few names sprang up in the literature of various republics which the public opinion recognised as "genuine." The public has given advance credits to some talents which they have to earn all their lives and to protect them.

In all human history public opinion, sooner or later, becomes dominant. Today O. Honchar's novel *Cathedral* has become an object of attacks of the official criticism, obviously so temporary that even the willing ones have no courage to sign their own names under it...

The main difference between people among us shows itself in the moral and ethical dimensions and not in the political ones. Behind the table all are of the same mind, all "recite the truth", they understand everything, admit the existence of unsolved problems, support honesty and uprightness. But when it comes to the deeds, the upright remain alone on the level of human conscience, the microman seeks "material interest" and a premium for "a passable project", the philistine, smiling cunningly, follows the path of the least resistance, and the careerist presents himself as the only support of the order, and stoping at nothing he spins intrigues, "uncovers", leads on to a

slippery path and arranges a jumping board for himself at the holies of places.

And meanwhile "laboratories merely fix the violation of sanitar norms", the publicist merely hint that they understand problem social sciences merely fix certain shortcomings and assure one that they are minute on the background of the achievements, and the militia merely occupy themselves with the consequences of the violation of the public order — and cannot cope with them . . . Under such conditions it requires indeed courage and readiness to suffer, in order to rise above mere fixing to a search for a way out of the vicious circle.

A type of man who takes upon himself responsibility and the blame for a situation, who thinks about the prospects of a cause and not about the prospects of his career — like the dramatic hero of the film "Our Contemporary" — is the true positive hero of our time. But he can win only morally . . .

A man specialises himself narrowly, becomes petty, becomes indifferent in the present-day atmosphere of alienation — he shifts the responsibility on to the "king." But meanwhile ever larger problems arise before man, problems which did not exist earlier.

The problem of the drinking water — not in Sahara but in our country — in connection with the development of the industry.

The problem of preventing the general pollution of the air and the soil through the constant increase of the byproducts of the industry.

The problem of the conservation of nature, forests and species of plants and animals which are becoming extinct — in order to maintain the relative balance of nature.

The problem of the protection of soil from erosion and silting — at least to such an extent that the "breadbasket" should feed itself.

The problem of health of the new generation among which the number of cripples and various symptoms of degeneration due to alcoholism of their parents, is rising.

The problem of education in our most conservative of schools in connection with the scientific and technical revolution and the need for radical revision of the formalised teaching.

The problem of the education in the elementary civic virtues, ideals and beliefs and reeducation of the spiritually neglected youth because information by itself does not reeducate and does not improve anyone.

The problem of removing from top jobs dogmatists who see their entire value in the well-learned habits of pressing on the brakes and of formalising the best manifestations of the living human energy.

In short — the problem of a new man able to make sense, in a level-headed manner and at the present-day scientific level, of new

information and courageously and selflessly to search for a way out of this situation which "laboratories are merely fixing" in our country.

But let us admit frankly: for a cautious person, trained by conjuncture and the discipline of "correct reaction-making", for the type of man still cultivated in our country, these problems are dead — he is afraid even to think about them.

But this was after all only the beginning of the list which should be made out by the Academy of Social Sciences with the help of the press.

"To see the good in the present or at least the prevalence of the good over the bad" — is a very quiet occupation which can be transformed into a healing stimulus. Unfortunately, although it is useful physiologically, it does not lead us anywhere and imperceptibly degenerates into Manilov-like good-naturedness, into a pensioner's cares about the day before yesterday of the day after tomorrow, into a lazy hope that everything will be put right of itself, into a boring, like primitive propaganda, mask behind which there is egoism of sanctimoniousness, into a cowardly habit not to see anything until it is pointed out from above.

But what is needed at this stage is not to see, but to do something about it, perceiving what is bad not in coloured dimensions but as a pressing problem, as the treatment of a disease.

During the period of seeing everything in rosy colours, so many overdue problems have accumulated that our young people, unprepared to a manly and independent civic life, stand before them confused and helpless. They have begun to ridicule themselves apathetically, to jeer at their powerlessness to unravel the knot of life's contradictions. Deprived of the possibility to solve them actively, the young people fly at them like butterflies at a candle, attack with acid words, but later, having lost the talent of fearlessness and uncompromising attitude, everyone seeks "prosperous life" for himself. And today you want to comfort them with saying that the good prevails. And they smile tolerantly: let it prevail . . .

One has to treat young people seriously, with respect and hope. Social problems have to be put before them squarely in order to train people who would be able to take their burden voluntarily upon their shoulders. Young people have to know that these are their problems — and no one apart from them will solve them. That they have to grow up to them and not to smile and to build for themselves the simplest model of the world which, given a good comfort, demands minimum effort.

Since the end of the war which left great questions of life acutely open, a whole epoch has passed in the life of our earth and in the souls of the people — perhaps greater than during the entire 18th

and 19th centuries! But all the old questions have simply been laid over by new ones and are putrefying like old wounds.

The greatest technical revolution in history has taken place. It reequipped transport, production and especially the armed forces, and appropriately strategy and the policy of states which now cannot keep themselves at the level of political emotions, states which take care of military preparedness without believing in the results of the war. Tremendous changes have taken place in the relations among nations and in the evolution of their national consciousness. In our imagination, in our libraries, in the portraits on the walls, in newspapers in the course of 20 years — in our consciousness such shake-ups have occurred that one has to be Galsworthy's old Forsythe who failed to notice that the First World War had taken place.

Traditionally we have become used to hide from ourselves that truth over which we ought to ponder most. A terrible analogy — the last war — comes to one's mind when one considers this position of an ostrich with his head hidden under his wing.

Even now we have not yet made sense of that parable paid most dearly in all history, and even today we are afraid of looking the truth in the eyes! Following its bloodstained footsteps, Dovzhenko wrote his "Ukraine in the Fire" where he touched on the problem of the neglect of man who had all the time been told about the plan but never about honour, and the problem of setting men against each other on the basis of the dogmas of class hatred, and the problem of the guilt of those who abandoned the people in the occupied territory compared with the guilt of those who remained under the occupation. He wrote it — and in the pose of a genius who uttered the truth, handed it to Stalin. Stalin was angered by this truth but it did not interest him: he was used to step over even greater truths...

Today we know that there are only half-truths in it, but still we have not mastered enough courage to print it.

Fascism was incapable even of dreaming about such ignoring of problems and facts, such a flight from common sense, such an ostrich with his head under his wing... And so when the war broke out, Ukraine found herself the first in the fireline and had to pay the greatest tribute in blood.

Following the example of Ivan the Terrible god (Stalin — Ed.) demanded revenge — because she failed to stand fast. Virun'ka paid him with her father — "they were thrown into attack across the Dnieper in civilian jackets, in their everyday dress; they were led by lieutenants at night." As soldiers, or as scapegoats? Even when facing the guns of an absolute enemy, the dogma of hatred demanded that victims be sought out from among ourselves!

Today, the experience of dissension, hostility, hatred, suspicions and accusations has been completely discredited. Today, hatred and distrust are the greatest curse of mankind.

We have to understand that a period of history has begun which demands from us immediate mobilisation of all our human values, all the efforts of our mind, all our spiritual forces, all our human talents and all the lessons of history for the most balanced, severe and honest look at ourselves, in order to consider the situation and to reform ourselves if we wish to find a way out to avoid a catastrophe. We, people of the undermined planet, can either rise to the height of the situation, to dominate the situation, or fall victims of perfectly programmed, "in a technically competent way", mechanisms.

Even today we see what was the worth of all those troubles and international conflicts which sapped the strength, nerves and minds of the people after the war — and thanks to which the most acute internal problems that demanded the straining of all spiritual, moral and material resources of our society, have been relegated to the background.

China, Korea, Cuba, United Arab Republic, Vietnam . . .

Is this not a chain of proofs that the only support and hope of a state, the only real thing — is one's own people. Its internal problems are the main ones, and essentially everything is decided here — international situation, and the position and prestige in the competition of the two systems, and the authority of the country . . .

How can we, sleepy and contented, maintain ourselves on our soil when every year as many people are born in China as there are in all Ukraine, for nature after all takes its own — it fills the space.

With the help of the bombs? Today's bomb can destroy everything, but cannot save anything.

The spiritual unity of mankind to which we are advancing despite everything, though perhaps involuntarily and with creaking, dangerously slowly, is becoming an obvious necessity. However, we have to work out our elated language, our most human humane criteria, our undeniable moral authority for such a unity.

Only the better part of the soul will save people from the cautiously reasoned calculations how best to bind the safety fuse around one's finger, from passionate desires that our neighbour should be harmed.

Meanwhile we know where our neighbours begin, because ever new frontiers come into existence, ever new enemies make their appearance, and from all sides, angrily wiping off their faces, people who spat against the wind, are swearing at us.

And who are we? Does this social commonwealth have already a single elated word ideal? Or is it a commonwealth which is kept together by the fact that it has a common enemy, and instead of minding its own affairs, reacts against the enemy?

We have to learn again to call things their own names, in order to make sense of ourselves in this world — in order to find in it new friends. In the contemporary world one has to unite, constantly seeking out in oneself all that is best, which will shine attractively in the market of world values. For such a long time we have been

going down that we have before us a great and enviable to neighbours path to climb, and great dormant forces will awaken on this path.

We have to change to be able to respect ourselves, we have to learn to respect others and thus to earn the respect of others. For what else can an international association of people of good will irrespective of beliefs, convictions, racial and national adherence mean? It means that the concept of good will is a common denominator of general human morality — people sincerely united by an active desire to create order and a festive atmosphere in one's own home.

But when the notorious question "to whose benefit will it be?" arises, it is indeed necessary to clarify it.

If we stop ridiculing ourselves and begin seriously to consider ourselves and our affairs, call things their own names — to whose benefit will it be? If we ourselves raise our problems and ourselves tackle them instead of getting accustomed to their ironical elucidation by someone else — to whose benefit will it be? . . .

The entire subtlety of human mind and spirit has for centuries been spent in order to warm a hope for a better future.

After the last terrible war no one was able to believe in anything great. And no one of the great poets dreamt golden dreams of the 19th century. In the fifties we have become sober after a heavy intoxication — and we feverishly began to search for the threads of the lost truth. And began to snatch out from the prepared "lists of scrap paper" values highly appraised in the European world.

But even if such a miracle happened and this tardy rehabilitation restored to us all that has been lost — this would fill the gaps in the past but would not solve for us the path into the future.

Our planet is living through a crisis at present. Bombs. Atomic, hydrogen, cobalt, silicate bombs. Missile carrying rockets. Bases on the earth and above the earth. And the super-bomb — the growth of the population.

It may seem to someone that to put forward our spiritual, national and social problems is a reckless gamble on board the doomed liner *Titanic*. Man cannot think like that. Apart from realising these problems we cannot rise to a saving self-awareness. The crisis of our planet has to be extinguished from the smallest fires, and not globally. We favour the solving of the world problems to the extent as we solve our own ones. Each republic itself must solve its own problems, and only then will they solve themselves in the Union. Each person must in himself solve these problems which are being solved in the world. The primary key is in the man. But man is hampered by conditions. And conditions are created, after all, by man himself, they fit his growth. We have to grow and by our spiritual growth, by our moral authority win prestige and defend our place under the sun . . .

J. B. RUDNYCKYJ
(Winnipeg, Canada)

AFRICA IN LIFE AND WORK OF LESYA UKRAÏNKA

Publisher's Note:

The Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences — UVAN of Canada in collaboration with the Ukrainian Free Academy — UVAN in Europe with its seat in London, England, initiated the world-wide celebrations of the Centennial of the birth of Lesya Ukraïnka (1871-1913) with the participation of a representative of the Academy, Professor J. B. Rudnyčkyj of Winnipeg and at the 6th Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association (L'Association Internationale de Litterature Comparée) held from August 31st to September 6th, 1970, at the University of Bordeaux, Talence, in France.

The highlight of the Congress was the session devoted to the literary relationship between Africa and Europe. At this session, held on September 2nd, 1970, the official delegate of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences — UVAN of Canada and Executive member of the Canadian Comparative Literature Association, Dr. J. B. Rudnyčkyj of Winnipeg, delivered a lecture under the above title. With permission of the author the lecture is reprinted in our journal.

AFRICA IN LIFE AND WORK OF LESYA UKRAÏNKA

I

Lesya Ukraïnka (literary pseudonym of Larysa Kosach-Kvitka) was born on February 25th, 1871, in the town of Zvyahel' in Volynia (North-Western Ukraine). She came of a prominent Ukrainian family. Her father Petro Kosach, a landowner, played an important role in public life. Her mother, Olena Pchilka, was also a Ukrainian writer, editor of a literary magazine *Ridnyj Kray*, pioneer and organizer of the women's movement in Ukraine. Her uncle, M. Drahomaniv, was a distinguished historian, professor at the University of Sophia (Bulgaria). One of her aunts was sent to Siberia for political activities. From her early youth, Lesya found herself in the centre of Ukrainian cultural life.

The beauty of the land in its natural setting, colourful life and folk songs of the Ukrainians, the ruins of old castles, her unique broad education formed her personality from the days of her childhood. As a mature writer, she had a command of eleven languages, and had an answer of her own to problems of history, sociology, ethics, philosophy and literary currents of her epoch.

Due to her illness (tuberculosis) for which she sought relief, and her wide literary interests, she travelled extensively. For longer or shorter periods of time, she visited Berlin, Vienna, Sophia (Bulgaria), Rome, San Remo (Italian Riviera), Crimea, Caucasus, Helwan (Egypt) etc.

The titles of her main works are:

Collections of poetry: "On the Wings of Songs" (1893), "Thoughts and Dreams" (1899), "The Echoes" (1902).

Her dramatical works: "The Blue Rose" (1896), "The Possessed" (1901), "The Babylonian Captivity", "On the Ruins" (1902), "Cassandra" (1902-1907), "The Three Moments" (1905), "Aysha and Muhammad" (1907), "Rufin and Priscilla" (1906-1909), "In the Woods" (1895-1909), "On the Field of Blood" (1909), "Johanna Khus' Wife" (1909), "The Noblewoman" (1910), "The Forest Song" (1911), "Martianus the Advocate" (1911), "The Stony Host" (1912), and "The Orgy" (1913).

She died in Surami, Caucasus, on the 1st of August 1913. Her body was brought to Kyiv, Ukraine, and buried on Baykove Cemetery.¹ Now she is famous and reputed as one of the "Great Three" of Ukrainian writers with Taras Shevchenko and Ivan Franko as her predecessors.²

II

Although Lesya Ukraïнка did not visit Africa until 1909, her African, and in particular Egyptian, interests preceded her personal experiences during her stays in Helwan, near Cairo, in the years 1909-1913.

First of all, it should be mentioned that Lesya Ukraïнка compiled a popular *History of Near East* in which a prominent place was allotted to the history of Ancient Egypt.

Delving in the history she found many interesting topics for her literary output.

¹) The best biography and critical survey of Lesya Ukraïнка's *Life and work* in English was recently given by Professor Constantine Bida in the book *Lesya Ukraïнка*, University of Toronto Press, 1968, pp. 1-84.

²) Cf. J. B. Rudnykyj in vol. 1 of *Povne vydannya tvoriv Tarasa Shevchenka: T. Shevchenko*. Vydavnytvo Mykoly Denysyuka (Taras Shevchenko; Works. Volume 1. Mykola Denysiuk Publishing Company) Chicago, 1962, p. vii-ix.

Thus, in the poem *Sphinx*, written on July 24, 1900, she reconstructed the origin of the famous desert sculpture of the unknown "rab" (slave) which attracted attention of poets and thinkers trying in vain to solve the enigma of *Sphinx* — a mysterious name "as cryptic as the creature itself."

The following day, July 25th, 1900, Lesya Ukraïnka wrote another poem: *Ra-Meneis*, devoted to "the haughty Egyptian empress, daughter of Pharaohs" who — despite of having been buried with all the old Egyptian rites, embalmment, jewellery — by an incident in transportation of her sarcophagus "had to turn back to earth" and totally perish.

The poetess was continuously interested in Africa. In 1904 she started to write the cycle under the general title *Yehypets'ki barelyefy* (Egyptian low reliefs). One of the poem from this cycle *Napys v ruini* (An Inscription in the Ruin) offers a very interesting poetic contrastation of the intentions of an unknown Egyptian emperor to live eternally in an inscription and the deletion of his name "by a competing ruler or simply by the hand of time":

"I am the tsar of tsars, I am the son of the sun,
I have erected this tomb
In order to be glorified by many peoples,
And to be remembered in all future ages:
My name is . . ." The rest obliterated except
for a circle and eroded inscription³
.
The tyrant tsar died long ago
The circle and eroded inscription are all that remained
Poets! do not dream, scholars! do not search
Who was that tsar and what his name:
Fate turned his tomb into a peoples' monument, —
Let the tsar perish!³

³) The present author's translation; he strongly disagrees with Percival Cundy's substitution of the word *tsar* by "king" or "Pharaon" in his translation of the above passages in *Spirit of Flame. A Collection of the Works of Lesya Ukraïnka*. Bookman Associates, New York (1950), pp. 68-70, viz.:

"The king of kings, I, Anton's mighty son,
Have builded for myself this tomb so that
The nations numberless may magnify
And keep in memory perpetual
The name of . . ." Here the inscription was erased.
And all posterity's most learned men
Cannot decipher that lost royal name.

The king with tyrant's face is long since dead.
He left behind him: What? A name erased!
O poets, waste no dreams! O scholars, make no search
To learn who was that king and what his name!
Of his huge tomb just destiny has made
A people's monument: Let Pharoah (sic!) die!

In two instances Lesya Ukraïнка turned to the Biblical "Egyptian slavery" of the Israeli people. In the poem *Izrail' v Yehypti* (Israel in Egypt) she describes the desperate life conditions of Israelites in Egypt after their Exodus:

Just like Israeli shall perish forever
In the wilds of the desert, in dark obscurity, —
So will his faith in the holy testament,
And with him will die Jehovah himself.

Israel's body will rest in the grave,
The spirit which appeared in fire, will turn into ashes
This monstrous tsar's pyramid
Will stand for a long time.⁴

In a short poetical drama *V domu roboty, v krayini nevoli* (In a House of Labour, in a Land of Slavery) the action takes place also in Egypt. Two "rabs" (slaves) are discussing their situations and the slavery as such:

The Jew hates Egypt, the country of his servitude. If only he could, he would destroy all the Egyptian temples, their pyramids, and 'he would build a dam on the Nile and thus inundate and submerge the entire country of his enslavement.' To the Egyptian slave Egypt is a country of famous temples, where Ra and Osiris are praised and worshipped. He works as do other Egyptians 'not only as a slave, but from his own volition.' In all probability, he would work even better, if he were free, but in his work as a slave he sees sense and benefit. When the Jewish slave curses the Egyptian Holy of Holies, the Egyptian slave strikes him. When the guard beats both of them and chases them out to work, the Egyptian tries to justify his rough expression of anger, but the Jew, turning away from him, says: 'So, thus it should be, I ought to know that I am a slave and nothing else, that this country of enslavement is foreign to me and that I have no friends here.'⁵

III

A very important moment in Lesya Ukraïнка's African interests was her first trip to Egypt in 1909-1910. She arrived at Helwan, near Cairo, in mid December, 1909, and stayed in the Hotel-Villa Continental. Her first impressions of the country were deep and memorable. In one of the letters to her mother, dated December 21, 1909, she wrote as follows:

⁴) The present writer's translation of the original Ukrainian text taken from the first volume of the edition: Lesya Ukraïнка, *Tvory v desyaty tomakh*. Kyïv, 1963 p. 333. Here again the translation of the word *tsar'skyj* by "tsar's" is left without substituting it with "king" "Pharaoh", or similar.

⁵) Cf. Bida, op. cit. 56-57.

We saw the great pyramids and the great sphinx — it is something truly singular in the whole world. No paintings, no photographs, etc., can transmit the true *soul* of those stony beings. Particularly the sphinx — it has a great millennial soul, it has live eyes, which seem to penetrate eternity. And what a landscape before the eyes of the sphinx!... Egypt did not disappoint me, it fascinated me the more and only now I have fully grasped its genius and ability, when I visited the Cairo museum...⁶

Lesya Ukraïnka's second visit to Northern Africa took place in the winter of 1911-1912; it was followed by the third (and last) one in 1912-1913. Egypt's mild winter improved her condition somewhat and she was able to produce here some of her finest poetical and dramatic works.

Without underestimating the literary values of such masterpieces as *Tryptych* (Triptichon — collection of three poems) of 1910, *Boharynya* (Boyar's wife), or *Orgiya* (Orgy) — dramas of 1910 or 1912 respectively, we want to discuss here briefly her works with Egyptian themes created during her African stays in Helwan.

While visiting the Egyptian museum in Cairo in 1909, Lesya Ukraïnka was highly impressed by old Egyptian inscriptions on stones, tombs, papyri, etc. She was curious about their meaning and contents. Fortunately enough she knew A. Wiedeman's study and German translations of old Egyptian literature *Die Unterhaltungs-Literatur der alten Aegyptier*, published in Leipzig in 1903. She began to translate some of the inscriptions from German into Ukrainian. Already in January 1910 she was ready with twelve translations which were published later in *Literaturno-naukovyj vistnyk* (Literary and scientific Herald) in Kyïv, vol. 9, 1910, under the general title "Lyrical songs of the Ancient Egypt." Lesya Ukraïnka wrote an impressive introduction to this cycle praising the high poetical quality of the verses created by the Egyptian people: "simple, genuine, sincere and full of mastery in their expression."

Here are two samples of them:

Oh, should I be my beloved one's Negro maid,
I would follow her step by step!
Oh, then I would gaze at this loving being to my heart's content
And drink all happiness.

Did not my heart adhere sincerely to your love?
I would never leave you, even if I were tortured
everyday,
Even if I were to be chased with sticks to Syria,
with rods to Nubia,

⁶) Quoted (in translation) from: *Lesya Ukraïnka*: Publikatsiï. Statti. Dosli-dzhennya. II. Kyïv, 1956, p. 249.

Even if they would chase me away with whips
 into valleys with thorns.
I would not listen to anyone's advice,
I would never give up the happiness of true love.

IV

In spite of her ill health, Lesya Ukraïнка intensively observed and studied the Egyptian environment, African nature, the people with their customs, folklore, traditions . . . She compared her previous (theoretical) knowledge of the country with the actual Egyptian reality and from historical heights descended to the contemporary experiences, first hand observations and fresh impressions.

Mykola Okhrimenko characterizes Lesya Ukraïнка in his memoirs of that time as follows:

My acquaintance with Lesya Ukraïнка began soon after her arrival. At that time I was a grade IV high school student and Larysa Petrivna suggested to me that I study with her the German language. Soon after Larysa Petrivna had 6-8 students of various ages with whom she studied languages. Larysa Petrivna was full of life, and active as much as her illness permitted. Tuberculosis affected her left foot, left hand and throat. She noticeably limped and always wore a glove on her left hand. Our exercises usually were held in the open air — either on the verandah or in the orchard. I remember, that once I drew her attention to the unusual colour of the sky, which up to the zenith was violet lead like, and to the southern part of the horizon — purplish red, part of which was orange. Larysa Petrivna became interested and asked me to help her get up from her cot, went to the open place and for a long time observed the sky. She was approached by Arabian boys, the same age as myself, Said and Mohammed. They explained to us that "khamsin" was coming and it was necessary to go indoors immediately . . . It became evident that the boys were right: in 15-20 minutes the sand hurricane interrupted our work . . . During the time of our stay at Helwan "khamsin" struck several times. But I suppose that her poem *Khamsin* Larysa Petrivna wrote under the impression of this particular "khamsin" . . .⁷

After ca. half-a-year stay in Helwan, Lesya Ukraïнка produced a very interesting poetic "cycle" *Vesna v Yehypti* (Spring in Egypt) consisting of seven poems, different in form and contents, yet, united by the common landscape background — Egypt.

The first poem entitled *Hamsin* (Khamsin) refers to the above mentioned hot wind from the Sahara desert, lasting about fifty days

⁷ Quoted (in translation) from: *Lesya Ukraïнка* . . . pp. 495-496.

from late March to early May. In her poem Lesya Ukraïnka personifies Khamsin and compares it with the "bad god" Set who — according to an old Egyptian legend — killed the "good god" Osiris. As in all lyrical poems, the author is involved in the plot. Here Khamsin is warning the poetess:

You foreign lady, do not look at me!
Otherwise I shall blind your eyes with sand . . .

In characterizing the whole stormy and chaotic situation in the nature Lesya Ukraïnka finishes her poem with the following image of an Egyptian day:

In the yellow sky
The sun — the eyes of Osiris — was dimmed —
And it seemed as if the whole world became blind . . .

The following verse in the cycle *Pustynya dyshe* (The desert breathes) depicts the African landscape after the Khamsin: the nature as well as the people return to their orderly form, the usual chores and activities.

Very interesting because of its poetic contrast is the poem on *Afra* — the ideal African stillness when even "the air stands still as quiet waters." The nature seems to be petrified in static motionless atmosphere. Only once the tranquillity is suddenly interrupted by the "English" (British) troops marching along the Nile. Yet, after their disappearance the *Afra*-atmosphere returns to the country, "the world seems to have been emptied", the "hot stillness" reigns around.

The following poem *Son* (Dream) parallels Egypt and Ukraine in the poetess' dream.

As for a contrast the stormy night — *Vitryana nich* is the main theme of the next (fifth) poem in the cycle. Personal longing for her Ukraine is interwoven with the actual situation in Egypt: the wind, which blows from the North is felt in her room, but it does not bring anything pleasant from her homeland: it brings only "the song of love for the desert."

The sixth verse *Vist' iz pivnochi* (News from the North) is again devoted to the wind from the North — Ukraine. It brings rain to Egypt. The poetess compares the rain drops to tears and the poem closes with the following pessimistic message of the wind:

It is I that have brought from your country
these weeping news,
As you yourself have pleaded for this echo.

The final poem *Tayemnyj dar* (A secret gift) closes the whole cycle with an optimistic tone: it refers to the Egyptian legend that one of the seven Hathors (the goddesses of love and joy) gave the Egyptian people the undying joy as a weapon for their slavery: "neither the

oppression of Pharaohs nor the enslavement by foreigners will ever overcome this joy" (optimism) of the people.

The seventh poem dealing with the (happy) gift of the seventh Hathor concludes the poetical heptachord.⁸

V

In a letter to Ol'ha Kobylyans'ka dated March 21st, 1913, Lesya Ukraïнка wrote:

I shall finish what I have to and shall turn to an easier work in the literary field, that of prose (if I shall be able to work at all), although my critics do not praise my prose. Perhaps this will be more useful, and I wrote so little useful things in my life . . . I want to write one short story, a children's tale on Egyptian themes, not ancient, but contemporary ones. I became interested in the life, more exactly in the psychology of the local harem women (whom I had the opportunity to study closer during the last year) and of the local "children of the street", being raised under the open sky and being unusually inventive, never in despair . . .⁹

The above plans of the poetess remained unfulfilled. She died at daybreak on the first of August, 1913. Her last African work — the planned novel *Ekbal-hanem* had only the initial chapter which was published in *Literaturno-naukovyj vistnyk* (Literary and scientific Herald), in Kyiv, vol. 66, 1913, pp. 4-9, together with the news of her death. In a footnote, added to this issue of the journal, the Editorial Board (Redakciya) paid the following tribute to the poetess and to her "last word":

These are the last pages written by Lesya Ukraïнка at the end of May and beginning of June. The novel was to have been one of Arabian life; in it Lesya Ukraïнка wanted to portray the psychology and status of the Arabian woman who has been to some extent influenced by European culture but is obliged to live in her Oriental environment. Lesya Ukraïнка wrote her novel for the "Herald" but did not complete it.

Then one passage of this unfinished novel is quoted containing a significant mournful premonition:

The Egyptian sunset was about to begin. There the sun seems to play a role of a victor in the last moments before his inevitable

⁸ The cycle was first printed in *Ridnyj Kray*, no. 43, May 1910; unfortunately the poem *Son* was omitted deforming mercilessly the whole heptad — a favourite seven-unit structure of Lesya Ukraïнка dating as far back as 1890, the year in which *Sim strun* (Seven strings) were written, (cf. their excellent English translation by Vera Rich in the book quoted under¹), pp. 252-255).

⁹ Quoted (in translation) from: A. Deych, *Lesya Ukraïнка*. Moscow, 1953, p. 119.

defeat, and so proudly and gayly and without the slightest shadow the evening melancholy lavishes its luminous gifts over the desert, on the great river, and every tiniest detail of its beloved land, as though somehow, in this final moment before the triumphant onrush of darkness, it refuses to believe in the inevitable.

Those pages are the last ray before the "onrush of darkness."

In comparing Lesya Ukraïnka's "Afro-Egyptiana" with her other works, one is struck first of all by the originality of themes and their interpretation by the poetess. Like no other sphere of her non-Ukrainian exotic themes, they are represented by all three genders of her creative output: poetry, drama and prose. Although unfinished, the novel *Ekbal-hanem* is marking a turning point in this respect: Lesya Ukraïnka, after having contributed greatly in the field of poetry and drama, decidedly turned to the prose, so far only very marginally represented in her creative work. There is no doubt that, if alive, she would have continued to write more in that direction.

As far as the form and style of her "literary Egyptian venture" are concerned, they testify to the originality of various verse structures and prosodical maturity. A wealth of stanzaic forms, variety of metres, diversity of rhymes — all that confirms the importance of Lesya Ukraïnka's Egyptian works indicating — along with other, non-Egyptian, works — that the period in question was one of the most intensive and most productive periods in her literary career, or to quote Professor Bida:

They reached aesthetic fulfilment in the harmonious fusion of form and idea, in clarity of thought, in classical language. In them we find the fusion of several constituent elements: the qualities of intellect, poetic intuition, the profound tenderness peculiar to the female psyche, creative strength, as well as high level of imagination.¹⁰

¹⁰) Cf. Bida, op cit. 42.

THE GUN AND THE FAITH

**Religion and Church in Ukraine
under the Communist Russian Rule**

A Brief Survey by

W. Mykula, B.A. (Lond.), B.Litt. (Oxon)

Ukrainian Information Service,

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Olexa WOROPAY

CUSTOMS OF OUR PEOPLE

(Continuation — 4)

In the winter time . . .

Vvedenia (Introduction of the Holy Virgin Mary into the Temple)

The old Ukrainian New Year customs have been divided, some are linked still to the Christian New Year celebrations while others are observed on December 4th — Vvedennia Day or the Third Prechysta.

The peasant believes that the first visitor to the house on this day carries either luck or misfortune. That is why no neighbour visits neighbour in case they might be blamed for any bad luck that may arrive during the following year.

If the first arrival is a young, handsome and strong man with money — that is a good sign — during the ensuing year the household will have good health and plenty of money.

If an old and poor man is the first to come — that is no good, but the arrival of an old woman is even a worse sign. The worst sign of all is if on this day anyone comes to borrow something.

Later, during the evening, when the village is covered with darkness love-stricken girls go to collect charm water. They look for the meeting of three lots of water — two brooks running into a river — the meeting of three rivers — three brooks running into one. Having found such a place the girls fill a jug with the water, light two pieces of wood — when the wood is burning well with a strong flame they pour the jug of water between the two flames into a basin. They pour the water so carefully that although it goes through the flames it does not extinguish them.

The water is then poured from the basin into a bottle and kept in a secret place. Formerly the love-sick maiden gave this water to her desired one as a love potion — now it is only a joke.

During the early morning on Vvedennia Day, peasant women scatter hemp seed over their cows and oil their teats with butter — so that the cow will give a better yield of milk.

The men take good stock of the weather and speculate on next year's harvest.

Folk proverb says about Vvedennia Day: "If deep winter is on the ground, prepare a deep corn-bin."

Folk belief says that from Vvedennia to Blahovishchennia (Annunciation) (7th April) is the resting time for the earth so no one disturbs it with spade or plough.

St. Catherine's Day

On the eve of St. Catherine's feast day, in the good old days, the boys always observed a fast and were supposed to read about the life of the great martyr Catherine from the famous book "Lives of Saints." This was done in the hope that God would send them good wives.

The girls on St. Catherine's Day (7th December) always tried to divine their fate. During the morning every girl went to the orchard and cut a little cherry branch. This she took to her home, and put into a bottle of water. If the cherry branch developed well and flowered by Malanka's Day (13th of Jan.) it was a sure sign that the fate of the girl, too, would be flowery and that she would marry next year — but was a bad sign if the cherry branch didn't flower.

On the evening of St. Catherine's Day the girls gathered at one of their homes and cooked a "collective" supper. This was a very simple meal consisting of Borsch and Kasha (a porridge made with millet or buckwheat groats). Later the boys arrived but as this feast occurs during the advent fast there was no dancing — just singing and joking.

Before the cock's crow heralded the dawn the girls, carrying the pot of Borsch and Kasha, carefully wrapped in a new napkin went out to call their Fate. In turn they climbed on to a gate with the supper in their hands and called into the darkness of the night:

— My Fate, my Fate, come in to me for Supper!

Lucky was the girl who heard the cock-crow — for that was her Fate answering her. If it was a moonlit night with a starry sky, the girl calling her fate on the gate dreaded to see a "star go out" for that would mean her star — her fate — would "go out" too.

In life the luck of pretty women is not always good. One often meets this motive in folk songs, stories, and legends.

In the neighbourhood of Kyiv, a long time ago two women were arguing. One was very pretty, the other ugly. The ugly woman got angry and said to the pretty one:

— I am ugly, but my fate is good — you are pretty but your fate is bad.

They arranged to verify this on St. Catherine's night. Each one cooked Borsch and Kasha and at the depth of night went to the cross-roads. The ugly one was the first to stand her pot on the road and cry;

— My Fate, my Fate, come in to me for Supper!

She cried once, twice, and after the third time a young boy appeared. He was strong and handsome — in fact neither woman had ever seen a more splendid youth. He took the spoon the ugly woman offered and tasted the supper. After he had eaten he put some money on the new napkin and vanished.

— Now, — said the ugly woman to the pretty one, — call your fate.

The pretty woman put her pot of Borshch and Kasha on the road and cried:

— My Fate, my Fate, come in to me for Supper!

She cried once, she cried twice and after the third time — a great storm broke. The wind filled their eyes with sand, the trees bowed low, breaking their boughs. Then they saw the fate of the pretty woman. A creature hideously ugly, dirty and with a tail. He ate up all the Borshch and Kasha — when he had finished he broke the pot and went away. — Such is woman's fate.

The fate of men in the folk stories seems always to be good or bad if the women concerned are good workers or lazy. If the woman is a good worker — who toils for her man — his fate is good.

Although St. Catherine's Day is a feast for women and girls, quite often the boys like to consider their fate too. A little folk story tells this about the fate of man:

Once upon a time, there were two brothers; one poor, the other rich. One fine day the poor brother went to his rich brother's field — there he saw a strange woman gleaning the ears of wheat and making a sheaf.

— Who are you? — He asked.

— I am your brother's Fate.

— Where is my Fate?

— Your Fate is lying in the shade of a tree!

— What must I do to make her like you?

— Oh, I will tell you, — said the rich brother's fate. — Go up to her, catch her by the hair of her head and beat her and say to her: "My bad Fate is your fault, because you are lazy. It is because of you that I am so poor! After that, your lazy Fate may be a little better."

— Alright, I will! — said the poor brother and crossed the field to his Fate — but he only stretched out his hand — his Fate got up and went away. Poor man, he ran and ran but could not catch his Fate and at last returned home to his unhappiness . . .

St. Andrew's Day

St. Andrew, one of the twelve Apostles of Jesus Christ, during his missionary travels preached in Byzantium, on the shores of the Black Sea. Later he travelled in a boat up the River Dniro and pulled

to the shore for the night under a high hill. Folk legend says that when he awoke the following morning the Apostle called one of his disciples and said to him:

— Do you see that hill? Well, on that high hill the Grace of God shall shine, and around a great city shall arise with many many churches. With these words St. Andrew climbed to the top of the high hill and erected a large cross — and so Kyiv was born.

The Christian Church holds the feast of St. Andrew on December 13th, but folk custom which is observed on this day has very little Christianity in its motive.

It is a very gay and joyful day for young boys and girls. Married people do not participate in the festivities — and for young people it is the evening of St. Andrew's feast that is important. During the day the girls are very busy, cooking and baking and preparing themselves for St. Andrew's night — the most interesting traditional folk feast.

The night

It is winter — severe frost and deep snow. The moon has not yet risen, it is very dark. Somewhere in the village street boys are singing. There are many lights shining from every window. The unmarried girls are dressing in the clothes always worn for important feasts. Their gowns are beautifully embroidered, their hair and plaits are decorated with coloured ribbons, and they wear red morocco boots. The girls gather in little groups of five or six in a house and try to divine their future.

The girl's divination

Every unmarried girl is very curious to know her future — marriage being the most interesting question. The girls are eager to know about their future wedding. Each one wants to know if her fiancé will be faithful to her or not. That is why from old time girls have always tried to peep into the future, Ukrainian girls believe that St. Andrew will help them to guess their fate.

The most exciting question to be answered is, will they be married next year or not, and the girls know many old ways of getting the answer, on St. Andrew's night.

Each girl makes a small round cake or bun, she puts the flour into a basin and then fetches water to mix with it from a deep well — this water she carries in her mouth.

Having made the bun, each girl marks her own, and then they are all put into the ovens to bake. When the buns are ready, each girl puts the one she has made on a new napkin on the floor. When all is ready the girls call a big dog into the room, who has been kept shut up without food all day. The hungry dog "guesses the girl's fate" — he quickly snatches the dainty fare one by one. The girls watch their

own bun carefully, because whose the dog eats first will be the first married. Sometimes the dog is not able to eat all the buns — this is a bad sign, for whose cake is left on the floor will not be married the next year. Sometimes the dog carries a bun into a corner of the room — this means that Fate will carry the girl who made it far from her home. The worst sign of all is if the day breaks but the dog does not eat the bun — this means a broken romance.

When this little ceremony is over the girls go into the street to listen at the windows of chosen houses. They decide the order of their listening and one may hear snatches of conversation — “by this house, Mary you first — next you, Oksana” . . .

Each girl goes to the window not making a sound — then peep through any chink that may be visible and listens to the conversation inside. If a mother tells her child to “sit down” — or any one uses the word “sit down” — the listening girl is displeased because this signifies that there will be no wedding bells for her next year but if a girl hears “Go away”, or “go out” — that is a joyful sign — she will be married next year. Sometimes the girls go altogether to a window and call loudly: “Mister, where are the keys?” The villager who wants to joke with the girls calls back: “My keys are in the oats, there they will stay until all you unmarried girls are grey.” But he is only teasing the girls and has no wish that they should be spinsters so he quickly corrects himself and calls: “No, no, girls, my keys are in the wheat, you shall all good husbands meet.” “Thank you” — cry the high spirited girls and run away.

Still curiosity is not satisfied. The girls want to know whether the marriage will be successful so later that night the girls go into a garden or orchard where the snow lies undisturbed. Each girl carries a little packet of hemp seeds. These she sows on the snow saying:

St. Andrew, St. Andrew,
I the hemp seed sow
With my skirts I harrow
When I marry, will my man be true?

After this she takes a handful of snow which contains her scattered hemp seed — this she takes home. She waits for the snow to thaw and then divides the seed pair by pair. If the number is even it is a sign that the girl's marriage will be happy, with her husband always by her side, but if the last seed has no pair this means that her husband will leave her all lonely.

To find out what sort of character her future husband will possess, the girl goes to her room and places a small mirror, a saucer of water and a little heap of wheat on the floor. Then she fetches a cock and watches it carefully. If the cock drinks water first, it is a sign that her husband will be a drunkard — if he first pecks the wheat, then her husband will be a good peasant farmer — if he peeps into the mirror, then her husband will be a lazy one.

Sometimes a girl runs to the river or brook and takes a handful of sediment from the bottom — this she takes home and carefully searches. If she finds a piece of iron, it is a sign her husband will be a blacksmith, a piece of wood means he will be a carpenter, glass — a glazier, leather — a shoemaker, sand — a bricklayer. If she finds nothing but soil then her future husband will be a peasant.

The girl who is anxious to know her future husband's Christian name goes into the street and asks the first man she meets:

"What is your name, sir?"

The man knowing it is St. Andrew's day — laughingly replies:

"My name is Michael" — Ivan or whatever he may be.

"Thank you, sir!" says the girl believing the man's name will be her husband's.

The girl who wants to see her future husband, builds a little straw bridge across a basin of water. On the eve of St. Andrew's day, she puts this little building under her bed, and goes to sleep. During the night in her dream, she will see her future husband leading her across the bridge.

The next night she hopes to see him more clearly. When she gets up on St. Andrew's morning — after her prayers, she girds herself with a red woollen belt (This belt is part of the traditional dress) — this she wears all day. When she goes to bed that night she takes it off putting it under her pillow in the form of a cross, as she whispers:

I live on the hill of Kyïv
I put the cross beneath my head
With whom I shall be married
Stand in hand I wish to live.

On this night the girl should see in her dream — her future husband leading her by the hand to Church for her wedding.

All these superstitions have now become great fun and traditional play.

Kalyta

On the evening of St. Andrew's day the boys and girls gather together at a chosen home for a party. The traditional game of "biting Kalyta" is always the high spot of this particular party.

The Kalyta — a large round flat cake with a hole in the middle — is baked the day before. The cake is probably quite good to eat, it is sweet but very hard and dry. A string is passed through the hole in the centre, and then the Kalyta is hung from the ceiling in the middle of the room, at such a height that one must jump to be able to bite it.

Now the fun begins — a guard is appointed — this is always the most high-spirited boy, who has a quick wit and a fund of humour. The guard arms himself with a little rag dipped in soot, and stands

by the Kalyta, to meet each competitor. Everybody taking part in this game must sit on a long poker as if on horse back.

As the first player approaches the Kalyta he is met by the guard and says to him:

"Good evening Mr. Kalyta-man!

"Good evening, Mr. Poker-man, where are you going?

"I am going to bite the Kalyta

"I am going to write on your face

"I am going to bite

"I am going to write

A rule exists that the player is only allowed to jump and bite if he can stand all the guard's jokes without smiling. It is not easy, because the guard tells funny stories, laughs and grimaces, — to the accompaniment of outbursts of laughter from the whole party. If he so much as lets his mouth quiver into the smallest smile, the guard gives him a dab of the sooty rag in the face and he must retire.

His place is taken by another boy, or girl and the play starts again. Practically nobody bites the Kalyta because this is such a hilarious party — that no one can keep a straight face.

Later the Kalyta is taken and divided, then the girls serve supper and the boys provide the wine.

The boys take a walk

The boys are privileged this night, they have certain rights that they have not any other night of the year, and to use them to full advantage they never sleep. If any girl's father does not let her go out or to the evening party the boys are very angry with him, and they will give him a very uncomfortable night, and keep him awake too — the boys watch him and take their revenge.

The following morning the peasant may find his cart far away from the village — his big farm gate on the roof of his house or his small latchet gate floating on the river — and lots of other things that will cause him great trouble.

However the peasant cannot proceed against the boys for damage, because it is their right — it is St. Andrew's night.

(To be continued.)

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and Political Principles of the OUN.

Oleh S. ROMANYSCHYN

"THE TALE OF IHOR'S CAMPAIGN" AND THE "POEM OF THE CID"

A TENTATIVE COMPARATIVE STUDY

An age which believes in the pursuit of honour will naturally wish to express its admiration in a poetry of action and adventure, of bold endeavours and noble examples. Heroic poetry still exists in many parts of the world and has existed in many others, because it answers a real need of the human spirit.

Sir Maurice Bowra¹

Introduction

Although we cannot speak of any direct relations between the Ukrainian and Spanish medieval heroic literature, we can observe some similar traits which stem not only from a common European medieval environment, but from a somewhat similar spiritual and human outlook of the two peoples thriving at the gates of the cultural basin of the Mediterranean.

Both — Ukraine-Rus' and Spain — being frontier nations between the European and infidel worlds secured their place in history under the strains of struggle against the onslaught of an alien world. Since both peoples resisted it throughout the centuries by all means at their disposal it was only natural that these similar historical and geographical circumstances should similarly shape their spirituality and imbue it with a heroic attitude towards life. In letters, these undercurrents crystallized in two accomplished compositions which basically reflect the profiles of Ukrainians and Spaniards respectively: the "*Tale of Ihor's Campaign*" and the "*Poem of the Cid*."

¹ C. M. Bowra, *Heroic Poetry* (London, 1952), p. 3.

*) The vital differences between Kyivan Rus' (Ukraine) and Vladimir-Suzdal and later Muscovy — as two distinct ethnical, cultural, social, as well as political entities — have been indicated by many scholars like V. G. Belinskiy (*Polnoye Sobraniye Sochinenii*, 1954, V, pp. 332-3, 348-9), V. Klyuchevskiy (*Kurs Russkoy Istorii*, 1923), M. Hrushevskiy (*Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusy*, 1923), Polon'ska-Vasylenko (*Dvi Kontseptsii Istorii Ukraïny i Rosii*, 1964), and many others.

Having thus indicated the separateness of the two realms, the name *Ukraïna* (Ukraine), repeatedly used even by medieval records such as the Hypatian Chronicle, shall be considered as a synonym of Kyivan-Rus', for both names designate the same country. Hence, hereafter, we shall consider the "*Tale of Ihor's Campaign*" — which originated in Ukraine, the country of Kyivan Rus' — strictly as part of the Ukrainian cultural patrimony. This too has been repeatedly confirmed by all responsible literary and historical scholarship: Karamzin, Belinskiy, Soloviev, Miller, Senkovskiy, Polevoi, Maksymovych, Hrushevskiy, Peretts, and many others.

It has been said that there cannot be an artistic creation without it artist. Let us carry further this analogy by stating that there must also be a people to nourish its cultural spokesmen, who on their part materialize the creative potentials of their respective nations.

In view of this, one of the first strokes of genius that crystallize in the depths of the souls of the Ukrainian and Spanish peoples are precisely the *Tale of Ihor's Campaign* and the *Poem of the Cid*. They are most important not only because of their literary value, but because they mark the end of a process of spiritual formation and the dawn of two modern nations. At the same time they portray all those elements of the national profile which will accompany the two nations throughout their history, for better or for worse, in the centuries to come.

The purpose of the present work is to attempt to draw only parallels — as far as it will be possible — between the two epic poems which hopefully will support an insight stemming from a direct involvement of the author with the Ukrainian and Spanish people.

In this work we shall adhere to the following topical outline:

- a) The poems.
- b) Authorship, and a military point of view.
- c) The character of the poems.
- d) Underlying common themes.
- e) Panegyric characteristics.
- f) The epic makeup of the poems.
- g) Stylistic elements.
- h) Poetic aspects.

Finally, the *Tale of Ihor's Campaign* and the *Poem of the Cid* shall be referred to, hereafter, as the *Tale* and the *Cid*. The English translations of the *Tale* and the *Cid* used for illustration purposes are those of Messrs. Watson Kirkconnell and John Ormsby respectively. In some instances we have made references to the translation of the *Cid* by W. S. Marwin as well.

In order to avoid unnecessary difficulties, and since the factual information that we shall make use of reflects the knowledge gained and the conclusions arrived at, by the great majority of scholars in the field, we shall consider it as a matter of fact without making acknowledgements. However, we shall footnote whenever this will prove to be necessary for a better rendering of some particular issue.

In the appendixes we have included a short biography of the *Cid* and a summary of the fable of the *Cid*.

One of the first issues which normally comes under scrutiny in cases of comparative studies of this nature is the time when those particular compositions left the creative laboratory of the authors to make a debut in the life of their people. This becomes of vital importance in cases of old works of literature for it permits to judge correctly, unriddle puzzles, and reconstruct with fairness a past age.

By wide consensus of scholars — both Slavicists and Hispanists — the years of birth of the *Tale* and the *Cid* are given as 1187 for the former, and the period between 1140 to 1160 for the latter. Thus, scarcely 47 years at the most separate the appearance of the two masterpieces: the first striking creative coincidence ever present as a guiding point for insight and further inquiry.

The issue of the authorship of the poems points to tentative parallels which stem solely from what scholarship has been able to determine up to date, either from available historico-literary data or by minute comparative analysis of the text itself.

Although the authors of the poems still remain anonymous, the faint lines of their silhouettes approach one another at certain points, even though there seems to be little chance of ascertaining who or what they were.

However, it seems to be certain that both bards were either native of frontier regions or had extensive knowledge of the frontier conditions existing between the Christian and infidel realms. Thus, it has been established beyond doubt that the author of the *Tale* was a Ukrainian. This, by itself, already tells us that he — as a learned person, and very close to the ruling circles in Kyiv — must have been closely acquainted with the problems that the Kuman menace was posing to Ukraine. S. A. Adrianov² in his attempt to locate the birthplace of the poet, arrived at the conclusion that he was reared by the environment existing in Chernihiv characterized as maintaining "lively relations" with the Kuman country in the XII c. Whether this is plausible or not it does not really matter, since most of the population of Ukraine at that time was certainly quite aware of Kuman raiders and their ways.

On his part, the author* of the *Cid* was a Castilian from a frontier region as well. Researchers — specially the brilliant Spanish historian and literary critic Ramon M. Pidal³ — by use of topographic methods of textual analysis, and due to some intimate references of the bard himself to certain towns and their inhabitants,⁴ have arrived at the conclusion that the Spanish poet came from the frontier towns of Medinaceli or San Esteban de Gormaz, directly facing the Moorish kingdoms of Spain.

Ihor fought his campaign in 1185, and Cid's historical exploits ended with his death in 1099 at Valencia, which he conquered from

²) V. Peretts, *Slovo o Polku Ihorevim* (Kyiv, 1926), p. 53.

*) Pidal has presented a theory stating that there were two poets who intervened in the composition of the *Cid*. This, however, should not pose any obstacles to the present essay.

³) Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *En Torno al Poema del Cid* (Barcelona, 1963) pp. 109-162.

⁴) John Ormsby, translator, *The Poem of the Cid* (New York, 1879), pp. 70, 105.

The good town of San Esteban...

They of San Esteban are ever courteous,...

Moors in 1094. If we compare these dates with the ones indicated for the creation of the *Tale* and the *Cid* we cannot but notice that both bards were contemporaries of those historical events that inspired them. Such a happy set of circumstances made their influence to be felt on the *Tale* and the *Cid* by keeping the bulk of the poems content within the limits of historical reality.

Now we come to the personality of the poets themselves. Disregarding the abundant speculations on the issue, it is only possible to state with all certainty that both of them were to a lesser or greater degree learned men, and with all probability very close to their respective courts. As to the author of the *Tale* there is a complete consensus about it, and therefore we need not to dwell on it here again. But there seems to exist a general tendency to dismiss the author of the *Cid* simply as a "jongleur." This underestimation may have originated due to the relative simplicity and popular style of the poem, and its popularity among the general public. Even if we agree to that subconscious attitude, there exists an undeniable proof to the effect that the Spanish poet was also a highly qualified person. When king Alfonso convokes his court in Toledo to deal out justice to Cid and his enemies, the Counts of Carrion, the poet dedicates to the proceedings at the court — legal matters, claims, charges, accusations, challenges, duels, etc. — about 537 verses of the 3,732 which make up the poem. This extensive and detailed treatment of the subject only indicates that the poet must have had a first hand experience and understanding for such important state affair as this one was; something which normally would not affect even a gifted minstrel or learned monk.

Furthermore, besides an extensive knowledge of history and geography of their countries, both poets, at one time or another, were either military men themselves or had some sort of close relation to that profession. It is impossible not to come to such a conclusion, since their poems were definitely written largely from a military standpoint. Only men belonging to the warrior class could have had such intimate knowledge — of the military exploits of their princes and lords:

O, eight-sensed Yaroslav of Halych,
High thou sittest on thy gold wrought throne,
Bracing the Magyar mountains with thy steely hosts,
Barring the road before the King's advance,
Locking tight the Danube's gates,
.

Thou shootest at Sultans beyond thy territories.
.

And thou, Roman, and thou Mstyslav, ye turbulent ones!
.

Have made the earth quake, causing many realms to tremble

The Huns, the Lithuanians, the Yatvigiens, the Deremels
[and the Polovtsians,
Have all dropped their spears and have bowed their heads
Under those hard, tempered blades . . .⁵

As to the *Cid*, most of the poem deals with a long series of military actions against the Moors, culminating with the conquest of Valencia.

— Of military strategy and technique of those times: The poet of the *Tale* proved to have vast knowledge of it. The Kumans lured Ihor and his host into a false self-confidence by allowing him an easy victory over a small detachment of their forces; and during the night surrounded Ihor's troops completely, cutting off their access to water. As a result of this unfortunate but nevertheless brilliant Kuman manœuvring Ihor's forces were routed almost to the last man.

Since Cid was constantly on the offensive, all of his military actions were carefully planned ahead of time, which coupled with efficient fighting techniques, took him from victory to victory over the enemy. This success in battle won him the name of *Campeador*, meaning the "expert warrior." One of these brilliant stratagems of Cid's — when he takes the castle of Alcocer, and subsequently routs an auxiliary Moorish force— is recounted by the Spanish poet-warrior. Thus, Cid being unable to force the castle to surrender, fakes a withdrawal of his forces as if he were lifting the siege, luring in this manner the enemy garrison to open the gates and come out. Then, he falls onto them to make the kill. And here is how the poet-warrior describes Cid and his men attacking the Moorish auxiliary forces, and using the famous cavalry method of "charge en retour":

Three hundred lances down they come, their pennons
flickering white;
Down go three hundred Moors to earth, a man to every
blow;

And when they wheel, three hundred more, as charging
back they go.
It was a sight to see the lances rise and fall that day;
(pp. 75-6)

— of the type of armaments used:

The poet of the *Tale* seems to have been acquainted with it quite closely as well; a further indication of some intensive involvement in military matters on his part. For what other kind of person could have known such details about military equipment as to be able to comment on the fact that some Ukrainian princes provided their troops with "Latin helmets", and others with "Polish spears"?, for instance.

⁵) C. H. Andrusyshen and Watson Kirkconnell, select. & transl., *The Ukrainian Poets, 1189-1962* (Toronto, 1963), p. 14-15.

And thou, Roman, and thou Mstyslav, . . .
 Both those steel breast plates, below your
Latin helmets [italics added],
 Have made the earth quake, . . .
 Ingvar and Vsevolod, . . .
 The three sons of Mstyslav, six-winged all.

.
 Where now are your golden casques,
 Your *Polish spears* [italics added], your bucklers? (p. 15)

Similar detail digressions, if not wholesale accounts on military equipment, can be found in the *Cid*. Here, however, we shall make our point by analyzing a seemingly insignificant detail, which, nevertheless, betrays an expert on military matters:

. . . and he came back with his *trenchant sword*,
from the elbow downward dripping blood [ital. added] p. 78

"Trenchant" [*tajadora*] was the name given to a heavy sword from 50 to 75 mm. wide, about 90 cm. long, sharp on both sides, and with a groove running through the middle of the blade from about its tip right up to the hilt. This sword was used like an axe. Therefore, after a wound has been inflicted with such a blade and the latter raised to strike another blow, the victim's blood would flow through the groove, soak the forearm, and after a while start dripping from the elbow of the attacker.⁶ Who then but a warrior would know about such things?

Although the above by no means exhausts this type of material contained in the poems, we can safely say that not only the poet of the *Tale* may have been a poet-warrior [as suggested by Dubens'kyi, Butkov, Maksymovych, and others], but the author of the *Cid* did well.*

Aside from an undeniable military outlook, the question of the so-called character of the poems arises.

At this point, however, a brief comment on the socio-historical environment in the two realms at that time, seems to be feasible. Therefore, the most important factor for the purpose of the present work is to keep in mind that in Ukraine and Spain as well — both with a basically feudal socio-political system — the greatest calamity in face of the enemy was lack of unity among different princes and lords. They much too frequently sacrificed the interests of the whole realm for selfish reasons, making for this petty purpose all sorts of alliances, even with the enemy, against their own kin. This obvious

⁶) Ramón M. Pidal (ed.), *Poema de Mio Cid* (Madrid, 1966), pp. 86-7.

*) To our knowledge this possibility has not been yet seriously considered by anyone, if at all. However, as an additional proof to the fact that the author of the *Cid* may have been actually connected with the military profession, we may add that in the poem the author shows himself to be thoroughly acquainted with the code of honour and behaviour of the warrior-knights, etc. One has only to read the parts of the poem where Cid's knights challenge the Count of Carrión and fight the duels with them; or any description of battle, for the matter.

weakened people's morale and physical resistance to the onslaught of the invader; this, specially in Ukraine, which had to bear the brunt of the tremendous pressure from Asia.

The situation was similar in both countries due to the reasons outlined above, with the exception that the Spaniards owing to a somewhat more favourable strategical position and with the backing — at least moral — of Christian Europe, were in a better condition to carry on the fight. Another factor was the type of enemy that either country had to deal with. The Ukrainians in constant warfare for centuries had to stem the advance of successive waves of nomadic peoples and cultures inclined to destruction by their very nature; whereas the Spaniards were faced with a settled and highly cultured enemy generally more prone to live-and-let live type of attitude, which permitted a relative coexistence between the two sides, or at least a stabilized front. This is evident even from the poems. In the *Tale* we find various references to the utterly pitiless and cruel nature of the conflict with the Kumans:

Black earth beneath the hooves
Was sown with bones and soaked with blood,
Both sprouting sorrow through the land of Rus'. (p. 9)

Whereas in the *Cid*, in spite of the harshness of the battles, etc., a relatively humane behaviour on both sides is quite noticeable. Thus,

When my Cid left Alcocer [which he had conquered
sometime before] the Moors, men and women, raised
lamentations. "Our prayers go before thee", they
said, "we are left prosperous by thy means." (p. 79)

In view of the above we may safely subscribe to the issue of popularity of these poems, since both reflect a heroic socio-historical reality of great concern to all segments of the society of that time. The *Tale* and the *Cid* dealt with matters from people's own daily life . . . and quite frequently death as well.

It should be noted that these compositions were not merely the poetry of the people, but also played the role of news media, history, biography, etc. They served a vital social role in an age when the spoken word was paramount in all walks of life. In other words they were meant to serve a purpose as well as entertain. Consequently, these compositions — as oral and/or vocal art — were usually addressed to an audience with a vocative. Thus, in the *Tale* we read:

Now might it not be meet, *my brethren* [*brattia*] [ital. added.],
To enter on the tale of Ihor's foray,
Which Sviatoslav's heroic son conducted,
In ancient accents of a martial lay? (p. 4)
A tide of woe already has set in, *my brothers* [*brattia*]
[ital. added], . . . (p. 10)

and in the *Cid*:

I would tell *you* [i. e. the audience] [ital. added]
 of him [the Cid] who in good hour girded on sword:⁷
 When the bread run low, to see the women and
 children die of hunger, — *sirs* [ital. added],
 it is a pitious tale. (Ormsby, p. 83)

What then could be the reason for such a close relation of the *Tale* and the *Cid* with the people? To arrive at a possible answer it would be desirable to leave the Middle Ages for the moment, because we will have to deal with one of the most lasting characteristics, not only of Spanish literature, but Ukrainian as well.

In the XVI c. and XVII c. Spain, two types of epic poetry were in vogue, the *historical* and *novelesque*. But, since every epic poem — as Pidal said — is made up of some history and some novel, he suggested to use another denomination which corresponds to some renaissance theories on the matter. Pidal suggested the names of the *verist* and *verisimilarist* schools of poetry.⁸

The verist school aspired to a communion between poetry and historical truth. That is to say, that an increasing vigour and effectiveness of the products of fancy were directly dependent on the degree to which the fictional elements remained within the limits of the reality that is or has existed. The verisimilarist school, an offshoot of Italian preceptism, excluded from the poem the true story, because the latter dealt with "the particular" [limited by time and space] whereas [true] poetry should deal with "the universal", which is not reality itself but imitation of reality elevated by means of verisimilar inventions to the highest perfection that human imagination can conceive.

This produced two corollaries, *realist* and *fantastic verisimilarism*. The former, a result of sober imagination, and coupled with an inherent veristic attitude, was akin to Spanish and Ukrainian needs and world views. And precisely due to this natural drive the authors of the poems — the *Tale* and the *Cid* — tacitly refused to immerse their creative potential in fantastic verisimilar divagations — as the author of the *Chanson de Roland* did, for example — and stayed mainly for that reason, so close to the hearts of their people. The *Tale* and the *Cid*, let us reiterate, are, then, due to their proximity to historical facts, of basically veristic character which can be considered their main feature. This characteristic pervades almost every aspect of these poems.

It has been said that in the Middle Ages each man had two fatherlands: the "large" one and universal, and the "small" one and local; that the latter was considered as inferior to the former; and that the medieval art strived to adjust to the "small fatherland" — Spanish

⁷) W. S. Marwin, translator, "The Poem of the Cid", *Medieval Epics* (New York, 1963), p. 499.

⁸) Ramón M. Pidal, *En Torno al Poema del Cid*, pp. 69-94.

French, etc. — the general ideas which transcended it. Furthermore, it is being argued that the medieval poetry had a universal European character.⁹ To us this is true only up to a certain point; besides, the same can be "successfully" applied to any historical period, like Renaissance for instance, which transcended all national boundaries, *without*, however, affecting the *national substance* of the peoples concerned. Therefore, at this point, we have to agree with Pidal who maintained that the medievalism common to various West European peoples impedes to perceive the *distinct nationality* of each of them.¹⁰

With this in mind we will now turn to the underlying common themes in the *Tale* and the *Cid*, such as the profound national feeling and patriotism which pervade both poems. Although this motif was expressed in a somewhat different manner in each composition, it undoubtedly stems from the same source: love for the "small fatherland", as Spitzer called it.

Thus, due to a historical expediency the patriotic and national idea in the *Tale* appears precisely conceived. The poet through his love for the entire nation, raised himself above all feudal divisions to a crystal clear sentiment for unity of that Ukraine-Rus' which mourns the tragedy of domestic quarrels, and the defeat and death of her sons:

Here on the swift Kayala's bank
The brothers parted,
For the wine of blood ran dry . . .
The wedding feast was there brought to an end
By the dauntless sons of Rus'
Who with their blood did sate the guests
And for the land of Rus' laid down their lives,
The grass droops in sorrow,
The trees in grief are bending to the ground. (p. 10)

Tragic is the silhouette of the great prince of Kyïv, Sviatoslav, who cries out in pain fearing for the fate of his country:

Why have you done this to my silvery hair? (p. 13)

Tremendous is the call for unity and heightened national feeling to strike back at the enemy:

Set your feet in the golden stirrup, my lords,
To take your vengeance for the injuries done in our time,
For the land of Rus',
For the wounds of Ihor,
The intrepid son of Sviatoslav! (p. 14)

The *Cid*, however, is not national so much due to this type of manifest patriotism that we find in the *Tale* — although in some instances it becomes manifest as well — but mostly because it is a faithful portrayal of the nation where it was created. In the *Cid* we

⁹) Leo Spitzer, "Sobre el Caracter Histórico del Cantar de Mio Cid", *NRFH*, II, 111-112.

¹⁰) *En Torna al Poema del Cid*, pp. 69-70.

find the most noble qualities of the people who honoured him with the title of a national hero: familiar love, that gives courage for great deeds, unbreakable fidelity, generosity, intensity of feelings, loyalty to the king, etc.

In a parallel manner to the overriding national idea, there appears the struggle of Christendom against the pagan hosts as the next theme. The idea of Christianity, however, is not embodied in some amorphous medieval "universal fatherland" as Spitzer maintains, but it is shown as blended with the national idea to the point of becoming a national religion. It is not that in the Middle Ages the heroes and ideas had only some national traits being their substance allegedly universal, but it rather may have been quite the opposite way: local or national substance which showed some European or "universal" common features.*

Let us turn then to our poems to point this out. In the *Tale* the poet tells us that "the dauntless sons of Rus' . . . for the land of Rus' laid down their lives" [*Italics added*]. (p. 10) After the defeat, and after Ihor manages to escape from captivity, he does not head straight home** but "rides along the slope of Borychiv/ To the Blessed Mother of God of Pirhotissa" (p. 20).¹¹ This detail is by no means the product of a poetical whim, but it stands in accord with the main idea of the *Tale*. As we have already noted [f. 11], the Lady of the Tower was the Protectress of Kyiv, and by analogy of Ukraine-Rus'; furthermore Kyiv was in those times what we today consider the capital city of the whole land, and hence its symbol of unity. Thus, the Princes and the "dauntless sons of Rus'" having fought and died for their homeland have served — as the poet tells us at the end — their Christian Faith as well:

Hail to the Princes and their suites

Who fight for Christendom against the pagan hosts! (p. 21)

This vital national-Christian attitude in action constitutes the core of the leading ideas of the *Cid* as well. Hence, in the midst of the heat of battle we hear that "While Moors call on Mohammed, .

*) One has only to take into account that communication — one of the main prerequisites for any sort of "universalism" — in the Middle Ages was at its lowest ebb, which could not have possibly contributed to any intensive "universalization" of ideas, attitudes, or features. The intimate connection of the *Tale* with Ukrainian folklore, as well as characteristically Ukrainian attitude toward human relations, have been proved and corroborated by scores of scholars. As to the *Cid*, who more Spanish — or even Castilian — than him? Together with Don Quixote and Don Juan they embody the main features of the Spaniards of all times.

**) Historically, however, Ihor did not ride to Kyiv after the defeat, but Novhorod-Siverskyi.

¹¹) The Church of the Lady of the Tower, Protectress of the city, was established between 1131 and 1135 by Mstyslav I, son of Monomakh, in Borychiv, one of the suburbs of Kyiv.

'St. James!' the Christian cry, . . ." (p. 76). At this point it should be noted that St. James [Santiago] is the Patron Saint of Spain, and that there even exists an expressive Spanish battle cry "Santiago, y cierra España!" which literally means "St. James and Spain, let us close ranks!". To this we may still add another striking parallel between the attitudes of both peoples. Before the Cid and his men go into battle against the Moors, Jerome, the Bishop of Valencia, after saying the mass, gives full absolution to the troops:

"He who may die here fighting face to face
I absolve of his sins, and God will receive his soul."
(Merwin, p. 527)

And he — Bishop Jerome — together with Cid, leads the troops into battle striking the first blow himself. In view of the above, one cannot but recall an idea which is so fully understood and appreciated by all Ukrainians: "Blessed shall be he, who gives his soul for his fellows."

The spiritual closeness of the Ukrainian and Spanish peoples — struggling for their national integrity and their Christian Faith with the Cross and the sword — could not have been more evidently expressed as it was in the *Tale* and the *Cid*.

Of no lesser importance is the aspect of human relations, intimately blended with the heroics of the two poems in which the *oneness* of feelings expressed is paramount. In the *Tale*¹² there is something noble and human in the relations between the protagonists:

Ihor awaits *his dear* [ital. added] brother Vsevolod.
And the Aurochs, Vsevolod, says to him:
"One brother, one bright light art thou, O Ihor, [ital. added]
We are both the sons of Sviatoslav." (p. 6)

Not for fear of battle or death Ihor turns back his troops, but because he is "Anxious in pity to relieve the plight of his *beloved brother* [ital. added], Vsevolod." (p. 10) A similar comradeship in battle we notice in the *Cid* when Minaya Alvar Fañez — of Cid's clan — in danger of death is relieved by Cid himself:

He saw it, the Campeador, Ruy Diaz of Castile:

.
"Now mount, Minaya, mount", quoth he, "for *thou*
art my right arm;
I have much need of thee to-day, *thou must not*
come to harm;" [ital. added] (Orsmby, p. 77)

The "golden word" of Prince Sviatoslav it is not solely an admonishment for disobedience, but it is an example of familial love and pity for his unfortunate young princes:

"Alas, my nephews, Ihor and Vsevolod!

¹² V. G. Belinskiy has commented on this aspect of the *Tale*, attributing its singular human qualities to the Ukrainian origin of the poem [*Polnoye Sobraniye Sochineniy*, V, 348-9].

.
 Why have you done this to my silverly hair?" (p. 13)

The same can be noted in the familiar relationship between Cid and his daughters. After they have been offended and hurt by the husbands the Counts of Carrión, on their return to Valencia" . . . [Cid] in the good hour born went forth to meet them. 'Welcome *n daughters*' said he. 'God keep you from evil' [ital. added]. (p. 106)

Noble are the relations between husband and wife, built on love and mutual respect. Thus, Yaroslavna's lament is filled with profound feeling toward her embattled husband. Her entire being yearns to fly like a cuckoo to the field of battle to "wipe the Prince's bleeding wounds." She scolds the wind for carrying hostile arrows at the warriors of her beloved. She tells the Dnipro-river: "Let thy water lightly bear to me my loved one/ That I may not so early in the morning send to him/ My tears down to the sea." (p. 18)

Closely related to the portrayal of a wife is the tragic silhouette of a mother — typically Ukrainian — who, for countless generations — probably beginning with Yaroslavna and the mother of Prince Rostyslav — witness the departure of their husbands and sons to war. And themselves stay behind to await their return, or weep:

On its darkful bank his mother weeps,

Bewailing the fate of the youth, Prince Rostyslav. (p. 19)

This motif of separation is present in the *Cid* as well when the hero has to go into exile and leave his loved ones behind. The portrayal of the separation is dramatic and tender at the same time; and we may add that this must have been with all certainty the farewell scenes — so familiar to all of us — between Yaroslavna and Prince Rostyslav and his mother, and between Vsevolod and his beloved, on the eve of their campaign:

And the Cid and his wife entered the Church, and
 Ximena threw herself on the steps before the altar,
 praying fervently to God to protect my Cid Campeador
 from evil.

The prayer was said, the mass was sung, they
 mounted to depart;

My Cid a moment stayed to press Ximena to his heart:
 Ximena kissed his hand, as one distraught with
 grief was she:

He looked upon his daughters: "These to God
 I leave", said he;

"Unto our Lady and to God, Father of all below;
 He knows if we shall meet again: — and now, sirs,
 let us go."

As when the finger-nail from out of the flesh is
 torn away,

Even so sharp to him and them the parting pang that day.
 (p. 69)

C. M. Bowra wrote about the *Tale* that "if it resembles a heroic poem in the objectivity of its narrative and in the speeches spoken by its characters, it betrays itself as a *panegyric* [ital. added] at the close."¹³ However, panegyric characteristics could be observed to a large or lesser extent probably in most compositions of this nature, for they are unavoidable. The *Cid*, for instance, is not free from it either, on the very contrary. The poem, although lacking any emotional exaltation of the hero, systematically praises and idealizes him: Cid is honourable, brave, strong, loyal, dignified, pious, noble, manly looking, loving, etc., etc. He is perfect.

Hence, basically it does not matter in what way the heroes are being praised, for the idea behind it is exactly the same. Thus, the poet to the *Tale* ends his composition with a loud praise:

Glory to Ihor, son of Sviatoslav!
To Vsevolod, the fierce Aurochs!
To Volodymyr, son of Ihor!
Hail to the princes and their suites
Who fight for Christendom against the pagan hosts!
Glory to the princes, honour to their retinues! (p. 21)

And so does the poet of the *Cid*, whose ending is culmination of a process of prestige-building and implied glorification of his hero:

His daughters now to *higher rank and greater*
honour wed:

Sought by Navarre and Aragon for *queens his*
daughters twain;

And *monarchs of his blood to-day upon the*
thrones of Spain.

And so *his honour in the land grows*
greater day by day. [all ital. added] (p. 124)

One of the first characteristics that stand out in the epic make-up of both poems is the war-like atmosphere, manifested as a fierce joy of battle in those warrior "Swaddled under the blare of trumpets, /Cradled under helmets, /Nursed at the point of a spear..." *Tale*, (p. 6). This will to go "In search of honour for themselves/ And for their Prince renoun and glory", is evident in the *Tale* when the poet describes Vsevolod in action:

"Vsevolod, fierce Aurochs! Your stand in battle
Spurting at the foe with arrows,
With swords of steel you strike clangorous blows
Against the helmets of the enemy!
Where'er you spring into the battle, Aurochs,
Your golden casque ablaze,
There lie the paynim heads of the Polovtsians,
And Avar helms are cleft with tempered sabres

¹³) Bowra, p. 17.

By you, Vsevolod, impetuous Bull!"
 For what are wounds to him, dear brethren,
 Who has forgotten wealth and honours,
 And Chernihiv town, his Sire's golden throne,
 And the affection and caresses of his beloved,
 Hlib's lovely daughter? (p. 8)

In the *Cid* we find scores of similar situations where the knights overwhelmed by this war-like drive cannot contain themselves in face of the enemy:

"Now steady, comrades", said my Cid; "our ground we
 have to stand;
 Let no man stir beyond the ranks until I give command."
 Bermudez fretted at the word, delay he could not brook;
 He spurred his charger to the front, aloft the banner shook:
 "O loyal Cid Campeador, God give thee aid! I go
 To plant thy ensign in among the thickest of the foe;
 And ye who serve it, be it yours our standard to restore."
 "Not so — as thou dost love me, stay!" called the
 Campeador.
 Came Pero's [Bermudez] answer: "Their attack I cannot,
 will not stay."
 He gave his horse the spur and dashed against the Moors'
 array (p. 75)

The *Tale* and the *Cid* certainly share many other characteristics common to heroic poetry in general. Both reveal to a lesser or greater extent formulaic expressions, noun-adjective combinations, the epic present tense that causes the effect not of a historical account of past events but of their re-enactment in the present, recounts of booty taken from the defeated enemy, military expressions, etc.

At this point we may mention another outstanding common feature to both poems — although not purely epic, but frequently recurring in medieval literature: magical orations. In the *Tale* and the *Cid* these are being recited by the wives of the heroes — Yaroslavna and Jimena. Although the origin* of such prayers may differ, they produce the desired effects. These orations are not only lamentations that burst forth from a hurt soul, but the voice of the people as well who implore together with the heroines for the safety and return of their respective lords. Jimena implores for the safety of the Cid, and the angel Gabriel replies in a dream — as we shall see later — that this will be so. Yaroslavna asks the river and nature in general to bring her husband back to her, and Ihor returns home safely. The

* L. Spitzer in his article "Sobre el carácter histórico del Cantar de Mio Cid", *NRFH*, II, 110., maintains that the oration of Jimena is a parallel derivation from old magic Christian orations which subsist in *Commendatio animae* in the Mass of Requiem.

audience is thus assured that the heroes are protected by a supernatural benign force.

Since extensive reference, though indirect, has already been made to the inherent realistic elements of both poems and the sobriety of their tone, we shall point out other common characteristics of style.

One of these is the illusion of motion masterfully achieved by both poets, through a technique of rapid enumeration of places. In the *Tale* however, the effect is further enhanced by the use of a series of verbs of violent motion, and a succession of different similes and images.¹⁴ This causes a dazzling impression of motion with cinematographic precision:

In the seventh age of Trovan,
Vseslav cast lots for a maiden dear to him.
Summoning his wives, he sprang upon a horse,
Galloped to the city of Kyiv,
And with his spear-shaft touched
The Kyivan throne of gold.
Like a wild beast he rushed from Bilhorod
At midnight from his foes,
And vanished into the bluish mist.
And on the morrow with his battering rams
He opened the gates of Novhorod,
Shattered the glory of Yaroslav,
And like a wolf dashed from the town of Dudutki
to the Nemyha stream. (p. 16)

In the *Cid* the effect of rapid motion — although far more "orderly" — is achieved by the same technique but without reaching the sophistication of the example from the *Tale*:

And thus an exile from the land the loyal
Champion went:
Over against Spinar de Can that night he pitched
his tent:
The good town San Esteban next upon the left they sight:
The Moorish towers of Ahilon rise far far upon their right:
Then quitting Alcobilla, of Castilian towns the last,
And the highway of Quinea, they on rafts the Duero passed.
(p. 70)

The motion in space is inseparable from the motion in time. This can be noted upon considering the last line of the example dealing

¹⁴) Another example of fast motion in the *Tale* with the sole use of poetical devices is the escape of Ihor from captivity: "Like an ermine did Prince Ihor spring towards the reeds, /And like a white duck leaped upon the stream... /Upon a swift steed then he sprang /And bounded down to dash like a white-footed wolf/ Towards the meadows of the Donets, /And like a falcon flew beneath the mists, /Killings swans and geese/ For his morning midday and evening meals." (p. 19)

with Ihor's flight [f. 14] — "For morning, midday, evening, . . ." — against the content of motion in space of the rest of the passage. The same is applicable to the *Cid* as well.

A character gains in dramatic qualities if his intervention in the action, being unavoidable, looks like a coincidence.¹⁵ This novelty can be achieved by breaking the narrative, that is to say, by jumping from one action with its protagonists to another one with different characters, without hinting at the intermediate occurrences which lead from one action to the next one. To fill in these gaps is up to the poets' audiences. This type of transition is constantly used by our poets in the *Tale* and the *Cid*, progressively enhancing the audience's interest and emotions by the introduction of the unexpected. The resulting overall dramatic effect is tremendous, specially in the *Tale*.

The expectation of the audience — and therefore its emotions — are manipulated by the poets in a positive and a negative way. Positive when we foresee that something desirable is going to happen, and negative, when something bad.

In the *Tale* as well as in the *Cid* our expectations are being directed by frequent signs of bad or good omen which indicate what way the action will turn. In the *Tale*, generally speaking, the expectation are negative from the start because we see that "Ihor glanced up at the shining sun/ And saw a darkness cover all his warriors" (p. 5)., "and blood-red gleams of dawn/ Announce the approaching day . . ." (p. 7), etc.

In the *Cid* the signs are positive, which eases somewhat the emotional strain as to the outcome of the whole venture, because the hero was born under a good star:

O thou that in a happy hour didst gird thee
with the sword,

and then Cid is told to "go, and God prosper thee in all that thou dost undertake." (p. 65)

But the phenomena that clearly conditions our expectations are the dreams of Sviatoslav and Cid which cast their shadow and light upon the fates of the heroes of either poem. Both dream, but what different dreams they have! Cid sees the angel Gabriel come to him and say: "Mount, Cid, brave Campeador. Never mounted knight in so good a case: whilst thou livest thou shalt prosper" (p. 70).

And poor Sviatoslav

"All night since evening", he said,
"As I lay on a couch of yew,
I was being clothed in a black shroud,
Blue wine with venom mixed was poured for me;
Out of the empty quivers of the pagan nomads
They spilled large pearls upon my chest,

¹⁵ Edmund de Chasca, *Estructura y Forma en el Poema de Mio Cid* (Iowa City, 1955), p. 61.

Caressed and fondled me . . .

· · · · ·
All night since evening have hell's ravens croaked,
And in the lowlands of Plisnesk
In the thickets there were vipers crawling
And moving towards the blue sea." (p. 12)

It is hard, if not impossible, to exemplify in a brief manner the effect which the poems produce on the reader and/or listener by means of the technique described above. As it was already mentioned, the effects are "overall"; and, therefore, in order to experience them and be able to appreciate them to the fullest, one ought to read the poems keeping constantly present this outstanding stylistic device so well perfected in the creative laboratories of the authors of the *Tale* and the *Cid*, respectively. However, we will point out — for reference purposes — some instances of truly dramatic achievements in the *Cid*: the parting scene between Cid and his family, the "outrage at Corpes" where the Counts of Carrion avenge themselves on the innocent daughters of Cid, Cid's demand of justice at the court in Toledo, etc. As to the *Tale* it is difficult to point out any *particular* example of it, because the *whole composition* is of a profound, and unusually beautiful lyrico-dramatic quality.

If at this point we were to discuss the poetic content of epical compositions such as the *Tale* and the *Cid*, we would have to realize first, at least nominally, the distinction between *poetry* and *poetry of history*.

The author of the *Tale* was inspired by a historical moment which he transmuted into poetry that proved to be more sincere in many ways than the much too frequent cruelty of history. On the other hand, the author of the *Cid* did not make poetry out of historical events and characters, but knew how to *sift it out* of history. It may be, however, that in our case the latter type of poetry differs in quality from the former, for it is far more simple; but we can be certain that both varieties meet at one point which is their undeniable endeavour to make men and their lives nobler.

What we have discussed here by no means exhausts the topic, it rather points to new possibilities and insights into human and spiritual relations between men and nations.

To finalize this, we took the liberty to adapt the brilliant comment of F. Schlegel on the *Cid*, to suit our conclusion about *both* poems:

Ukraine, with her *Tale*, and Spain with the historic poem of her *Cid*, have a peculiar advantage over many other nations; this is the kind of poetry that influences more immediately and effectively the national feelings and the character of a people.

The *Tale of Ihor's Campaign* and the *Poem of the Cid* are of far more value to a nation than a whole library filled with such literary works which are the sole product of fancy and without any national content.

APPENDIX I

The Poem of the Cid: its fable.

The fable of The Cid begins with the banishment of Ruy Diaz. It is sometimes said that the loss of lines from the beginning of the poem is considerable, and that much of the Cid's previous life must have been described in these lost lines. This need not have been. An epic is not a biography, and, with the existence of a Cid cycle of poetical legend, the hero's youth cannot have stood in need of commemoration.

The banished chief had to raise money to maintain himself and his family. This he did, by depositing with the Jewish money-lenders, Rachel and Vidas, two chests, supposed to be packed with valuable loot got in the Moorish wars, but really filled with sand. They advanced him money on the contents of the chests and undertook not to open them for a year. The Cid subsequently purged himself of the guilt of this deception by ransoming the chests. During his enforced absence from his country, he left his wife, Doña Ximena, and his daughters, Doña Elvira and Doña Sol, for safety, in the monastery of San Pedro de Cardena under the care of the abbot Don Sancho.

Martin Antolínez entertained his master at Burgos in spite of the king's prohibition, and followed him into banishment. Other adherents of the Cid did the same, among them Alvar Fanez, Pero Bermudez, Munio Gustioz, etc., and the amount of his following soon rose to hundreds. Food and lodging were got at the expense of the Moors. The Cid soon possessed himself of the Castle of Alcocer, and, on being hemmed in and besieged by superior numbers, sallied out and inflicted on the enemy a severe defeat, badly mauling in the battle the Moorish king, Fariz. He quitted Alcocer, and carried on a guerilla warfare, utterly defeating Count Ramon Berenger of Barcelona, who attacked him for his maltreatment of tributary Moors. It was at this time, and from Don Ramón, that he got the famous sword Colada. (Tizon, his other sword, was taken by him from King Búcar, whom he defeated at Valencia, whither he had gone to avenge his brother Yucef).

The Cid now obtained possession of the important city of Valencia, to which he brought his wife and children. Hard on its capture he had to fight by the city walls the king of Seville. This king he defeated, pursuing his routed army as far as Xativa. Thousands of the Moors were drowned in the Xucar, where, as the poet quaintly puts it, they had to drink lots of water. He was not allowed to remain in undisturbed possession of Valencia. Yucef, king of Morocco, landed an army to attack and capture it. This king, too, was routed and driven off the field, bearing with him the marks of the hero's regulation three blows. The Cid, mounted on his charger Babieca displayed great gallantry in the battle. He next despatched an embassy with presents to King Alfonso. He had done this before, to conciliate the king into permitting his wife and children to join him, but he was now a more important personage. He was ruler of Valencia, and kept semi-royal state. The king was dazzled by the success of his subject, and proclaimed his peerlessness. The Infants of Carrion, members

of a family that had been hostile to the Cid, attracted by his power and wealth, desired, using the king as spokesman, to marry the great chief's two daughters. The Cid, who personally did not like the match, loyally met the king's wishes in the matter, and the marriage was celebrated with great splendour.

The Cid's sons-in-law proved unworthy men. By cowardice in battle and cowardice before the Cid's lion, they made themselves the butt of the observant and outspoken society at the court of Valencia. Things got so hot for them that they solicited leave to quit Valencia and go to their estates at Carrion. Their wives they took with them, and on arriving at a certain wild place, near Corpes, they laid violent hands on the women, stripped them, and treated them despitefully with spur and saddle-girth. The poor women were found by Felez Muñoz, who had suspected the cowardly counts and followed them. The Cid demanded justice of the king. This was granted him at a session of the Cortes in Toledo, where three champions of the Cid challenged three of the counts of Carrion to a sort of trial by combat. The Cid's men conquered, and extracted from the conquered an acknowledgment of defeat. The epic ends with the announcement of the betrothal of the Cid's daughters to princes of the royal houses of Navarre and Aragon.*

APPENDIX II

Biography of the Cid

Rodrigo Díaz — Cid Campeador — was born at Vivar, near Burgos, about 1043, his father, Diego Lainez, being a member of the Castilian minor nobility. He was brought up at the court of Ferdinand I by the latter's eldest son, Sancho. Details of his early career are uncertain, but he seems to have distinguished himself in Ferdinand's later campaigns and, when Sancho succeeded to the Castilian throne (1065), the young Cid was appointed to the high military office of standard-bearer. His successful generalship during Sancho's reign established his military reputation.

The Cid had taken a prominent part in the campaign which enabled Sancho to seize the throne of Leon from his younger brother, Alfonso. His position was, therefore, of some difficulty when Sancho was killed at the siege of Zamora (1072) and Alfonso returned from exile to become king of both Leon and Castile. Nevertheless, he remained at Alfonso's court for nearly a decade and, in 1074, even married the king's own niece, Jimena, daughter of the count of Oviedo. In 1079 the Cid was with the army of Alfonso's tributary, al-Mutamid (al-Motamid) of Seville, when al-Mutamid defeated an invasion by Abdullah of Granada. Alfonso's favourite, Count García Ordóñez, happened to be in the Granadine side and was captured by the Cid. This affair renewed Alfonso's dominant suspicions of him, and when it was followed, in 1081, by an unauthorized incursion on a large scale into the Moorish kingdom of Toledo, over which Alfonso had established a protectorate, the Cid was ordered into exile.

He now removed himself to the Moorish kingdom of Saragossa, whose kings he served for a number of years, leading successful campaigns on their behalf

*) John Clark, *History of Epic Poetry* (New York, 1964), pp. 285-287.

against the count of Barcelona (1082) and Sancho Ramírez of Aragon (1084). This permitted him to acquire that familiarity with Islamic politics, law and customs which was to prove invaluable for his later career.

A temporary reconciliation with Alfonso in 1083 had soon broken down, but the king's difficulties in meeting the invasion of Spain by the Almoravids led him to readmit the Cid to his favour in 1087. The Cid's interest were by this time wholly concentrated on eastern Spanish affairs, and he turned his attention to the task of securing Alfonso's suzerainty over the extensive Moorish kingdom of Valencia. In 1089 he obtained an assurance from Alfonso that any lands won by him from the Moors would belong to himself and his heirs in perpetuity. When, later in the same year, he was again banished, he proceeded with the subjugation of Valencia more or less as a private venture.

The conquest of Valencia by the Cid was an extremely complicated affair but it finally capitulated to the Cid's troops, in 1094, after a prolonged siege and political and military manoeuvring. Determined Almoravid attempts to recover the city were defeated by the Cid at the battles of Cuarte (1094) and of Bairen (1097). The semiroyal status that the former knight from Vivar had by now achieved was shown when, soon afterward, his daughters Cristina and Maria married the Navarrese prince Ramiro and Ramon Berenguer III count of Barcelona, respectively.

The Cid died in Valencia on July 10, 1099. Three years later his wife, Jimena, had to give up the city, as it was impossible to hold it indefinitely against the Almoravids. His body was removed to the monastery of San Pedro de Cardena, near Burgos, where the cult of Cid as a national hero began.

The task of evaluating the Cid's career historically is a delicate one. It is clear, however, from all sources that he was a remarkably successful field commander, consistently achieving brilliant victories over superior enemy forces by boldness in action balanced, however, by cunning and careful preparation.

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PROFILES OF OUTSTANDING UKRAINIANS

SVYATOSLAV KARAVANSKYI

We know about Svyatoslav Karavanskyi from the book *Lykho z rozumu* (The Chornovil Papers). He is one of the better known political prisoners of the Soviet regime, who bravely defends human dignity and the spiritual heritage of his people. Born on December 24, 1920 in Odessa into the family of an engineer, he graduated from high school in 1938 in Odessa and began to study at the Industrial Institute as well as to take evening courses in foreign languages. He began to write poetry and prose as a teenager. During the Second World war, avoiding capture as a prisoner of war, he began to study literature at the Odessa University and came in contact with an illegal group of young people who were connected with the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. He also spent some time in Rumania.

Falling into the hands of the NKVD and refusing to inform it about the attitudes of his fellow-students he was convicted by the military tribunal of the Odessa region to 25 years of imprisonment. He served time in various concentration camps in Siberia, worked on the construction of a railroad in Pechora, cut woods near Magadan, mined gold in Kolyma, built the Taishet-Lena Highway and sewed special clothing in Mordovia.

Granted an amnesty in 1960, S. Karavanskyi returned to Odessa after spending 16 years and 5 months in confinement. He immediately resumed his creative work. Karavanskyi was forced to move often, since because of his past he could not obtain steady employment. At this time he compiled a 1000-page *Biography of Words*, wrote poetry and prose on various themes, and made translations from English and other languages. He was very active in community affairs and brought suit against Minister Dadenkov, accusing the latter of Russifying the educational system in Ukraine. He wrote letters to various institutions dealing with the question of "Leninist norms" in national policy, as well as protesting against the arrests of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in 1965. All this was instrumental in bringing on his subsequent arrest on November 13, 1965. His case was taken over by the Prosecutor General of the USSR Rudenko (known from the Nuremberg trial). Without any valid reasons, the court sentenced him to 8 years and 7 months of severe regime camps, that is, to the time which was granted to him by the amnesty.

An underground publication circulating in the USSR called *The Chronicle of Current Events* also frequently writes about the fate of S. Karavanskyi. At the present time he is allegedly confined to the Vladimir prison where he was brought in the summer of 1967 together with other prisoners (Valentyn Moroz, Mykhailo Horyn and Mykhailo

Masyutko) for writing complaints to official institutions and for reading materials dealing with the conditions in Ukraine. At a renewed court hearing Karavanskyi allegedly asked for a translator. In reply to Karavanskyi's demands the judge, Ravenkova, said: "Give him a Khakhhol."* Karavanskyi then moved that the judge be dismissed from the case. The prosecutor expressed his astonishment, as if to say, "Well, the woman has said too much", and dismissed the motion.

The regime in the Vladimir prison is very strict. In spite of this Karavanskyi decided to stage a protest demonstration, going on a hunger strike at the end of October 1968 and demanding the dismissal of the Soviet government because of its domestic and foreign policies. For unknown reasons the hunger strike was interrupted after 28 days. For this strike Karavanskyi received 15 days in the lock-up room. At one time it was reported that the wife of S. Karavanskyi, with whom he lived for only 4 years while free, petitioned the government to deprive him of his life rather than let him suffer so much.

S. Karavanskyi's posture evokes admiration and respect for him from the Ukrainian people, both in Ukraine and outside her borders. This posture can be best described by the words of Taras Shevchenko: "I am being punished, I am suffering, but I am not repenting."

BORYS HMYRYA

Every Ukrainian who is interested in his native music, must certainly have come across this noted name and the sound of his strong but at the same time delicate lyric bass must still be ringing in his ears. On August 1, 1969 this great Ukrainian opera singer has departed from this life. He died in the Kyiv hospital at the age of 66 and was buried in Kyiv. Born in the town of Lebedyn in the Sumy region, Borys Hmyrya graduated from the institute of construction engineering in Kharkiv. However, being endowed with an unusual voice he gave up his engineering career and devoted himself to art, finishing the Kharkiv conservatory. Subsequently he became a soloist at the Kharkiv opera and then at the Taras Shevchenko Opera in Kyiv.

Borys Hmyrya appeared in many roles and played various parts: as Miller in "Rusalka" by Dragomyzhski, as Taras Bulba in Lysenko's opera of the same name, as Mephistopheles in Gounod's "Faust" and many others.

Borys Hmyrya was known to be a sincere Ukrainian patriot. Ukrainian folk songs sang by him were filled with intense feeling and original colouring. He was a man of great spiritual values and had many friends among the cultural and civil leaders of Ukraine, who admired and respected him. Working at the perfecting of the art of singing he also helped many young singers to develop their talents. Folk songs recorded by him have found wide distribution among the

*) Khakhhol — a Russian derogatory word for a Ukrainian.

popular masses. With the death of B. Hmyrya Ukraine lost a cultural leader and a singer of excellent quality and uniqueness.

BORYS ANTONENKO-DAVYDOVYCH

In August 1969 the subjugated Ukraine celebrated the 70th birthday of one of her most outstanding writers and literary critics — Borys Antonenko-Davydovych. He was born on August 5, 1899 in Rommy into the family of a railroad worker. After completing high school at Okhtyrka, he studied at the universities of Kyiv and Kharkiv. His views were being formed at a time when the Ukrainian people were rising up in arms in order to establish independent state existence. Because of his great contribution to Ukrainian literature he is rightly considered to be a writer of many talents, high culture and broad erudition. His works are marked by severe realism with the colouring of sparkling humour often mixed with irony and sarcasm.

It is these high qualities of the celebrant which brought him much grief for he paid for them with 25 years of Soviet prisons and concentration camps. Arrested some time in 1933, the writer became silent and many thought that he was dead. But several years after Stalin's death he was rehabilitated and released. To the astonishment of many, the poet-convict preserved a great deal of vitality and creative energy. In 1959 he presented his readers with a new book called *Behind a Screen*. In this work he portrayed moving scenes from the life of people who have been exiled to places far away from their native land. From that time on his name became known again, not only in Ukraine, and in his works scattered throughout various periodicals the young literary generation found guidelines, mainly the unconcealed love for everything native, particularly, the love for the Ukrainian language. As early as 1927 his literary work *Death* became widely known and in 1930 his description of his travels through Ukraine entitled *Through Ukrainian Land*, where he realistically depicted scenes of destruction which was brought to the Ukrainian spirituality by the Russian regime. Both of these works have been re-printed in the West.

Antonenko-Davydovych's contribution to the Ukrainian literary treasury is considerable and this cannot be denied even by his ideological opponents. Taking note of his anniversary the Ukrainian Warsaw newspaper *Our Word* in an article entitled "Faithful Son of His People" wrote:

"The writer greeted his 70th birthday in the full bloom of strength, filled with youthful courage and temperament and creative plans. He is dreaming of writing both a novel about the present and a tetralogy of memoirs entitled *What's Price of Black Bread* and a series of short stories and articles." Similar articles praising the author appeared in many periodicals and newspapers throughout Ukraine, even though recently some sharp attacks against him for his works telling the truth about the life in the USSR were also evident.

Documents of the 4th WACL Conference

Kyoto, Japan, Sept. 15-17, 1970.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF THE 4TH WACL CONFERENCE

PREAMBLE:

Communism is the source of much human suffering in the world today. For Communism is an evil ideology based only on materialism, to the exclusion of all spiritual values. This is why Communism brings only the subjugation of humanity and the destruction of human dignity under dictatorship. Now that the menace of Communist forces is expanding everywhere, our task is to fight and ultimately destroy it.

In this first year of the 1970's, representatives of the World Anti-Communist League's 67 national and organizational member units and 29 observer groups gathered in Kyoto, Japan, September 15-17 for the League's 4th General Conference. The Conference theme was "Mobilizing the Forces of World Freedom."

With a profound understanding, and a high fighting spirit in the face of Communism, the participants brought their discussions to fruitful conclusions. Searching examinations of the many phases of the current world situation produced the following unanimous observations:

1. Confrontation is by no means ended. Communist forces, unless they are wiped out completely, will never give up their insidious attempts to enslave the whole of mankind;

2. Peace is what all peoples long for. But freedom is just as important a goal. We must continue to oppose peace through appeasement at the cost of freedom, for peace gained through compromise and capitulation cannot endure;

3. Free nations must recognize the futility of non-alignment, be under no delusion that national unification may be attained through negotiations, and desist from flirtations with the Communists.

As further elaboration of the main theme, "Mobilizing the Forces of World Freedom", important resolutions of the Conference specifically called for:

1. The unification of the masses of all countries in a joint effort for the victory of freedom;

2. The raising up of young people as a main force against Communist enslavement, and for participation in the fight to protect freedom;

3. The smashing of all Communist attempts at infiltration and subversion;

4. A victorious resolution of the crisis in Southeast Asia, preserving the freedom and independence of the Republic of Vietnam, and of Laos and Cambodia, and discarding any suggestion of coalition governments in that area;

5. An appeal to the United States to implement fully the constructive side of its new Asian policy;

6. The promotion of peace in the Middle East and a heightened vigilance against Communist Chinese attempts to incite new wars in the area;

7. Support for the efforts of the Latin American nations against Communism and Castroism, with a consistent record of broken pledges to the Cuban people;

8. The whole-hearted participation of the African nations in the fight for freedom and against Communist tyranny;

9. Encouragement of freedom movements among the enslaved people of Eastern Europe and Soviet Asia, and of their struggles for national independence and self-determination, and of the revolutions by the peoples enslaved in the Soviet Russian empire. Included are such liberation movements as those existing in Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Turkestan, Armenia, North Caucasia, Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Rumania and Croatia;

10. Call for Support of the Republic of China's political offensive against the Red Chinese, and concrete measures to liberate the oppressed masses on the

Chinese mainland, as well as implacable opposition to U.N. admission of Red China;

11. Call for Support of the Republic of Korea's unification program for Korea, and to liberate the enslaved people of North Korea according to the U.N. resolutions;

12. The establishment of further regional security organizations to prevent further Communist aggression;

13. The mobilization of freedom forces and the establishment of a global anti-Communist united front.

The success of this General Conference shows that Japan is resolved to fight valiantly against Communist forces in the future. Particularly significant is the contribution of the young people of Japan as an active force in the nation's fight against Communism.

It is the unanimous view of the participants that the WACL Conference which has just taken place in Japan, bears witness to the continuing and increasing role of Japan in the world anti-Communist movement.

The WACL conferences are deeply indebted to the Japan Chapter for its excellent conference arrangements and its gracious hospitality. Heartfelt thanks go also to the Japanese government and people for their enthusiastic welcome of WACL delegates and observers.

Particularly impressive were the arrangements for the World Anti-Communist Rally in Tokyo on September 20.

The Conference has decided to hold the 5th Conference of the World Anti-Communist League in Manila in July, 1971.

Convinced of the bright prospects of the present decade, and of the inevitable trend toward victory, the World Anti-Communist League dedicates itself to the achievement of an era of peace and freedom for all men.

RESOLUTION ON SOVIET RUSSIAN COLONIALISM AND THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS

Whereas the present-day Russian imperialism is the continuation of the Tsarist one and liquidated the national state independence of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Turkestan and other nations subjugated in the USSR in 1920, and during and after World War II forcefully annexed Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia to the USSR and transformed other nations of Central and Eastern Europe (Hungary, Bulgaria, Poland, East Germany, Rumania, Croatia and others) into its satellites, and from this imperial base it has further expanded its aggressive plans and actions into Latin America (Cuba), Asia (Vietnam, Korea, Laos, Cambodia), Africa (Tanzania), earlier helping the Communist Party to come to power in China;

Whereas Bolshevik imperialism, fulfilling the dream of the Tzars, may dominate the Mediterranean Sea, in particular the Middle East and North Africa, and building up its fleet almost to the size of the U.S. fleet, is now threatening Western Europe from the South, and with its submarines is penetrating the Indian Ocean and the waters of the U.S. and Canada;

Whereas Soviet Russian imperialism may block the delivery of oil from the Arab lands to Western Europe at any time, gradually turning Islamic countries into satellites and planning to carry out genocide against the state of Israel;

Whereas Soviet Russian imperialism, aiming to conquer the whole world, is systematically preparing Communist revolts in Latin America, Africa, and Asia, threatening Western Europe with nuclear weapons, and at the same time corrupting free countries by class struggle, racial unrest, the so-called student revolts and ideological demobilization of the intellectual elite, in order to dominate them from within, as well as inspiring Communist guerrilla warfare and peripheral wars;

Whereas Russian imperialism hinders the reunification in freedom of Vietnam, Korea and Germany, aiming at their Bolshevization, and has conquered ethnographic Japanese territories, as a stepping stone to the Japanese mainland;

Whereas Russian imperialism is consolidating and intensifying the terrorist regime in the countries subjugated by it ever more, committing systematic spiritual Russification, Bolshevization and physical genocide on them in order to stifle the aspiration for freedom and state independence of the subjugated nations, crushing, for example, the East Germany and the Hungarian revolts and the uprising of the Ukrainian and other prisoners in the Russian concentration camps, as well as the struggle of the Czechs and Slovaks;

Whereas Russian imperialism is succeeding in each new territorial conquest or attempted Red aggression by threatening to use thermo-nuclear arms against the Free World;

Therefore, be it resolved:

The Fourth WACL Conference:

1. CONDEMNS Soviet Russian colonialism and imperialism and its aggressive aims, wars and actions, Russification and genocide of the subjugated nations, national and religious, political and cultural subjugation, persecution and oppression, economic exploitation and the stifling of free creativity of the intellectual elite;

2. STANDS for the reestablishment of national state independence and human rights of all nations subjugated in the USSR and the satellite states and supports their national liberation struggle;

3. CONSIDERS that through destruction of the tyrannical Communist system and the Russian empire from within, by way of national liberation revolutions of the subjugated peoples, it is possible to avoid thermo-nuclear war;

4. URGES the Free World to support the national liberation struggle of the subjugated nations, the reunification in freedom of Germany, Vietnam and Korea, the liberation of the Chinese mainland, Cuba and all other nations subjugated by Communist tyranny, as well as the returning to Japan of its ethnographic territories conquered by Russian imperialists;

5. APPEALS to the governments of the Free Countries of the World to counteract by all possible means the ever-increasing Russian aggression, to liquidate Soviet influence in the Black and the Mediterranean seas, the Middle East, North Africa, the Indian and the Pacific oceans and everywhere else, outside their own ethnic territory where Russian aggressors have appeared or are yet to appear, to prevent the transformation of the Arab states into Moscow's attempts to perpetrate genocide against the state of Israel, as well as to use all efforts to obtain the release of political prisoners — fighters for human and national rights — from the Russian prisons and concentration camps;

6. CONFIRMS that only through a) the rebirth of the heroic concept of life, faith in eternal human values, patriotism, the love of country and the realization of social justice, can Communist and Russian ideological diversion be defeated inside the freedom-loving nations of the world, and b) the common front of the free and the subjugated nations is it possible to destroy the Communist system of tyranny and the Russian colonial empire and to guarantee a lasting peace and security in the world.

RESOLUTION ON SUPPORT OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FIGHT OF UKRAINE

Whereas several Captive Nations have been subjected to a wave of political, cultural and religious oppression, genocide, economic exploitation, cruel secret police operations and concentration camps in Moscow and Peking empires in North Korea, North Vietnam and other satellites;

Whereas Ukraine, being in central position as a bulwark among Captive Nations, has paid hecatombs of victims in resistance and liberation fight;

Whereas the importance of the revolutionary struggle for national independence of Ukraine, together with other Captive Nations, is frustrating Russian global plans;

Whereas Ukrainians imprisoned in Russian concentration camps, jails and psychiatric asylums are a reminder to the Free World of the plight of the Captive Nations;

Whereas the ultimate goal of our fight must be the tearing down of the Iron and Bamboo Curtains, complete liberation of the enslaved nations and the re-establishment of their independent national states;

Whereas the Brezhnev doctrine further substantiates the traditional Russian imperialism;

Therefore the Fourth WACL Conference resolves:

1. To direct actions against Moscow as the center instigating wars and turmoil.

2. To encourage Ukraine and other Captive Nations to fight for liberation and national independence by providing them with positive and effective spiritual and political support.

3. To recognize the right of Ukraine and all Captive Nations to national sovereignty and independence and liberty for all nations and individuals.

4. To support political, cultural and religious processes behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains, which oppose tyranny and terror.

5. To protest against the persecution of religions, the destruction of churches, cultural monuments, libraries, against deportations, slave labour and tyrannical suppression of freedom in Ukraine and other enslaved countries.

6. To protest against the persecution of intellectuals, writers and scientists in Ukraine and other enslaved countries.

7. To work for a change of policy by the free governments in the direction of adoption of the policy of liberation.

8. To intensify the freedom crusade of WACL, APACL, ABN and European Freedom Council, a serious threat to Moscow-Peiping expansion.

9. To assure that in the case of a national revolution the free world would not see without appropriate action the crushing of said revolution by the Russians as was the case in Hungary in 1956.

RESOLUTION ON THE PERSECUTION OF FREEDOM FIGHTERS AND FOR THE RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS:

Whereas, the constant terror in the Soviet Russian Empire towards the subjugated nations has increased in every field of life, especially in cultural life, and neo-Stalinism flourishes;

Whereas, the prisons, concentration camps and lunatic asylums (General Hryhorenko) are filled with languishing intellectuals, poets, writers and other freedom fighters;

Whereas, in the concentration camps of Mordovia, poison is systematically added to the food of political prisoners, as proved by a letter written to the U.N. by three Ukrainian intellectuals (M. Horyn, I. Kandyba, L. Lukyanenko);

Whereas, even female Red Cross Volunteers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, as for example the Ukrainian women K. Zarytska, H. Didyk, and O. Husyak, sentenced to 25 years, are languishing in the harshest prisons, like the Vladimir prison;

Whereas, people have been imprisoned for 25 years in concentration camps without a trial (e. g. a well-known lawyer, Dr. V. Horbovyi);

Whereas, others, though innocent, have been convicted to 25 years in prison (e. g. writer S. Karavanskyi);

Whereas, finally, the intellectual A. Amalrik, of French descent, born in Kyiv, has been imprisoned;

Therefore, the Fourth WACL Conference raises a voice of protest, and condemns this inhumanity and these most severe violations of human and national rights. It calls upon the entire freedom-loving world, especially upon the Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists in Geneva, the European Council in Strasbourg, the United Nations, the International Red Cross, and the parliaments and the public opinion of the free world, to assist the subjugated nations and the fighters for freedom and national independence. They should take all appropriate actions against Russian imperialism and Communism and enforce the liberation of political prisoners.

B. W.

DESTRUCTION OF UKRAINE'S MONUMENTS

With hatred toward everything Ukrainian, the Russian occupation regime is destroying one by one the oldest and the most priceless monuments of history, culture and art of our people. The arson at the library of the Academy of Sciences in Kyiv, with the aim of destroying the priceless treasures of our culture, is one instance of the barbarity of Russian chauvinists and their savage desire, to achieve, apart from physical liquidation of the Ukrainian people, which they are accomplishing by various forms of genocide, also the destruction of our spirit.

Occasionally Soviet Ukrainian-language newspapers carry reports or articles which have as their aim to mobilize defence of our monuments. Generally, however, the authors of these articles forget one thing: that no "ministers of culture", no "governments" in Kyiv will prevent the destruction of the historical monuments. For Shcherbytskyis, Shelests, Bilodids, Lutaks or other collaborators with Moscow, not only do not want to facilitate Ukrainians to save their historical treasures, but on the contrary, are helping the Russians to destroy them.

Nevertheless, the Ukrainian public, with all means at its disposal, is trying to save the priceless treasures of Ukrainian culture.

In the monthly, *Prapor*, No. 9, 1969 which appears in Kharkiv, in the "Letters to the Editor" column, under the title of "For Us and Our Posterity" a letter from one of the readers is published. We are reprinting it below in an abridged form.

"History has left us a legacy of countless monuments of antiquity and we should preserve them for the coming generations — writes the author of the letter.

"Here, in Kharkiv, from a number of architectural monuments, I will name only two: first, the Pokrovskiy Cathedral, which is towering over the premises of the present-day Historical Museum and which is the oldest stone building in the city. This is the most outstanding monument of Ukrainian architecture of the second half of the 17th century. Second, the Uspenskiy Cathedral, was built in 1771.

The Pokrovskiy Cathedral, which was completed in 1689, was at one time the central point in the city's defense system. It is situated in the north-western part of the then citadel on the steep bank of the Lopan River. At the base of the composition of the cathedral is the scheme of the three-framed Ukrainian wooden church, but it is built of brick. In this beautiful creation of our ancestors one is struck by everything: both its slender height (40 metres) and the oblong windows and the beautifully done tracery above the windows and the skilfully fixed construction of the wooden arches and the lightness of the structure itself, which seems as if it wanted to fly upwards.

The cathedral is standing on the highest elevation of this part of Kharkiv. Massive stone walls and windows looking like embrasures — all this testifies to the fact that it was part of the general defence system of the city. In that distant turbulent time it was always necessary to be ready to withstand an attack of the Tatars or Turks. Let us recall, for instance, that in 1689, that is the year of the completion of the Pokrovskiy Cathedral, the Tatars attacked the village of Nova Vodolaha (near Kharkiv), razed it to the ground and killed the people or took them captive. Therefore, every structure which was built at that time

was built in such a way that it could easily be turned into a fortress.

During the German-fascist occupation of Kharkiv the Pokrovskiy Cathedral was damaged to a great extent. After the war it was decided to reconstruct the cathedral just as it was in 1689. No matter how hard it was during those years, the restoration work was started. But today the work is being done half-heartedly. There is lack of machinery and equipment, not enough workers, and the plans for capital investment are not fulfilled from year to year. But why? Is it not obvious that the cathedral building is deteriorating further due to atmospheric conditions?

The work of reconstruction and restoration is being delayed for yet another reason — with the permission of the city executive committee the garment-makers' cooperative of the regional trade council has been housed in the cathedral building itself for the last 10 years. No decisions of this same city executive committee are strong enough to remove it. The chief architect of the city, Com. Alfiorov promised that this would happen in December 1968, but it is the autumn of 1969 already and the garment-makers are still in the cathedral. Not so long ago I received a letter from the city's chief architect I. O. Alfiorov:

"It is true that the work of reconstruction of the Pokrovskiy Cathedral on the premises of the Historical Museum is progressing rather slowly. The section to be restored has not been provided with machinery and equipment; the appropriated funds have not been made available. One of the reasons for the non-performance of the work... is the absence of draft plans (stage by stage). This year the façade will be painted and the molds and the cornices will be coated with galvanized iron. The cooperative of the garment-makers, which is housed in the cathedral, will be moved within two months. When the stage by stage

plans, which are being drafted by a special republican office in Kyiv, are received the whole building will be restored. The projected date for the completion of the work — 1970..."

But in reality, this is far from the truth. Receiving the reply I turned to the chairman of the Kharkiv branch of the Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments, Com. Toporets, who said that all funds for the restoration of the Pokrovskiy Cathedral in 1969 will be diverted to the restoration of the Uspenskiy Cathedral, where, allegedly, a hall is going to be reconstructed, where mass rallies, exhibitions, etc. are going to be held.

And what about the Pokrovskiy Cathedral? It will have to wait, they say. At the moment the city needs a hall.

There you have restoration. Allegedly there is no need to hurry, only 25 years have passed...

No, the coming generations are not going to thank us for the fact that we failed to preserve for them this beauty, this living proof of the history of our people!

Therefore, it seems to me, that it would be in order to ask the Minister of Culture of Ukraine, Com. R. V. Babiychuk to intervene in this case, to turn his attention to the abnormal situation concerning the restoration of the most valuable architectural monument in Kharkiv, to remind, whom need be, about the responsibility for the execution of the well-known directives of the Party and the government about the preservation of the monuments of material culture."

So much is said by the author of the letter. He mentions the Tatars who "razed to the ground and killed the people or took them captive." But these Tatars, for instance, did not destroy the Uspenskiy Cathedral in Kyiv; it was set ablaze by the Russians!

In 1934 the Russian Communist regime destroyed many churches from

the Princely Era (as well as from later centuries) which outlived the Tatar conquests. They ruined churches built by Hetman Mazepa and destroyed the Three Saints' Church in Kyiv, where T. Shevchenko's coffin rested after it was brought from Petersburg to Kyiv for burial at Kaniv.

We are not mentioning here the

destruction of Ukrainian mosaics, historical cemeteries and such national monuments as the cemeteries of fighters for freedom, etc. There is no end to the list of such barbarous crimes. And no "comrades" from "the ministry of culture" in Kyiv, who are there by the will of the occupation forces, will help in this case.

Book Review

TWO YEARS IN SOVIET UKRAINE: A CANADIAN'S PERSONAL ACCOUNT OF RUSSIAN OPPRESSION AND THE GROWING OPPOSITION. By John Kolasky. Toronto: Peter Martin Associates Limited, 1970. xii, 266 pp. \$ 3.95, paper.

This is indeed not one of those "traditional" books which one can label according to one's likes or dislikes, it is in fact a 260-page-long indictment of the Soviet Russian regime for so many crimes and wrongdoings that it would be difficult for any court to select a jury capable of not being affected by the drama of one so big yet very oppressed a nation.

Even a "cool-headed" historian, as this reviewer claims to be, while reading this account of indignities has a hard time keeping his emotions under the control of reason, and reason under the control of human honesty. Whatever the feelings a reviewer in individual cases might have, one can foresee three categories of response to Kolasky's book: (1) those who will intensely dislike it and for obvious reasons; (2) those who will worship its honesty and deep sense of humanity; and (3) those who will wonder how it was that they knew so little about the country they referred to daily as Russia, or the Soviet Union, or even sometimes as the "land of victorious Marxism."

This second book by John Kolasky (the first being *Education in Soviet Ukraine*. 1968. Reviewed in *Slavic Review*, September, 1969 by John A. Armstrong) belongs basically in the category of personal memoirs, covering a period from September 1963 to August 1965, during which Mr. Kolasky studied in Kiev at a special

Higher Party School. Yet it is also, to a very significant degree, a piece of research richly accompanied by personal observations and experiences. In addition, it contains information normally unavailable to foreign visitors but supplied to the author by third persons who for obvious reasons usually remained nameless.

As this reviewer sees it, the work is a modern counterpart to such important historical accounts on Russia left by Sigismund zu Herberstein, Giles Fletcher, Heinrich von Staden, Adam Olearius and, last but not least, John Reed with his enthusiastic account of *Ten Days that Shook the World*. Ironically and with certainty, Kolasky's *Two Years in Soviet Ukraine* will shake the Soviet regime of the USSR, the Communist sympathizers around the world and many sovietologists here and abroad. Eugene Lyons in *Worker's Paradise Lost: Fifty Years of Soviet Communism* (1967) questions twenty-one myths promoted for so long by Soviet historiography and official propaganda in a rather general and journalistic approach. In contrast, John Kolasky concentrates mainly on the problem of nationalities and the Ukraine in particular. Hence, his work, while being a case study, is more penetrating and analytical. There is no need for pompous rhetoric. The reader is left with a choice of either accepting it as it is, or of rejecting it for ideological principles.

This reviewer is in no position to argue with the author, apart from some secondary technicalities.

It is now up to the Soviet regime to undertake the questioning of Kolasky's revelations as well as conclusions. In our time, the direct method of investigation has been generally accepted, at least in civilized societies. Therefore, this reviewer on behalf of the academic community in the free world urges the regime of the Soviet Ukraine to insist that an impartial delegation of scholars from various countries and possibly under the auspices of UNESCO be immediately dispatched to the Ukraine and test Kolasky's allegations with existing facts. Page after page, statement after statement ought to be checked against the realities by due process. In our opinion, this can be the only meaningful and rational way to reject or question all accusations brought forward by a man who went to the Soviet Ukraine as a loyal member of the Canadian Communist Party to further his education, only to return to his native Canada to reveal facts about the most inhumane system of our time — a system that is based on the secret police, a totalitarian ruling party, militarism, economic exploitation of the people and old Russian nationalism that Lenin called "the Great Russian chauvinism", and aimed at Russification of all non-Russian people of the USSR.

Arranged in twenty chapters, each extensively footnoted and supported with Soviet sources, the author is at his best on the following topics: Russian penetration of the state, party and local institutions in the Soviet Ukraine; Soviet internationalism which after a few decades degenerated into an unusual mixture of Marxism and Great Russian nationalism. Exactly this combination produced the myth of "Big Brother" which has been implanted in all spheres, including language, literature and even past history. Ukrainians, together with all other non-Russian nationalities, are exposed to constant discrimination against their cultural identities and linguistic genocide is subtly promoted by the regime. In the chapter on centraliza-

tion and bureaucracy the author sums up his views with the statement that this society is "based on a privileged and all-powerful bureaucracy the Russians call socialism" (p. 51). Discussing the career of Semichastny, the former chief of the KGB of the USSR, he concludes that "had he become Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Ukraine, an appropriate headline could have been: State police chief becomes chief of police state." (p. 47).

Under the heading "Those who betray", Kolasky discloses in a most knowledgeable way the role of the Ukrainian collaborators of the Russian bureaucracy. The individuals, such as L. D. Dmyterko, Yu. O. Zbanatsky, O. E. Korniychuk, I. K. Bilodid, M. Z. Shamota, and others, mostly in high political or literary or academic positions, "have knowingly, and zealously embarked upon the role of active collaborator in the destruction of their native culture, their language and even their fellow nationals. They are neither brilliant nor distinguished and are, above all, characterized by consuming ambition and fawning subservience." (p. 63).

In the chapter, "The Russians and Shevchenko", the author enlightens the Western expert on a hitherto ignored aspect of the Russo-Ukrainian confrontation. Contrary to the prevailing assumption that the Russian Ukrainophobia is an exclusive product of the so-called "tsarist establishment", Mr. Kolasky traces it rather to the Russian critic, V. G. Belinsky who already in the 1840s denied with all his authority the independent nature of the Ukrainian people and their language.

His hostile reaction to the writings of Taras Shevchenko is unparalleled in the cultural world. In 1847, in a letter to a friend, Belinsky wrote that a person of common sense could only see in Shevchenko "an ass, a fool, a base fellow and an inveterate drunkard." He called him a "khakhol radical, who wrote two 'diatribes', one against the emperor and the other against the empress", and added, "I have no pity for him; had I been his judge I would have done no less." (Shevchenko was exiled to Central

Asia) (p. 86). Against the ridicule of the Ukrainian past and Russian claims to have opened the door of the Ukraine to civilization, enlightenment, art and science after 1654, the author explodes: "This is about Ukraine, on whose land a highly developed civilization flourished when wolves still prowled the wilderness where Moscow now stands." (p. 87).

Other chapters deal with the revelations of Soviet crimes in the Ukraine, the strangling of Ukrainian culture, censorship, destruction of religion and churches, the moral breakdown of the regime on the top and among the people as a result of inhuman and barbaric practices. Kolasky discloses, based on reliable Soviet sources, that the official statistics of the CC of the CPU estimates ten million victims starved during the famine of 1932-33 (p. 111). Official and ubiquitous censorship is guided simultaneously by two contradictory policies: compliance with Marxist philosophy, on the one hand, and promotion of Russian nationalism on the other hand.

Four final chapters, dealing with the growing opposition among Ukrainians, cast rays of guarded hope that despite all existing evils there are signs, growing louder and stronger, of resistance and of the ethical and moral rebirth of a nation that has been terrorized for so long. Names like V. Chornovil, I. Dziuba, L. Kostenko and many still little known, together with the spreading underground literature, keep even a

pessimistic historian in hopes that the author's dedication of his remarkable book "To the innumerable unsung heroes who are fighting for the survival of their nation against foreign domination", will one day be engraved on one of the numerous statues in Kiev.

The text of Dziuba's speech in the Assembly Hall of the Union of Writers of Ukraine on January 16, 1965, on the thirtieth anniversary of the birth of Vasyl Symonenko (Appendix IX) would certainly have pleased Taras Shevchenko, who fought against tsarist policy of Russification in the nineteenth century.

Kolasky concludes his reminiscences on the nature of the USSR with a quotation from Friedrich Engels, taken from Lenin's writings: "And as to Russia, she could only be mentioned as the detainer of an immense amount of stolen property (i. e. oppressed nations) which would have to be disgorged on the day of reckoning." (Epilogue, p. 243).

This book should be available to anyone claiming expert status, to students searching and questioning history and its values, and especially to those who are about to write another textbook on Russia's history since many have now become obsolete in many aspects, particularly with regard to the nationalities of the USSR.

Stephen M. Horak
Eastern Illinois University

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Major-General J.F.C. Fuller

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1970

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J. BIRCH

(Lecturer in Soviet Politics, University of Sheffield)

THE UKRAINIAN NATIONALIST MOVEMENT IN THE U.S.S.R. SINCE 1956

The Ukrainian nationalist movement has, since 1917 and the beginning of the Soviet era, taken upon itself a variety of shapes and forms, and yet it remains to this day a politically significant force.

A precise, fully-binding definition of Ukrainian nationalism is, however, impossible for a number of reasons. In the first place, there are varying shades of nationalistically oriented thought manifested within the Ukraine, ranging from demands for the increased use of the Ukrainian language, to complete secession from the USSR and a rejection of Communism. Then again, there are the obvious difficulties of assessing opinions within the Ukraine in any depth, and hence the common factors of nationalist aspirations. Finally, there are the traditional differences within the Ukraine itself (such as in the nature of religious affiliation, in the extent of the ties with the Great Russians, and in the time span of membership of the Soviet Union and hence of ingrained allegiance to that regime), which make for divergences in the nature of nationalist aims¹.

Soviet practice, however, has been to refer to virtually all such manifestations as 'Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism', thereby indicating a recognition of a certain degree of unity of ends (a community of spirit manifesting itself by a desire for greater independence for the indigenous occupants of the Ukraine in one or a variety of spheres), if not of means (that is, through armed resistance, political resistance, complete secession or through a socialist, as opposed to a communist, self-governing or independent republic). If any single factor may be regarded as the root inspiration of all demonstrations of Ukrainian nationalism, it is perhaps opposition to Russification²,

¹ See e.g. F. C. Barghoorn's Introduction to V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, McGraw-Hill, London, 1968, pp. xii-xiii; and *The Economist*, London, 25 January, 1969.

² On the various forms of Russification considered to be taking place in Ukrainian culture and life, see *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. VI, No. 4, 1959, pp. 31-5 and 36-8; Vol. VII, No. 3-4, 1960, pp. 13-23; Vol. XIII, No. 4, 1966, pp. 8-16; Vol. XIV, No. 2, 1967, pp. 2-16; and *A.B.N. Correspondence*, Munich, Vol. XVIII, No. 6, 1967, pp. 18-22.

but, as has been stated and will be seen again, Ukrainians themselves are divided in the nature and extent of opposition to what are seen as the Russification policies of the Moscow authorities.

While not underestimating these problems of precise definition, the continued existence of a quite broad-based movement seeking, primarily by peaceful means, to attain a greater or lesser degree of independence of action for the Ukraine from the Russian Republic and/or Russian domination, is by now an entity well documented both in Soviet and Western sources relating to the period since 1956. In addition, a considerable number of trials of O.U.N. and U.P.A. members continue to take place in connection with war-time and immediate post-war activities (and possibly more recent activities, although the secret nature of most trials makes any such assessment difficult), presumably at least partly 'pour décourager les autres'³. That this may indeed be the case is indicated by the fact that for at least one of those tried (former U.P.A. member Oleksa Hryha) it was his second sentence, this time to death, following the annulment of his first conviction⁴; while Yuri Shukhevych-Berezynskyi served some twenty years in prison, until his recent release, apparently for committing no other offence than being the offspring of Roman Shukhevych, former Commander-in-Chief of the U.P.A., and for having refused to sign condemnations of the O.U.N.⁵.

It is proposed here to examine collectively a number of the more important recent instances of this nationalist activity in terms of their structure, membership, programme or aims, methods and results. These various manifestations, although often related and possessing some degree of overlap with respect to the individuals involved, are nevertheless quite self-contained in most aspects — their disparate nature revealing the essentially non-organised and largely uncoordinated character of the 'movement' as a whole, as compared with the former O.U.N.

³) See e.g. *Radyans'ka Ukraïna*, Kyïv, 24 April, 1959; *Vil'na Ukraïna*, Lviv, 17, 21, 22 and 23 July, 1959; *Trud*, Moscow, 11 December, 1959, and *Robitnycha Hazeta*, Kyïv, No. 925, 1959; *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 3, 1966, p. 80; *Visti z Ukraïny*, Kyïv, 12 March, 1967; *Vil'ne Zhyttia*, 3 July, 1968; *Khronika tekushchikh sobytii*, No. 5, 25 December, 1968, Possev-Verlag edition, Frankfurt, p. 53; *Khronika*, No. 6, 28 February, 1969, Possev ed., pp. 62-3, and No. 8, 30 June, 1969, pp. 37-8; and *Le Monde*, Paris, 6 December, 1969.

⁴) *A.B.N. Correspondence*, Vol. XVIII, No. 5, 1967, p. 42.

⁵) See the 28 July, 1967 letter from Shukhevych-Berezynskyi to the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S.S.R. in *Ukraïns'ka Dumka*, London, Vol. XXIV, No. 8, 15 February, 1968; *Vyzvolnyi Shlachh*, London, Vol. XXI, No. 3 (240), March, 1968, pp. 387-90; *Anglo-Ukrainian News*, London, No. 26-27 Spring-Summer, 1968; *A.B.N. Correspondence*, Vol. XIX, No. 3, 1968, pp. 25-8; *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, New York, Vol. XXIV, No. 3, 1968, pp. 206-11; and *East-West Digest*, London, Vol. IV, No. 4, April 1968, pp. 116-7; S. Karavanskyi makes reference to it in his petition to the Chairman of the Ukrainian Journalists Union, in *A.B.N. Correspondence*, Vol. XIX, No. 3, 1968, pp. 16-7.

Specifically, the instances to be analysed will concern:

- (a) three nationalist groups briefly active in the late 1950s and early 1960s;
- (b) a reported nationalist protest by a number of lawyers in 1964;
- (c) the Ukrainian intellectuals tried in 1966 and subsequent in support of them;
- (d) a further group active in the mid 1960's;
- (e) the developments ensuing from the publication of Honchar's novel 'Sobor', particularly those in Dnipropetrovsk in 1968.

In addition, a number of other, frequently individual, manifestations of Ukrainian nationalism will be referred to insofar as they illustrate aims or methods.

Structure and Scope

As was noted above, the nationalist movement in the Ukraine no longer appears as a co-ordinated whole but has rather manifested itself in a variety of forms, the structure of which may nevertheless be usefully examined to reveal the shape of the entity at the present time.

In at least four known instances, the nationalist aspirations have in fact taken on a formally organised character, albeit of a rather piecemeal type. Various these were known as the United Party for the Liberation of the Ukraine (1958-9), the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union (1959-60), the Ukrainian National Committee (?-1961)⁶ and the Ukrainian National Front (1964-1967)⁷.

Kandyba claimed, with reference to these groups, that, "There are many but smaller cases . . . in various regions of the Ukraine"⁸, while Lukyanenko referred directly not only to the Ukrainian National Committee, but also to a group of six from the Khodoriv region who were tried in Lviv in 1962 (one of whom, Mykhailo Protsiv, was

⁶) Information on these three is to be found almost exclusively in an appeal from Ivan O. Kandyba, a member of the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union, to the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine (in which Kandyba cites his own case, his appeal against sentence and its rejection, and calls for a review of the case). The letter itself was undated, but was written not earlier than 1966, as that date is mentioned in reference to events. See the full text in *Suchasnist'*, Munich, Vol. 12, December 1967, pp. 49-71; or in *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XV, No. 4, 1968, pp. 2-23. A short extract appeared in *The Times*, London, 7 February 1968.

A few other details of the investigation, trial and imprisonment are given in the May 1967 appeal of Lev H. Lukyanenko to the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S.S.R., published in *Ukrains'ka Dumka*, Vol. XXIV, Nos. 9, 10 and 11, 22 and 29 February, and 7 March, 1968; and in *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XV, No. 4, 1968, pp. 24-36.

⁷) Apart from a brief report of arrests (see the *Anglo-Ukrainian News*, No. 26-7, Spring-Summer, 1968), all detail on this case is to be drawn from a Samizdat document on this group and other arrests of Ukrainians, published in *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XVI, No. 2, 1969, pp. 9-12, from the original in the March 1969 edition of *Suchasnist'*.

⁸) Kandyba appeal op. cit., *The Ukrainian Review* edition, p. 18.

executed)⁹, to the Mykola Apostol group of five sentenced by the Ternopil oblast' court in 1961, and to the Bohdan Hohus' group of five similarly sentenced in 1962 (with Hohus' receiving the death penalty)¹⁰.

The documentation by Kandyba, provides only sparse indications of their structure and but little of their emergence and size. The United Party for the Liberation of the Ukraine (O.P.V.U.) is known to have emerged for its brief existence in December 1958. Organisationally, it appears to have been merely a small-scale, formalised association of a number of Ukrainians localised in Ivano-Frankivsk in the western Ukraine.

The organisation of which Kandyba himself was a member, the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union (U.R.S.S.), while not only in a somewhat different part of the western Ukraine (being centered around Lviv), cast its membership net more widely to embrace inhabitants of a number of other towns. Again small, the organisation traced its origins, according to the trial charges referred to by Kandyba, to the formation of the idea of a separate Ukraine in the mind of Lev H. Lukyanenko (who, at the time of his arrest, worked in Hlyniany district) in 1957. The latter was said to have then worked in the Lviv area to this end and to have entered into a 'criminal' relationship with Stepan M. Virun (at the time of arrest, a staff propagandist in the Radekhiv district party committee, Lviv oblast', where Lukyanenko had previously worked, and quite close to the latter's subsequent area of Hlyniany), the two having formed the organisation itself in February, 1959. Thereafter, the other members were recruited, and, from the backgrounds of the accused, the organisation would appear to have developed in roughly the following manner: Vasyl S. Luts'kiv (from Pavliv, in Radekhiv district) worked in the same district as had Lukyanenko and as did Virun, with one or the other of whom he presumably came into contact and was thereby recruited. Oleksandr S. Libovych (working in the Lviv district farming administration at the time of his arrest), on the other hand, was in a position to travel and may thus have been able, along with Lukyanenko and Virun, to maintain contact between Luts'kiv and the two members in Lviv — Kandyba himself (an inhabitant of Lviv and lawyer in Peremyshlyany) and Ivan Z. Kipysh (a worker in the militia organs at Lviv at the time of arrest). Kandyba, in turn would have had regular contact with the last known member of the group, Iosyf Yu. Borovytskyi (working, like Kandyba, in Peremyshlyany). In fact, at the retrial of the group in July, 1961, it was claimed that Kandyba had recruited Borovytskyi, although, in reply, the former pointed out that the court had not claimed that Borovytskyi had been a member but merely a recipient of the group's programme. A further person, Kozyk, who was referred to, in the findings of the retrial, as

⁹) Lukyanenko appeal op. cit., *The Ukrainian Review* edition, p. 26.

¹⁰) *Ibid.*, p. 27.

a recruit of Kandyba's, was declared by the latter to have had nothing to do with the case.

On the structure of the group itself once decided upon, Kandyba, in his appeal, denied the organisational finality of the movement at the time of the arrests, declaring it to have been merely contemplated. He further claimed that no oaths had been taken and no fees paid, that no established discipline existed, and no leading body or post had been created. Everyone was free in all respects. He claimed that even the programme had not yet been finally formulated, and that Lukyanenko, Virun, Luts'kiv, Kandyba and Mykola Vashchuk (who was studying at a higher party school and who denounced the group to the K.G.B.) had come together in Kandyba's flat to establish the permanent structure (and to discuss the draft programme) — notes on the meeting subsequently being drawn up by Lukyanenko. As a result of the discussions, a second meeting was planned for 22 January, 1961, to finalise the changes suggested for the programme, and thereby formally establishing the organisation and binding its members. While these statements may be true, and certainly they provided Kandyba with a form of defence, it is clear that a group existed, consisting of like-minded persons who were fully aware of the community of their thoughts — this Kandyba did not deny, although his appeal was apparently rejected.

As for the structure of the Ukrainian National Committee (UNK), little or nothing is known save that it was again a localised group in the West Ukraine, specifically formed among factory workers in Lviv.

The final formal organisation to appear, the Ukrainian National Front, while at present sparsely documented, has revealed something of its structural and organisational aspects. It appears to have been organised, again in the West Ukraine, among a small group, towards the end of 1964, actually becoming active from 1965. The leader and organiser, who subsequently took on the main responsibility for its activities on his arrest, was Dmytro Kvets'ko. Vasyl' Diak was also reported as having taken part in its formation. Presumably the other seven known members were subsequently recruited.

Besides these varying degrees of formal organisation, the movement has been characterised for the most part by the appearance of a number of largely ad hoc, unorganised, expressions of nationalist aspirations. There have variously been the minimal organisation level found in the petitions and appeals of a group of lawyers of 1964, and those concerned with the charges and trials of 1965-6; and the almost independent, individual manifestations, related only by a common cause, as were found in the case of those arrested in 1965 and in the Dnipropetrovsk case of 1968, where expressions of nationalist views, while probably in no sense unconscious, may have been put forward with a variety of levels of discretion and virulence.

As a result of the more or less simultaneous nature of the arrests over a wide area of the Ukraine, the complexity of the case, and the

extensive documentation, something must briefly be said of the background to the 1965 arrests and the subsequent response to them.

A number of events were, in all likelihood, set in motion by the speech of Ivan Dzyuba, the literary critic, on 10 January, 1965, at the Republican Building of Literature in Kyïv¹¹, commemorating the birth of Vasyl Symonenko, the young Ukrainian poet who died in 1963; and by the publication of Symonenko's diary and some of his poems in the West¹². As a consequence of quite openly nationalist sentiments in some of his writings¹³, Symonenko has become something of a focal point for some nationalist adherents and many younger Ukrainians.

The outcome was the detention probably of Dzyuba and certainly of his friend, accomplice and fellow critic, Ivan Svitlychnyi¹⁴, while almost simultaneously, around September, 1965, a wave of similar arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals took place over wide areas of the country, including Kyïv, Odessa, Lviv, Lutsk, Ternopil, Ivano-Frankivsk and Feodosiya¹⁵. These formed but part of a more widespread cultural repression by the new leadership of the country, the effects of which were shortly to be witnessed in Moscow at the celebrated trial of Sinyavsky and Daniel, the difference being that many of the arrested in the Ukraine were to be specifically charged as Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists.

With regard to the nature of the persons so arrested, the subsequent documentation on the cause¹⁶ has given little indication that they in any way comprised a distinct group. Indeed, comparatively few connections appear to have existed directly between individuals, who lived variously in the towns already cited, although a number of them did in fact live in the same towns at the time of arrest. Indeed, apart from Dmytro Ivashchenko (from Lutsk), Mykhaylo Masyutko (Feodosiya), Anatoliy Shevchuk (Zhytomyr) and Svyatoslav Karavansky

¹¹ See *East West Digest*, Vol. III, No. 3, 1967, p. 70. The speech was published in full, *ibid.*, pp. 73-9, and in *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XIV, No. 1, 1967, pp. 43-9. In this, Dzyuba said of Symonenko's national idea: "It is real for us today, and it represents the concept of a fully sovereign state and cultural existence for the Ukrainian socialist nation".

¹² See *Suchasnist'*, January, 1965, pp. 13-18. The authenticity of the document was confirmed by Symonenko's mother.

¹³ See for instance that quoted in Dzyuba's speech, *op. cit.*

¹⁴ See below under Results.

¹⁵ *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 4, 1966, p. 90.

¹⁶ Principally the collection of materials compiled by Vyacheslav Chornovil originally published in the West, in Ukrainian, as *Lykho z Rozumu (Portrety Dvadtsyaty 'Zlochyntsi')*, Paris, 1967; and subsequently published, along with appeals by Chornovil to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R. et al., and to the First Secretary of the CP of Ukraine as *The Chornovil Papers*, McGraw-Hill, Toronto and London, 1968. The materials received considerable attention in the press at the time of publication: see *The Times*, 7 February, 1968; *The Observer*, 11 February, 1968; *The New Statesman*, 23 February, 1968; *The Sunday Telegraph*, 25 August, 1968; and *The Economist*, 25 January, 1969.

(Odessa), the geographical distribution of others known to have been involved was as follows:¹⁷

Kyiv:

Ya. Hevrych
M. Hryn'
Ye. Kuznetsova
O. Martynenko
I. Rusyn
I. Dzyuba
I. Svitlychny
Morhun
Vorbut

Lviv:

I. Hel'
B. Horyn'
M. Horyn'
M. Zvarychevs'ka
Ye. Menkush
M. Osadchy
Baturyn
Kosiv
Sadovs'ka
O. Horyn'

Ivano-Frankivsk:

P. Zalyvakha
V. Moroz
M. Ozerny
Ivanyshyn

Ternopil:

I. Hereta
M. Chubaty

Whether any mutual awareness of the presence of others existed is not always clear.

Similarly, some of the figures were subsequently tried together: Kuznetsova, Martynenko, and Rusyn in Kyiv, 21-5 March, 1966¹⁸; Ivashchenko and Moroz in Volyn oblast' court, January 1966¹⁹; the Horyn' brothers, Osadchy and Zvarychevs'ka in Lviv, April 1966 (Masyutko was tried in the same case, although he was, according to Chornovil, dealt with separately)²⁰; and Hereta, from Ternopil, appeared as a witness at the trial of Ozerny in Ivano-Frankivsk²¹, and although it is clear that the two had had contact prior to arrest²², the prosecutor in the Ozerny case was reported to have stated that, "The cases of Ozerny, Hereta, and so forth are isolated instances"²³.

Pre-arrest contacts between a number of the others may be established from the available data. For instance, Ivashchenko and Moroz at one stage worked together at the Lutsk Pedagogical Institute²⁴, while Ivashchenko wrote from prison to N. Svitlychna²⁵, as did Zalyvakha²⁶. The latter's letters from the prison camp reveal

¹⁷) From details in, V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*.

¹⁸) Chornovil's appeal to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R. et al. in *The Chornovil Papers*, p. 40.

¹⁹) *Ibid.*, p. 32.

²⁰) *Ibid.*, p. 60.

²¹) *Ibid.*, pp. 25 and 24.

²²) *Ibid.*, p. 46.

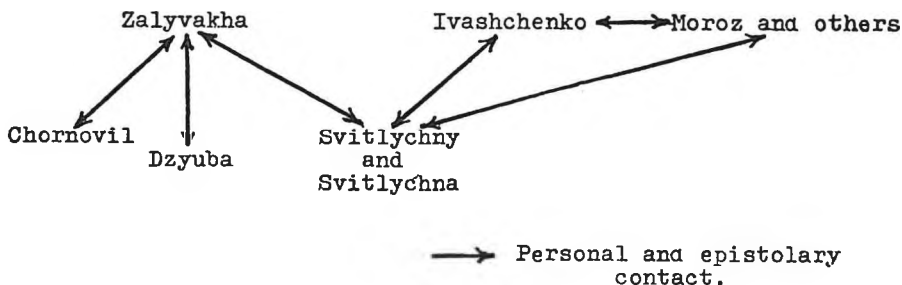
²³) *Ibid.*, p. 35.

²⁴) See the biographical data in *The Chornovil Papers*, pp. 131 and 150.

²⁵) See the text of the letter, *ibid.*, pp. 131-3.

²⁶) *Ibid.*, p. 124.

a number of other links, being addressed to I. Svitlychny (his "dear friend") — letters in which other friends of Svitlychny's, presumably among the inmates of Camp 11 in Mordovia, were said to convey their greetings²⁷, and in which Zalyvakha sent thanks and greetings to Dzyuba²⁸ — and also to V. Chornovil (although it is not entirely clear from the information available whether the two were previously acquainted)²⁹. Thus a pattern of contacts appears as follows:



Closer contacts were clearly established in the post-trial situation, for M. Horyn' and Osadchy journeyed together to their camp of detention³⁰, while Moroz, Karavans'ky, M. Horyn' and Masyutko were reportedly all placed in the camp prison in December 1966 for writing complaints to higher authorities³¹, and a November 1966 letter from Hevrych gave details of Zalyvakha, B. Horyn', Ozerny, Hel', Osadchy, Masyutko, and Moroz³².

Nevertheless, on the whole, one is inclined to agree with Chornovil's assessment that, "in various regions of Ukraine, there were arrests of a large group of people, the majority of whom were not acquainted with one another and were not in any way associated"³³.

It was, furthermore, subsequently reported that a number of Ukrainian writers and scientists had lent their support to the accused by interceding on their behalf³⁴, while Dzyuba himself was similarly

²⁷) *Ibid.*, p. 120.

²⁸) *Ibid.*, p. 124.

²⁹) *Ibid.*, p. 125.

³⁰) *Ibid.*, p. 99.

³¹) See Zalyvakha's letter to Svitlychny in *The Chornovil Papers*, p. 126. Chornovil's own data on Moroz (*ibid.*, p. 151) rather surprisingly named L. Lukyanenko rather than Karavans'ky as one of the offenders — certainly an interesting alliance, but not altogether improbable, since a May 1967 appeal by Lukyanenko to the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S.S.R., gave his address not merely as Camp 11 (the same as that of the others) but also as the Central Isolator (*The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XV, No. 4, 1968, p. 36). It seems possible therefore that both were so interned.

³²) In V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, p. 99.

³³) In his appeal to the Ukrainian Public Prosecutor et al., *loc. cit.*, p. 20.

³⁴) See *The New Statesman*, 16 December, 1966, and A.B.N. *Correspondence*, Vol. XVIII, No. 5, 1967, p. 12. Chornovil (in *The Chornovil Papers*, pp. 2, 4-5, 80

reported to have protested at the arrests³⁵. Other demonstrations of protest and solidarity with the accused by young people followed at the court during the trials in Kyiv and Lviv³⁶.

There was, however, a further protest, which was eventually to have profound effects on the documentation of these cases. This took the form of an open, collective, appeal of 27 September, 1966 (to the editorial board of the journal *Perets*, to the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, to the editor of *Radyans'ka Ukraïna*, to the Union of Soviet Writers, to the editor of *Literaturna Ukraïna*, and to the Union of Ukrainian Journalists)³⁷ from three journalists — V. Skochok, Vyacheslav Chornovil and L. Sheremetyeva — who were working at the Ukrainian Academy of Science. These latter, whilst specifically defending Dzyuba from the attack of *Perets*, defend the freedoms of Ukrainian literature and culture, and backed his "Internationalism or Russification"³⁸.

and 90), and Dzyuba (in his appeal to the First Secretary of the CP of Ukraine, attached to and published along with his *Internationalism or Russification*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1968, p. 2), referred to enquiries, intercessions and appeals to the highest Ukrainian authorities concerning the arrested, specifically naming the following as having called for an open trial and publicity on the case:

Lenin prize winner — M. Stel'makh, Shevchenko prizewinners — A. Malysenko and H. Mayboroda — Signatories of an enquiry to the Central Committee of the CP of Ukraine.

Aircraft designer — O. Antonov, Film Producer — S. Paradzhanov, Composers — P. Mayboroda and V. Koreyko, Writers — L. Serpilin, L. Kostenko and I. Drach.

Chornovil also referred among others, to an appeal to the Chairman of the K.G.B. of the Ukrainian S.S.R. from 78 persons (writers, scientists, students and workers) seeking to be present at the trials of their friends, acquaintances and relations (*The Chornovil Papers*, p. 4).

Other individual appeals included the April 1966 telegram of N. Svitlychna to the 23rd Congress of the CPSU on behalf of her brother (see Chornovil's appeal to the Ukrainian Public Prosecutor in V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, p. 5, and *Ukraïns'ka Inteligentsiya pid Sudom KGB*, Munich, 1970, pp. 190-1).

³⁵ See protest letter by V. Chornovil et al. to the journal *Perets* — sources cited in footnote 37 below — in *The Ukrainian Review*, edition, pp. 35 and 38; and Dzyuba's appeal to the First Secretary of the CP of Ukraine, *loc. cit.*, pp. 2-8, and details thereof in *Anglo-Ukrainian News*, No. 26-7, 1968 — in which he stated: "every day more and more people will, in various ways, here and everywhere, in this or that way, express their dissatisfaction with many aspects of the present-day nationality policy. They continue to care about the fate of Ukrainian culture, the Ukrainian nation, and will search for the ways and means to improve the existing state of affairs".

³⁶ *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 4, 1966, page 92; and V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, pp. 2, 41-2 and 80.

³⁷ Text in *Ukraïns'ke Slovo*, Paris, 22 October, 1967, and in *Shliakh Peremohy*, No. 43, 29 October, 1967; No. 44, 5 November, 1967; and No. 45, 12 November, 1967. Also published in *Ukraïns'ka Dumka*, Nos. 47, 48 and 49, 1967; *A.B.N. Correspondence*, Vol. XIX, No. 2, 1968, pp. 23-9; and *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XV, No. 3, 1968, pp. 32-9.

³⁸ *Op. cit.* See also *The Daily Telegraph*, 27 June, 1968.

Chornovil (an ex-Komsomol official, before he became a journalist)³⁹ who attended two of the trials, as a correspondent of Radio Kyïv (being called as a witness at the closed trial in Lviv of four of the intellectuals — M. and B. Horyn', M. Osadchy and M. Zvarychevs'ka — but refusing on the grounds that a closed trial was illegal), followed up this petition with the open appeal of his own to the Public Prosecutor, the Chairman of the Supreme Court and the Chairman of the K.G.B. of the Ukrainian S.S.R.; and with a further note of 22 May, 1967, to the First Secretary of the CP of Ukraine, P. Yu. Shelest, in which he again came out in defence of the imprisoned intellectuals (centring his attack on the illegality of the trials on the basis of constitutional provisions)⁴⁰.

Apart from the collective letter of the three journalists (itself only a loosely structured group manifestation), these pre-trial, trial and immediate post-trial appellants appeared as non-organised sympathisers. Later appeals (concerning both these trials and the subsequent one of Chornovil) to the Ukrainian authorities, including Shelest (the link-man with the central Soviet authorities, in his capacity as a national Politburo member), illustrated a similarly loose structure, the appellants primarily being united only with respect to their joint signature of one of the three known petitions⁴¹.

³⁹ For biographical details of Chornovil, see *A.B.N. Correspondence*, Vol. XIX, No. 3, 1968, pp. 29-30; and *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XV, No. 1, 1968, pp. 3-4, which shows him to have protested at the arrests in 1965.

⁴⁰ The texts of these appeals have variously appeared in full in *Suchasnist'*, October, 1967; *Shliakh Peremohy*, No. 45, 12 November, 1967; *Vyzvolnyi Shliakh*, London, Vol. 20, No. 11-12, 1967; and in V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, pp. 2-75. Extracts have also appeared in *Anglo-Ukrainian News*, No. 24-5, 1967 (appeal to Shelest); *Ukrains'ka Dumka*, Vol. XXIII, No. 49, 30 November, 1967 (appeal to the Public Prosecutor); *A.B.N. Correspondence*, Vol. XIX, No. 1, 1968, pp. 4-8 (appeal to Public Prosecutor); *The Ukrainian Bulletin*, New York, Vol. XXI, No. 3-4, 1968 (appeal to Shelest); *The Times*, 7 February, 1968 (appeal to Shelest); *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XV, No. 3, 1968, pp. 25-31 (appeal to the Public Prosecutor); and *Problems of Communism*, Washington, Vol. XVII, No. 4, 1968, pp. 73-82. See also *The New York Times*, 8, 9 & 10 February, 1968; and *L'Est Européen, Problèmes Actuelles-Notes Historiques*, Paris, No. 69, January, 1968.

⁴¹ The three were:

a) Appeal of April 1968, from 139 persons, to the General Secretary of the CPSU, the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and the Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet (text in *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XV, No. 4, 1968, pp. 27-9 and 97; see also *The New York Times*, 3 May, 1968; and *The Economist*, 25 January, 1969).

b) Appeal of May-June, 1968, from four persons, to the First Secretary of the CP of Ukraine, with copies to the Chairman of the KGB of Ukraine, the Chairman of the Writers' Union of Ukraine, the Chairman of the Artists' Union of Ukraine, the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S.S.R. and two deputies (text in *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XVI, No. 1, 1969, pp. 43-5).

c) Appeal of July (?) 1968 from five persons in response to *Literaturna Ukraina* article of 16 July, 1968 against the 139 in (a) for defending the condemned intellectuals (text in *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XVI, No. 4, 1969, pp. 66-7).

However, although the three appeals were essentially protests at the conduct and procedure of the trials (or, in one case, at the press reaction to the first petition), indications of some sympathy with the defendants were to be found in the texts⁴², a likelihood reinforced by the overlapping participation of the signatories and the presence among them of Ivan Dzyuba. In fact, Dzyuba and the poetess Lina Kostenko signed all three, while Svitlychny, Yevhen Sverstiuk (litterateur), Mykhailyna Kotsiubyns'ka (literary historian) and Victor Nekrasov (the writer) were signatories of two. It is thus highly probable that Dzyuba, Kostenko and, at least, Svitlychny, constituted the hard-core motivating force of the petitions, acting in concert in a campaign, albeit informally structured, but with distinct links with those arrested.

Not unlike the 1965-6 incidents, the Dnipropetrovsk case appears to have involved a number of isolated, or at most loosely connected, individuals, primarily sharing in common their residence in the Dnipropetrovsk region. Briefly, the case arose out of the publication of Oles' Honchar's novel "Sobor" (The Cathedral)⁴³ which, after initial praise⁴⁴, became the subject of a mass reversal of the former policy line and the target of attack for its defence of the historical past against the present⁴⁵.

Thereupon anyone coming to the support of, or expressing favourable attitudes towards, the novel and the issues it raised, laid them-

⁴² See below under Grievances and Programme.

⁴³ In which the hero is eventually killed in a struggle for a Ukrainian cathedral (a symbol for Ukrainian national culture) being pulled down by the state.

⁴⁴ It was acclaimed by a reader of *Vitchyzna*, the literary journal in which it appeared in January 1968; was favourably reviewed by L. Novychenko in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, 20 March, 1968; and by the Dnipropetrovsk local paper *Zoria* and *Prapor Yunosti*, et al. — see the open letter from Young Creative Intellectuals in Dnipropetrovsk to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian S.S.R., Shcherbyts'kyi; to Alternate Member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Ovcharenko; and to the Secretary of the Writers' Union of Ukraine, Pavlychko, in *Suchasnist'*, February 1969; and in *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XVI, No. 3, 1969, pp. 46-52 (specifically p. 46). This letter was probably written at the end of 1968 — see review in *Radio Liberty*, Russification and Socialist Legality in the Dnipropetrovsk Area, *Research Paper USSR/39*, Munich, 10 March, 1969. See other details in *Khronika Tekushchikh Sobytiy*, No. 7, 30 April, 1969, Possev edition pp. 16-17 and No. 10, 30 October, 1969, *ibid.*, p. 17.

⁴⁵ The turnabout in Dnipropetrovsk, having proceeded from a conference of secretaries of local Party branches in that region (see the open appeal of Young Creative Intellectuals, *loc. cit.* — page references being henceforth to *The Ukrainian Review* edition — p. 46), included three critical reviews and supporting letters in *Zoria* (*ibid.*, p. 47), a ban on the celebration of Honchar's fiftieth birthday, at Dnipropetrovsk University, along with a similar ban on debate of "Sobor" (*ibid.*, p. 47). Copies of the novel were also reported to have been seized from a bookshop in Kharkiv by Komsomol members and destroyed in the streets to the tune of anti-Ukrainian slogans before an inactive militia, while other meetings condemned the work for its negative descriptions and idealisation of the past — *The Ukrainian Bulletin*, Vol. XXI, No. 13-6, 1968.

selves open to punitive sanctions⁴⁶, and "Sobor" was described by a regional Party secretary as a "Whirlpool around which everything that is ideologically harmful and hostile to our reality is rallying itself"⁴⁷. Exaggerated as this may have been, it is clear that a considerable number of individuals became the subject of various recriminations on these grounds⁴⁸, while the authors of the appeal showed sympathy for their cause by uniting to express concern at the treatment of the latter.

This case thus illustrated both the non-organised and loosely organised aspects from the range of forms taken on by Ukrainian nationalism — aspects at the opposite end of a continuum from the formally organised conspiratorial form, and representing a microcosm of the lack of organisation in the movement as a whole.

Membership

The nature of the membership, or at least those known to have been involved, in these various nationalistic manifestations, reveals a considerable degree of continuity and community of type, while indicating a wider basis to various nationalist aspirations than has previously been attributed to them.

Although Szamuely has drawn a comparison that, "Whereas the national movement of the 1940's acquired most of its impetus, together with its leaders, from the western regions — the historical Galicia — which had never been part of the Russian Empire and regarded all things Russian with incomprehension and hatred, the present generation of nationalist Ukrainian intellectuals are products of a Soviet education and of a newly homogeneous Ukrainian nation"⁴⁹, it is felt by the present writer that this is not a very meaningful analogy, comparing as it does, two different factors — that is, west Ukrainian backgrounds and Soviet education. Indeed, it remains true that a very large proportion of those persons under investigation here were born and/or worked in the western areas of the Ukraine, an area which, moreover, in addition to the features cited by Szamuely, had not had a pre-war experience of communist rule, a factor which may go some way towards explaining the anti-communist or non-socialist/communist content of the programmes of some of the groupings from the area⁵⁰. Furthermore, of the six, from the group actually arrested in 1965, who were domiciled in Kyïv, three are known to have had

⁴⁶) Open Appeal, *loc. cit.*, p. 47.

⁴⁷) *Ibid.*, p. 47.

⁴⁸) *Ibid.*, pp. 47-8.

⁴⁹) T. Szamuely, "The Resurgence of Ukrainian Nationalism", in *The Reporter*, reprinted in *Interstate*, Aberystwyth, No. 5, 68/69, p. 37.

⁵⁰) See below under Grievances and Programme.

their origins in the western Ukraine⁵¹, and the lawyers involved in the 1964 case were reportedly drawn from Kyiv and Lviv⁵².

Nevertheless, it is significant that a considerable number of nationalistic aspirations appear to have been voiced in other areas — notably in Kyiv (by at least three of the 1965 group, who had their origins in the north-east or east Ukraine⁵³ — including Dzyuba, from the Donbas⁵⁴, and in Dnipropetrovsk.

The extreme nature of the claims or demands made does appear to vary to some extent (as will be seen) with the geographical factor — complete secession or a non-communist regime being advocated seemingly exclusively in the west, on the basis of the available information.

As for the nature of the support for the various claims in the different manifestations, background data on the individuals involved is assembled in the tables below from which a number of general conclusions can be drawn:

Table 1: *Members of the United Party for the Liberation of Ukraine — 1958-9*

<i>N a m e</i>	<i>Date of Birth</i>	<i>E d u c a t i o n</i>	<i>O c c u p a t i o n</i>
Bohdan Harmatiuk	1939	Specialised secondary	Construction technician
Yarema S. Tkachyk	1933	Secondary	Turner
Bohdan I. Tymkiv	1935	Incomplete higher	Student
Myron Ploshchak	1932	?	Worker
Ivan I. Strutynskyi	1937	Secondary	Conductor of factory amateur choir
Mykola Yurchyk	1933	?	Worker
Ivan Konevych	1930	?	Worker

Source: Kandyba's appeal, *loc. cit.*

⁵¹) V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, pp. 97, 116 and 161.

⁵²) *Ibid.*, pp. 133 and 137.

⁵³) See biographical details on cover of *Internationalism or Russification*.

⁵⁴) *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XII, No. 3, 1965, p. 17. Indeed, the lawyers of Lviv have gained something of a reputation as innovators — see, on the question of administrative responsibility, D. D. Barry, *The Specialist in Soviet Policy-Making: The Adoption of a Law*, *Soviet Studies*, Vol. XVI, No. 2, 1964, pp. 155 and 160.

Table 2: *Members of the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union 1959-60*

<i>N a m e</i>	<i>Date of Birth</i>	<i>Origin</i>	<i>Educa- tion</i>	<i>Family</i>	<i>Occup- ation</i>	<i>Party Member- ship</i>
Ivan O. Kandyba	1930	Peasant	Higher	Single	Lawyer	—
Lev G. Lukyanenko	1927	Peasant	Higher	Marr- ied	Lawyer	X
Stepan M. Virun	1932	Peasant	Un- finished higher	Marr- ied	Party propa- gand- ist	X
Oleksandr S. Libovych	1935	Peasant	Higher	Marr- ied	Agric. specia- list	—
Vasyl S. Lutskiv	1935	Peasant	9th grade	Single	Club manag- er	X
Yosyp Yu. Borovnytskyi	1932	Worker	Higher		Prosec- utor's invest- igator	X
Ivan Z. Kipysh	1923	Peasant	8th grade	Marr- ied	Milit- iaman	—

Source: Kandyba's appeal, *loc. cit.***NEW!**

In English translation

REVOLUTIONARY VOICES

UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS CONDEMN RUSSIAN COLONIALISM

Texts of Original Protest Writings by young Ukrainian intellectuals. Published by Press Bureau of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), Munich 1969.

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Table 3: *Members of the Ukrainian National Committee — 1961*

<i>N a m e</i>	<i>Date of Birth</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Occupation</i>
Ivan T. Koval	Young	?	Worker
Bohdan Hrytsyna	Young	?	Worker
Volodymyr Hnot	?	?	Locksmith at Polytechnic Institute
Roman Hurnyi	1939	?	Factory worker
Hryhorii Zelymash	?	?	Kolkhoz worker
Oleksii Zelymash	?	?	Kolkhoz worker
Melekh	?	Higher	Philologist
Vasyl Kondrat	Young	?	?
Kurylo			Mainly workers from Lviv factories
Mashtaler			
Stepan Soroka			
Pokora			
Yovchyk			
Kaspryshyn			
Mynko			
Tehyvets			
Mykola Melnychuk			
Khomiakevych			
+ two others			

Source: Kandyba's appeal, *loc. cit.*

Table 5: *Others subsequently detained in the 1965 case*

<i>N a m e</i>	<i>Occupation at time of detention</i>
Ivanyshyn	Physical education teacher in village, Ivano-Frankivsk oblast'
Baturyn	Book-keeper of Lviv Regional Consumers' Cooperative
Kosiv	Head of literary institute, Lviv University
Sadovs'ka	Engineer in Lviv Project Institute
Morhun	Artist of Franko Theatre, Kyiv
Perediyenko	Electrician
Ol'ha Vorbut (or Vorbst)	Student at Kyiv University
Ol'ha Horyn'	? from Lviv
N. Svitlychna	(Ivan Svitlychnyi's sister, from Donetsk)

Source: Chornovil's appeal to the Ukrainian Public Prosecutor, *loc. cit.*

Table 4: *Intellectuals detained in 1965*

<i>N a m e</i>	<i>Date of Birth</i>	<i>Origin</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Family</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Party Membership</i>
Ivan Dzyuba	1931	Peasant	Higher	?	Literary critic	—
Ivan Svitlychny	192?	?	Higher	?	Professor	?
Mefodiy Chubaty	1938	Peasant	Sec. school of music	?	Unemployed	—
Ivan A. Hel'	1937	Peasant	Incomplete higher	Married 1 child	Locksmith	—
Ihor P. Hereta	1938	Priest	Higher	?	Museum assistant director	—
Yaroslav Hevrych	1937	Peasant	Incomplete higher	Single ?	Medical student	—
Bohdan M. Horyn'	1936	Peasant	Higher	?	Art research worker	—
Mykhaylo M. Horyn'	1930	Peasant	Higher	Married 1 child	Industrial Psychologist	—
Mykola Ye. Hryn'	1928	?	Higher	?	Senior geophysical research associate	—
Dmytro Ivashchenko	192?	?	Higher	Married children	Lecturer	—
Svyatoslav Y. Karavans'ky	1920	Engineer	Partial Higher	Married	Writer	—
Yevheniya F. Kuznetsova	1913	Worker	Higher	?	Chemical Laboratory Worker	—
Oleksandr I. Martynenko	1935	Worker	Higher	?	Senior Geological Engineer	—
Mykhaylo S. Masyutko	1918	Teacher	Higher	Married	Retired teacher	—
Yaroslava M. Menkush	1923	Peasant	Spec. Secondary	Widow with daughter	Designer	—
Valentyn Ya. Moroz	1936	Peasant	Higher	Married 1/ch	Lecturer	—
Mykhaylo D. Ozerny	1929	Peasant	Higher	Married 2 children	Teacher	—
Mykhaylo H. Osadchy	1936	Peasant	Higher	Married 1/ch	Senior University Lecturer	X
Ivan I. Rusyn	1937	Peasant	Higher	Married 1/ch	Geodesic Engineer	—
Anatoliy O. Shevchuk	1937	Worker	Tech. Sch.	Married 1/ch	Linotypist	—
Panas I. Zalyvakha	1925	Peasant	Higher	Single ?	Artist	—
Myroslava V. Zvarychevs'ka	1936	Peasant	Higher	Single ?	Literary Editor	—

Sources: V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, particularly pp. 52-3; and I. Dzyuba, *Internationalism or Russification* (introd.)

Table 6: *Members of the Ukrainian National Front 1964-7*

<i>N a m e</i>	<i>Date of Birth</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Occupation</i>
Dmytro Kvets'ko	1937	Higher	?
Vasyl' Diak	?	Higher	Senior Lieutenant, Stanyslaviv militia
Ivan Krasivs'kyi	1939	Higher	Philologist-publicist
Yaroslav Lesiv	1945	Higher?	Teacher
Vasyl' Kulynyn	1943	Secondary	Turner in factory at Stryy, Lviv oblast'
Hryhorii Prokopovych	?	Higher	Linguist
Ivan Hubka	?	Higher	Economist
Myron Melen'	?	?	Conductor of amateur chorus, Morshyn, Lviv obl.
Mykola Kachur	?	?	?

Source: Samizdat document, *loc. cit.*

The 1968 Petitioners

Table 7: *The 139 Petitioners of April, 1968*

Workers in the Arts: Film producer, Artists, Sculptors, Writers, Litterateurs, Composers, Singer, Historians	50
Scientists: Physico-Mathematicians, Biologists, Chemists, Geologists, Mathematicians	34
Engineers	11
Doctors	3
Lawyers	1
Teachers	3
Students	6
Manual workers	26
Others	4

Source: Appeal of the 139, *loc. cit.*

Many of these petitioners were, moreover, senior figures in their fields, including 6 professors, 5 corresponding members of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, and a Lenin prize winner.

Table 8: *The Petitioners of May-June and July (?) 1968*

<i>N a m e</i>	<i>Date of Birth</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Signatories of both</i>	<i>Signatories of above petition</i>
I. Dzyuba	1931	Literary critic	X	X
I. Svitlychnyi	192?	Writer	—	X
N. Svitlychna	?	?	—	—
L. Kostenko	1930	Poetess	X	X
Ye. Sverstiuk	?	Litterateur	—	X
M. Kotsiubyns'ka	1931	Literary historian	—	X
V. Nekrasov	1911	Writer	—	X

Sources: Introduction to the petitions in the sources cited and *Who's Who in the U.S.S.R.*, Scarecrow Press, New York.

Table 9: *Those involved in the Dnipropetrovsk case*

<i>N a m e</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Party member- ship</i>
S. Yu. Shyinin	Member of Propaganda and Agitation Dept. of Dnipropetrovsk newspaper	?
M. T. Skoryk	Journalist on same paper	X
V. Zarembo	Journalist (probably same paper)	—
I. P. Opanasenko	Journalist on same paper	—
R. Stepanenko	Theatre producer	X
H. Prokopenko	Teacher	X
S. Levenets'	Secretary of local branch of Ukrainian Theatrical Society	—
I. Sokul's'kyi	Poet, writer for factory newspaper	—
M. Dunin (or B. Dubinin)	Editor of same factory newspaper	—
V. Sirenko	Poet	Dismiss- ed earlier
V. Kapysh	Writer	X
M. Chkhan	Poet	—
V. Korzh	Poet	—
V. Cheremys	Poet	—

Source: Appeal of the Young Creative Intellectuals, *loc. cit.*, and *Khronika Tekushchikh Sobytyi*, No. 7, Possev ed., pp. 16-7.

From this material — insofar as the incomplete data permits any satisfactory conclusions — it is noticeable that:

- (a) the support for the various nationalistically oriented themes is drawn from across the entire occupational spectrum — Dzyuba has in fact referred to, "This constantly growing circle of people [who] have expressed their alarm openly, publicly and on principle . . ." ⁵⁵
- (b) the intellectual element with higher education predominates (of 52 persons whose education is known, 39 have received some higher education), but notably less so in the cases involving the expression of the most extreme views.
- (c) membership has been drawn almost exclusively from among industrial or agricultural workers in certain instances, such as the localised O.P.V.U. and the U.N.K. (although information is inadequate to relate this to the radicalism of their programmes).
- (d) insofar as it is known, the participants were born predominantly in the 1930's and thus, for the most part, had little or no involvement with the earlier violent nationalism (the incomplete data on the Ukrainian National Front indicates even younger support).
- (e) a number, albeit small, were surprisingly Party members ⁵⁶.

Additionally, it is known that a number of those involved had had previous connections with the Ukrainian nationalist movement in one or another of its forms. Svyatoslav Karavans'ky, for instance, had, around 1942-3 joined a youth group connected with the O.U.N., had been arrested in Odessa in 1944, and (in spite of having conducted neither armed nor propaganda activities against the Soviet government during a few days only spent in liberated Odessa) sentenced to 25 years imprisonment on 7 February 1945⁵⁷. He was only released, under a 1955 amnesty, in December 1960⁵⁸. Similarly, the majority of the members of the members of the Ukrainian National Front were reported to have been previously imprisoned⁵⁹.

Leaving aside the question of membership, attention may now be turned to the goals sought after by those involved.

⁵⁵) Dzyuba's appeal to the First Secretary of the CP of Ukraine, *loc. cit.*, p. 5.

⁵⁶) C. f. Chornovil's portrait of a typical member solely of the group he analyses — in *The Chornovil Papers*, pp. 80-1.

⁵⁷) V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, pp. 166-7. Karavans'ky himself does deny this — see his appeal of 16 January, 1966, to the People's Court of the Odessa October District, in *The Chornovil Papers*, p. 189.

⁵⁸) *Ibid.*, p. 167.

⁵⁹) Samizdat document on The Ukrainian National Front, *loc. cit.*, p. 9.

Grievances and Programme

The programme or ends of the nationalists in recent times have varied considerably, although there has naturally existed a good deal of congruity in the grievances underlying them.

The organised groupings, particularly, have illustrated one extreme end of the programme spectrum, namely an uncompromising demand for greater political independence for the Ukraine.

As far as can be seen, the most extreme standpoint (that is, in the Soviet political context) was taken by the Ukrainian National Front, which published its programme in its journal⁶⁰. Besides calling for the consolidation of Ukrainian forces around the organisation, the group had as its aim complete liberation of the country from the Soviet Union, basing its programme and activities on those of the former O.U.N. The Front regarded itself as the heir to the O.U.N.

In a similar vein, Kandyba declared the aim of the short-lived O.P.V.U. to have been, "the national liberation and the establishment of an independent, sovereign Ukraine"⁶¹, while the U.N.K. similarly sought, "the secession of the Ukrainian S.S.R. from the U.S.S.R."⁶². The planned lawyers protest of 1964 was also reported as having been based on a protest against oppression and a call for the separation of the republic from the U.S.S.R. on the basis of the constitutional provisions⁶³.

As for his own group, its aims are better documented by Kandyba, but not entirely clearly. The indictment and charges against the group (with reference to its specific programme, which was said to have falsified Ukrainian history and to have sought to justify the old O.U.N.) variously claimed that its aims were:

- (a) struggle against the Soviet state and social order, against the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet government;
- (b) the undermining of the authority of the C.P.S.U.;
- (c) the separation of the Ukrainian S.S.R. from the U.S.S.R.;
- (d) the establishment of a so-called "Independent Ukraine"⁶⁴;
- (e) treason to the fatherland⁶⁵.

Kandyba, on the other hand, denied the latter charge outright⁶⁶,

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁶¹ I. Kandyba, *op. cit.*, The Ukrainian Review edition, p. 17.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁶³ *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XII, No. 3, 1965, p. 17, and Vol. XIV, No. 1, 1967, p. 13.

⁶⁴ I. Kandyba, *op. cit.*, The Ukrainian Review edition, p. 4 — Kandyba declaring that, "in order to betray it, it is necessary to have it, whereas we do not have it, since for centuries, while it has been groaning under a servile yoke, we have been deprived of a fatherland" (*ibid.*, p. 11).

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7ff.

and, while admitting the existence of a "Draft of the Programme of the U.R.S.S." (drawn up by Lukyanenko)⁶⁷, claimed that its contents could at most be regarded as "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda"⁶⁸, and that they were in fact a critique of official policy in the 1930's and of shortcomings in the post cult-of-the-personality period (such as the bureaucratic economic management, the centralised planning of industry and agriculture, limited rights of labour unions, and the policy towards the peasants), as well as an enumeration of grievances on the nationality issue. The grievances in this respect were declared to have been:

- (a) the mass accusation and execution of declared Ukrainian nationalists;
- (b) bans on many Ukrainian figures;
- (c) the restriction of the Ukraine in her political and economic rights;
- (d) the denial of her right to relations with other countries;
- (e) the fact that Ukrainian had not become a state language and its absence in various state organs and higher educational institutions (indeed the very investigation of the accused was carried out in Russian)⁶⁹;
- (f) her status as an appendage to Russia;
- (g) the removal of two-thirds of her wealth from the area of the Ukraine;
- (h) the omni-presence of Great Russian chauvinism⁷⁰.

On the basis of these grievances and the concomitant conclusion that there was no chance for the Ukraine to develop along a self-determined line, the programme of the group had been put forward, with the following as its aims:

- (a) the secession of the Ukraine from the U.S.S.R., for the purpose of normal development, in accordance with Articles 14 and 17 of the Ukrainian and U.S.S.R. constitutions;
- (b) its establishment as a fully sovereign and independent state;
- (c) the creation of an organisation to work for the democratic freedom necessary for the organisation of the whole Ukraine for the struggle for independence, and peacefully to conduct propaganda and agitation to this end, both among the people and by placing the question before the organs of government;
- (d) the organisation would dissolve itself if not receiving the support of the majority of the Ukrainian people;

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁶⁹ I. Kandyba, *op. cit.*, in *The Ukrainian Review* edition, p. 11.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 7 and 8-9.

- (e) if successful, the political order of the independent Ukraine would be Soviet in nature, and the economic order, socialist, working in the direction of communism;
- (f) the new state would remain in friendship with other socialist states;
- (g) all citizens would have political freedom and would determine the direction of the economic and political development⁷¹.

Kandyba, having stressed the constitutional nature of the claims, throughout, summarised the programme as a defence of their native tongue, the defence of their rights, their nation and its statehood⁷²; and Lutsiv, in a declaration to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, concerning his false testimony, confirmed the peaceful nature of the aims⁷³.

It seems clear enough that a demand was made in this case for sovereign independence for the Ukraine⁷⁴ — a demand all the more surprising in view of its articulation by party functionaries (notably Lukyanenko), but nevertheless one retaining the socialist/communist element and thereby representing a more moderate, or at least less extreme, tendency than that voiced in some of the other cases (from the regime's point of view).

An interesting and not altogether dissimilar programme appears to have been proposed by an individual, one Anton Koval, in an April, 1969 open letter to the deputies to the Soviets (sic.) of the Ukrainian Republic. Koval in fact called for:

- (a) implementation of the general right of the Ukraine to state sovereignty;
- (b) the setting up of a Ukrainian Ministry of Defence;
- (c) the right to existence for various parties on a basis of equality;
- (d) increased wages and consumer goods for the lower paid;
- (e) the right to leave collective farms and rent the land;
- (f) decentralisation and deconcentration of economic control from Moscow;
- (g) the abolition of the K.G.B.;
- (h) restriction of police powers;
- (i) the creation of a separate constitutional court (to determine the accordance of laws with the constitution; to accept complaints from citizens concerning infringements of civil rights; and to prepare a new constitution);

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁷³ See Lukyanenko's appeal, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

⁷⁴ C. f. Karavans'ky's petition to the Chairman of the Union of Journalists of Ukraine of 10 May, 1966, in *A.B.N. Correspondence*, Vol. XIX, No. 3, May-June, 1968, p. 17 (also in *The Chornovil Papers*, p. 210).

- (j) the release of all political prisoners;
- (k) the abolition of censorship;
- (l) the right to belong to different political parties;
- (m) the Ukrainisation of the school system in the Ukraine;
- (n) restoration of the validity of all decrees concerning Ukrainisation of the state and social life which were enforced in the 1920's;
- (o) cessation of all discrimination against Ukrainian culture (particularly with respect to banned works);
- (p) minority rights for Ukrainians outside the Ukraine;
- (q) equal rights for minorities inside the Ukraine⁷⁵.

As regards those involved in the 1965 arrests, the claims, suggestions, demands or viewpoints expressed are to be seen as a good deal more obscure, save for those revealed by the letters and appeals after the trials; less coherent; and far from constituting a clear cut programme as such. Nevertheless, they seem on the whole to have been far less radical protests against the destruction or withering away of Ukrainian culture and/or calls for an end to Russification of the Ukraine, variously in the fields of economics, politics, civil liberties, and culture.

Charges against those eventually brought to trial concerned offences of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda under article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R.⁷⁶.

Clearly such an article has serious implications for even non-formally organised nationalist groups, but, more specifically, the accused were variously charged with reading, copying and disseminating prohibited literature, articles and pamphlets, dealing with the condition of Ukrainian literature, language and art under the Soviet regime; with reading and disseminating works on Ukrainian history (including pre-revolutionary items), essays on the situation of Ukrainian culture, the statement of emigré cultural workers on the unveiling of the Shevchenko monument in Washington, ex-President Eisenhower's speech at the unveiling, a speech by Pope John XXIII and a work on the rights of the Ukraine⁷⁷. Additionally, at least one

⁷⁵ See *Anglo-Ukrainian News*, No. 30, September, 1969.

⁷⁶ Cited in *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XIV, No. 1, Spring, 1967, p. 41. The article provided that: "agitation or propaganda carried out with the aims of undermining or weakening the Soviet regime or committing certain particularly dangerous crimes against the state, the dissemination 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 punishable with deprivation of liberty for a period of 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 punishable by deprivation of liberty for a period of from three to ten years".

⁷⁷ *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 4, Winter, 1966, p. 91, and V. Chornovil's appeal to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R., *loc. cit.*, pp. 46, 54, and 56-7, and, in the text of *The Misfortune of Intellect*, p. 143.

figure appears to have been dealt with for declared opposition particularly to educational policies smacking of Russianisation.

Chornovil has pointed out, with reference to the cases of Ozerny⁷⁸ and Hevrych⁷⁹, that the dissemination merely involved two or three close friends, while M. Horyn' (similarly charged) claimed, in his final speech of 16 April, 1966, at the trial, that not only were the items read only by two or three persons at most, but that it was not established that he shared the views of the tracts he possessed⁸⁰. In fact, he declared that he read them because they raised questions which interested him, but that he did not quite agree with the interpretations⁸¹.

In Zalyvakha's case, the accused claimed (in an appeal of 5th April, 1967 to the Chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Court) that, on the evidence of a commission of experts who examined the document, he was charged with possession of an anti-Soviet nationalistic work by an unknown author, when in fact it was a poem by the 19th century Ukrainian national poet, Shevchenko⁸². Masyutko, furthermore, was, according to Chornovil, declared by the KGB to be the author of at least 10 anonymous anti-Soviet articles, including one entitled 'The Programme of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement'⁸³. However, Masyutko makes no reference to the latter in his listing of materials seized from him⁸⁴, all of which he denied as being anti-Soviet⁸⁵, though whether he was seeking to hide this matter or whether it had not in fact been taken from him is unclear.

In addition to the general anti-Soviet charges, seven were in fact specifically charged with offences constituting anti-Soviet nationalist propaganda and agitation — that is, Hevrych, Martynenko, Masyutko, Menkush, Ozerny, Chubaty and Karavans'ky. Indeed, of Ozerny, his defence counsel is reported to have said, 'It is strange that such a phenomenon as a manifestation of nationalism still exists. It would be easier to understand if it were right after the war'⁸⁶, while Hevrych's counsel responded to the latter's friends with an outburst that, 'You are all nationalists and anti-Soviet individuals. All of you deserve the same treatment as Hevrych'⁸⁷.

⁷⁸ In Chornovil's appeal to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R., *loc. cit.*, pp. 55-6.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁸⁰ See V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, pp. 105-6.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 129-30.

⁸³ Chornovil's appeal to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R., *loc. cit.*, p. 59.

⁸⁴ See his appeal of October, 1965, to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R., in V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, p. 143.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

⁸⁶ Chornovil's appeal to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R., *loc. cit.*, p. 47.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

In Karavans'ky's case, the charge essentially concerned his appeal to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R. calling for the prosecution of the Minister of Higher and Specialised Secondary Education of the Ukrainian S.S.R. for permitting anti-Leninist features to enter into the field of nationality education⁸⁸ — a petition which had fallen into the hands of a Canadian Ukrainian communist⁸⁹ — and provided a convenient opportunity to reactivate the old conviction against him.

Karavans'ky, moreover, revealed, in one of his appeals (to Gomulka), that, 'Dzyuba was dismissed from work at a publishing house, charged with "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" and denied the right to engage in ideological work'⁹⁰, but, in reference to rumours that those arrested wanted separation of the Ukraine from the USSR, claimed that, 'the publication of I. Svitlychny do not even contain an allusion to such views'⁹¹, which claim in any event would be constitutionally legal⁹².

Doubt as to the credibility or rationality of these charges was cast even by a Canadian Communist Party delegation, which accused the authorities of the Ukrainian S.S.R. of condemning those charged as bourgeois nationalists simply for demanding greater use of their language⁹³. Dzyuba himself dismissed the KGB charges of bourgeois nationalism against those arrested as 'Philistine twaddle' comprising 'any deviation from the Russified norm'⁹⁴, pointing out that, 'From past and recent history it may be seen that in the Ukraine it was permissible to label as "nationalist" anyone possessing an elementary sense of national dignity, or anyone concerned with the fate of Ukrainian culture and language, and often simply anyone who in some way failed to please some Russian chauvinist, some "Great Russian bully"'⁹⁵. Dzyuba, much later in a letter of 26 December, 1969 to the Ukrainian Writers Union, furthermore claimed that, 'as a Soviet literat I have taken and now take the position of a citizen, which has nothing in common with the ideology of Ukrainian bourgeois natio-

⁸⁸) See below.

⁸⁹) Chornovil's appeal to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R., *loc. cit.*, pp. 66-7.

⁹⁰) See text of his appeal of 27 September, 1965 to Gomulka (which also appears in *Problems of Communism*, Vol. XVII, No. 4, July & August, 1968, pp. 82-84), in V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, p. 183.

⁹¹) *Ibid.*, p. 183.

⁹²) *Ibid.*, p. 184.

⁹³) See text of the report in *Zhyttya i Slovo*, Toronto, 1 January, 1968; see also *The Sunday Telegraph*, 25 February, 1968. A Soviet reply to the charges, from 28 political and cultural leaders, was also subsequently published in *Zhyttya i Slovo*, 22 September, 1969. See also on this, Radio Free Europe Research, *Polemics Between Canadian and Ukrainian C.P.s.*, *Research Papers*, USSR/0355, 28 October, 1969.

⁹⁴) I. Dzyuba, *Internationalism or Russification*, p. 203.

⁹⁵) In Dzyuba's 1965 appeal to the First Secretary of the CP of Ukraine, published in *Internationalism or Russification*, p. 5 — the phrase "Great Russian bully" being drawn from Lenin, of course.

nalism or any sort of concepts of animosity towards peoples or with human hate⁹⁶, going on to declare that his approach to the nationalities policy was based entirely on Leninist principles.

Chornovil, too, condemned the charges on the grounds that, "Tried as bourgeois nationalists are people who do not remember the bourgeois system, whose grandfathers or fathers suffered privation in their rich native lands. And no-one even thought of looking for a deeper reason instead of talking idly about the influence of the bourgeois ideology and bourgeois nationalism"⁹⁷.

Similarly hinting at the possibility of some underlying factors, as Dzyuba had also done⁹⁸, Zalyvakha, in fact, appears to have pinpointed the essential character of the charges in stating that, 'I have been accused of "falling under the influence of hostile nationalistic propaganda", of having read literature not examined by Soviet censorship, and of having expressed my views'⁹⁹.

Given what seems reasonably clear (that the charges did not adequately reflect reality), what is to be understood by Zalyvakha's last phrase? What was significant about the views expressed by these individuals in general? Some indications may be extracted from the documentation assembled by Chornovil in support of their cause — documentation which nevertheless provides pointers to both the grievances and the proposals of those concerned.

By far the most coherent and complete elucidation of the grievances felt or expressed by the group of '65 are to be found in the copious writings of Karavans'ky and Dzyuba.

On a general plane, Karavans'ky pointed, with reference to the manifestation of what he regarded as so-called nationalism, to its derivation from the anti-Leninist nationality policy carried out in the previous thirty years, with its three principal elements of:

- (a) Russification of the population;
- (b) mass transfer of Ukrainians from the Ukraine to Siberia, Kazakhstan and elsewhere;
- (c) settlement of non-Ukrainians, mainly Russians, in Ukrainian towns¹⁰⁰.

Dzyuba likewise, in declaring it no secret that a growing number of persons in a variety of professions (but particularly among the young) had been coming to an awareness of such grievances, professed them to be that, 'there is something amiss with the nationalities policy

⁹⁶) *Literaturna Ukraïna*, Kyïv, 6 January, 1970.

⁹⁷) In his appeal to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R., *loc. cit.*, p. 72.

⁹⁸) I. Dzyuba, *Internationalism or Russification*, p. 203.

⁹⁹) In his appeal of 5 April, 1967, to the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian S.S.R., in V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, p. 128.

¹⁰⁰) Karavans'ky's appeal of 27 September, 1965, to Gomulka, *loc. cit.*, pp. 184-5, charges also found in his appeals to the Polish and Czech consuls in Kyïv.

in the Ukraine, and the actual national and political position of the Ukraine does not correspond to its formal constitutional position as a state . . . that the condition of Ukrainian culture and language gives cause for great alarm etc. — all this resulting from perpetual, flagrant violations of Marxism-Leninism on the nationalities question, and the abandonment of scientific principles in communist national constitution'¹⁰¹.

Although couching his critique in terms of a Marxist-Leninist position, shared in common even with some of the more extreme groups and certainly genuine in view of the background of Chornovil and Dzyuba¹⁰², the latter spared no quarter in stating that, 'If all the facts were to be amassed, the resultant picture of an indefatigable, pitiless and absurd persecution of national cultural life would frighten the very stage managers of this campaign themselves and would force a great many people to do some thinking'¹⁰³.

More concretely, Dzyuba specified his grievances as concerning:

- (a) the gradual but progressive loss of territorial sovereignty 'through mass resettlement . . . of the Ukrainian population to Siberia, the North and other regions, where it numbers millions but is quickly denationalised';
- (b) the loss of a common historic fate 'as the Ukrainian nation is being progressively dispersed over the Soviet Union, and as the sense of historic national tradition and knowledge of the historic past are gradually being lost due to a total lack of national education in school and in society in general'¹⁰⁴;
- (c) the maintenance of Ukrainian national culture 'in a rather provincial position', its treatment 'as "second-rate"', and the situation whereby 'the Ukrainian language has been pushed into the background and is not really used in the cities of the Ukraine';
- (d) the circumstance that, 'during the last decades the Ukrainian nation has virtually been deprived of the natural increase in population which characterises all present day nations'¹⁰⁵.

Karavans'ky, on the other hand directed his attention particularly towards conditions and Russification in the field of education, indicating, as grievances, mistakes he considered to have been the responsibility of the Minister of Higher and Specialised Secondary Education of the Ukrainian S.S.R., Dadenkov, namely that:

¹⁰¹ In Dzyuba's appeal to the First Secretary of the CP of Ukraine, *loc. cit.*, p. 5.

¹⁰² See the biographical details on Chornovil cited below and on Dzyuba in the Introduction to *Internationalism or Russification*.

¹⁰³ In Dzyuba's appeal to the First Secretary of the CP of Ukraine, *loc. cit.*, p. 6.

¹⁰⁴ I. Dzyuba, *Internationalism or Russification*, p. 14.

¹⁰⁵ I. Dzyuba, *Internationalism or Russification*, p. 14.

- (a) 'people of Ukrainian nationality, whose native tongue is Ukrainian do not enjoy the same rights in entering the Vuzu [higher education institutions] as do those whose native tongue is Russian. Russian language and literature are a compulsory part of the Vuzu entrance examinations, and so the graduates from Russian schools are more successful in passing this examination with higher marks than the graduates from Ukrainian schools. Furthermore, entrance examinations for special disciplines are also conducted in Russian, and this, too, makes it difficult for graduates from Ukrainian schools to pass special subjects... As a result... Ukrainians comprise a considerably lower percentage in comparison with the percentage of Ukrainians in the production of material amenities on the territory of the Ukr. (sic.) S.S.R.');
- (b) 'in most higher and secondary specialised institutions of learning Kyiv, Kharkiv, Odessa, Dnipropetrovsk, and other cities, the instruction is still not in the Ukrainian tongue. The ministry [of higher and specialised secondary education]... continues to tolerate the elimination of Leninist norms in the organisation of higher education in the Ukr. S.S.R.'
- (c) 'The cadres of lecturers at the Vuzu of the Ukr. SSR "do not understand" the Ukrainian language', while:
- (i) text-books required in Ukrainian were not being published;
 - (ii) no cadres of national teaching intelligentsia were being trained.
- (d) 'As a result of the "relegation" of the Ukrainian language to a secondary position in the system of higher education, graduates of universities and pedagogical institutes have no command of the Ukrainian tongue'¹⁰⁶.

M. Horyn', furthermore, while declaring nationalistic views to be alien to him and denying being anti-Soviet¹⁰⁷, nevertheless went on to claim that, 'When I criticised, I did not criticise the Soviet legislation, but the violation of that law in everyday life; I did not criticise the Soviet social system, but the separate aspects of socio-political and economic life of our country'¹⁰⁸, and that, 'I consider that the nationality policy towards the Ukrainian people is being distorted. The State Prosecutor stated here that the nationality problem is solved. I wish it were true, State Prosecutor'¹⁰⁹. Thereafter, he indicated three grievances, closely related to, or overlapping, those of Dzyuba and Karavans'ky:

¹⁰⁶ In Karavans'ky's appeal of 24 February, 1965, to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R. calling for action against the Minister of Higher and Specialised Secondary Education, in V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, pp. 170-3. Similar grievances were expressed by him in another general appeal of 1965 entitled 'About One Political Error', *ibid.*, pp. 168, and, for text, 174-9.

¹⁰⁷ In his final trial speech of 16 April, 1966, in V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, pp. 106-7.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 108-11.

- (a) 'Can the nationality problem be considered solved, for instance, in the Russian Federation, where hundreds of thousands Ukrainian children have no opportunity to obtain at least grade eight education in their native language? Yet Russians do have such an opportunity in Ukraine'.
- (b) 'The progress of the development of the national language in Ukraine is unsatisfactory... every patriotic citizen of Ukraine is especially grieved by the current violations of Leninist principles in linguistic development'.
- (c) 'The losses to Ukrainian culture during Stalin's despotism... I stated that remnants of Stalinism still exist in our public and political life, that this spirit ought to be rejected... Which was worse for the Ukrainian culture — the years of war or the time of peace?'.

Far less coherent elucidations of grievances are available in the cases of the others involved in the 1965 arrests, ranging from condemnations of apparent Russification in a number of specific fields, to attacks on what they consider to be the prevailing anti-Leninist practices in the nationality sphere and discrimination against Ukrainians. Masyutko, in the course of the post-arrest investigation of his case, wrote an essay on deviations from Leninist norms in the nationality policy practised in the Ukraine, which he despatched to the Presidium of the 23rd Congress of the C.P.S.U.¹¹⁰; while Moroz, at his trial in Lutsk, spoke of Russification and the unequal status of the 'sovereign republic' of the Ukraine¹¹¹; and Hel', in a later appeal, referred to the 'many tragedies in the history of the Ukrainian people's struggle for their elementary rights, national dignity and the right to existence'¹¹². Zalyvakha, in a similar appeal after his conviction, declared that, 'In the Russian Federation alone, Ukrainians number over four million, yet there are no Ukrainian schools, no Ukrainian social and cultural life', adding that, 'as soon as I... came to consider myself as a Ukrainian and joined the cultural life in Ukraine, I immediately attracted the close attention of the KGB. It is dangerous to be conscious of one's own nationality'¹¹³. Furthermore, he went on to claim, 'Over the centuries the oppressors tried in vain to destroy the Ukrainian culture and language, but the people withstood the onslaught and they cannot be frightened now by any repressions, not by the burning of libraries, nor by the destruction of the monuments of Ukrainian culture'¹¹⁴.

¹¹⁰ In V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, p. 140.

¹¹¹ See Chornovil's appeal to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R., et al., *ibid.*, p. 30.

¹¹² In his appeal of 23 February, 1967, to the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S.S.R., *ibid.*, p. 101.

¹¹³ Declaration of 5 April, 1967, by Zalyvakha to the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian S.S.R., *ibid.*, p. 129.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

Whatever the precise nature of her previous statements, Kuznetsova showed no remorse in an appeal from her prison cell when she declared that, 'in analysing the situation in Ukraine prior to our imprisonment, we see that we are not guilty'¹¹⁵.

Of the petitioners who subsequently rose to the defence of those convicted, it is clear that Chornovil himself bore at least some sympathy towards such grievances, saying of Karavans'ky that he 'was disturbed by the state of the Ukrainian language in the Ukr. SSR (as it worries many others!)', and that, 'he properly criticised Khrushchev's law authorising the parents of children living on the territory of a sovereign national republic to decide themselves whether the children are to learn the language of that republic'¹¹⁶. The later petitioners, although concerned with the procedural illegalities of the trials of 1966, including Chornovil's, declared that the indictments were for the views expressed by the accused, and that the actions taken were becoming a form of 'suppression of civic activity and social criticism absolutely necessary for the health of society' in the Ukraine, 'where the violations of democracy are augmented and aggravated by the distortions in the nationalities question'¹¹⁷. At the same time, they attacked distortions concerning Chornovil and Karavans'ky which appeared in a press attack on them¹¹⁸.

Proceeding then from these grievances, it is possible to establish the principal elements of the 'programme' of these persons, varying as it does from general recommendations to specific policy proposals, yet united essentially in some form of spirited defence of Ukrainian culture and nationality identity.

In perhaps its simplest and most direct form, we may find indications of their line of thought in Ozerny's claim that, 'I am far removed from Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism. I am equally far removed from pseudo-patriotism'¹¹⁹; and Osadchy's statement to the effect that, 'In spite of all blows and tribulations of fate, I will be led by, my guiding star will be, my desire to be of service to my people. This was written once by Ivan Franko, and I will repeat it to my last days'¹²⁰. More concretely, Moroz was reported to have declared, at his trial, 'that he is in no way a bourgeois nationalist, that he does not subscribe to any bourgeoisie or to nationalism; he merely wants Ukraine to have the same rights as her socialist sisters — Russia,

¹¹⁵) Chornovil's appeal to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R., *ibid.*, p. 66.

¹¹⁶) Letter from Kuznetsova, *ibid.*, p. 136.

¹¹⁷) Petition of the 139, *loc. cit.*, p. 38.

¹¹⁸) Petition of the 5, *loc. cit.*, pp. 66-7.

¹¹⁹) In Ozerny's letter to the Prosecutor of Ivano-Frankivsk region, in V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, p. 153.

¹²⁰) In Osadchy's October 1966, letter from the prison camp, *ibid.*, pp. 156-7.

Poland, Czechoslovakia¹²¹ — this perhaps coming nearest to a call for some form of political independence (albeit it of a socialist character), although, according to Dzyuba on the idea of such independence, "The "nationalists" who are now under arrest were also far removed from it"¹²².

Zalyvakha came closest to directly identifying a viewpoint of the group as a whole when, speaking of himself and fellow camp inmates Moroz, Karavans'ky, M. Horyn', and Masyutko, he stated that, 'We all believe that love of our fatherland is not a crime but the sacred obligation of a citizen'¹²³. As a personal viewpoint, Zalyvakha elsewhere declared, with reference to the Ukraine, that, 'nations have the right to ensure their own way of development without detriment to others, on the basis of equality and not guardianship'¹²⁴, and that, 'being a Ukrainian conscious of his national dignity is not a "harmful influence", but the duty of an honest man'¹²⁵.

Again, the most comprehensive proposals and programmes available are to be found in the writings of Karavans'ky and Dzyuba. The latter, under the general umbrella of a call for a return to the supposed standards of Lenin's nationality policy, specifically called for:

- (a) the correction of the actual inequality or lagging behind of the smaller nations in various spheres of material and spiritual life;
- (b) concessions from the larger nations to the smaller ones;
- (c) the inadmissibility of any one nation, language or culture being more highly privileged than others within the USSR;
- (d) observance of the sovereignty of the Republics and their protection from the encroachments of centralisers on no matter what specious grounds;
- (e) the maximum national — cultural development of all republics on the basis of national languages, cultures and traditions;
- (f) a resolute struggle against Russian Great-Power chauvinism as the main threat to communism and internationalism;
- (g) development of a communist self-awareness in all nations;
- (h) internationalist education in the spirit of brotherhood and mutual assistance¹²⁶.

This programme, clearly and admittedly based as it was on a Leninist model, and on communist principles, doubtless accounted for the comparatively light treatment dealt to Dzyuba by way of a response¹²⁷.

¹²¹) In Chornovil's appeal to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R., *ibid.*, p. 30.

¹²²) I. Dzyuba, *Internationalism or Russification*, p. 56.

¹²³) In his letter from the camp to Svitlychny, in V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, p. 127.

¹²⁴) In his declaration of 5 April, 1967, to the Supreme Court, *ibid.*, p. 129.

¹²⁵) *Ibid.*, p. 130.

¹²⁶) I. Dzyuba, *Internationalism or Russification*, pp. 212-3.

¹²⁷) See below.

Karavans'ky, on the broadest level, somewhat similarly called for:

- (a) an exchange of ideas on the nationality question among the world communist parties;
- (b) the calling of an international conference of C.P.s to facilitate the exchange;
- (c) the working out, at the conference, of the practical principles of a Marxist-Leninist nationality policy to guide the parties in their work;
- (d) the condemnation of anti-Semitism, Ukrainophobia, national discrimination and other manifestations of bourgeois ideology which occur in the practice of individual socialist parties; and particularly investigation of the discrimination against Kuban' Ukrainians, deprived since 1937 of Ukrainian cultural and educational institutions;
- (e) study of the expediency of changing the ethnic composition of populations and mass transfers from native territories (clearly referring to Ukrainians, among others);
- (f) study of the permissibility, and condemnation, of unfounded repressions¹²⁸.

Further general proposals by Karavans'ky, in another appeal, included a number similarly directly relating to the Ukraine:

- (a) 'To repatriate the people of the Baltic region, Western Ukraine, Byelorussia, and Moldavia who were unjustly deported to Siberia'.
- (b) 'To release the women martyrs — Kateryna Zaryts'ka, Halyna Didyk, and Odarka Husyak' (three women imprisoned since the war for providing Red Cross aid to the OUN).
- (c) 'To examine the discriminatory attitude towards the Ukrainian population of the Kuban', Bilhorod, and Starodub areas and to apply measures to eliminate this attitude'.
- (d) 'To end all forms of educational discrimination against nationalities in Ukraine, Byelorussia, Moldavia, and other republics'.
- (e) 'To condemn the practice of deporting the inhabitants of the national republics to Siberia and of populating their lands with Russians'.
- (f) 'To revise the boundaries of the national republics for the purpose of establishing exact ethnographic boundaries'¹²⁹.

Related to point (d) above, on education, Karavans'ky had further specific proposals in his article 'About One Political Error', among which those directly pertaining to the Ukraine were:

- (a) an immediate revision of Article 9 of Khrushchev's education reform permitting parental choice of education in the republic's

¹²⁸ In Karavans'ky's appeal to Gomulka, in V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, pp. 185-6.

¹²⁹ In his appeal to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian S.S.R., *ibid.*, p. 206.

national language (which favoured Russian as a result of the advantages entailed in a knowledge of the latter);

- (b) transfer of higher and specialised secondary teaching to Ukrainian language;
- (c) establishment of a coordination committee between the Ukrainian Ministries of Education and Higher and Specialised Secondary Education to achieve 'normal' conditions for the training of graduates from Ukrainian secondary schools in higher education;
- (d) removal of chauvinistic teachers — presumably Russian as well as Ukrainian;
- (e) decisive measures to end discrimination against Ukrainian language and nationality;
- (f) selection of teachers for Ukrainian schools, who 'can instil love for the native tongue and culture';
- (g) cessation of the establishment of Russian classes leading to Russification of national schools;
- (h) special attention should be given in higher educational establishments to training of national teaching cadres¹³⁰.

It appears that similar educational viewpoints were shared by a group of Ukrainian intellectuals in Karaganda, Kazakhstan, including one Yu. Dolishny, who were reported to have been sentenced for their attempt to put theory into practise by opening a Ukrainian school for their children, as guaranteed by the constitution¹³¹.

The petitioners against the trials expressed no programme directly related to any form of Ukrainian nationalism, merely seeking rectification of the grievances already discussed.

Although there is at present no means of discovering the grievances and aims of those directly attacked in the Dnipropetrovsk case, and no certainty that the authors of the protest appeal were among them, the appeal itself does reveal something of the grievances felt by some intellectuals in that region in its sympathy with those condemned 'for any kind of care about the fate of the Ukrainian language and Ukrainian culture in the crazily Russified Dnipropetrovsk'¹³², and in the reference to 'the extremely abnormal, anti-Leninist and anti-Marxist state of our native Ukrainian language in Dnipropetrovsk'¹³³. The document also claims that, 'Ukrainian workers have become almost ignorant of their own Ukrainian language, their own culture, because they are forced all their lives to undergo grinding between

¹³⁰) In V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, pp. 179-80.

¹³¹) In Karavans'ky's appeal of 10 May, 1966, to the Chairman of the Union of Journalists of Ukraine, *ibid.*, p. 210.

¹³²) The open appeal of Young Creative Intellectuals, *loc. cit.*, p. 48.

¹³³) *Ibid.*, p. 49.

the reliable... millstones of Russification'¹³⁴. Generally, the authors were opposed to those who attacked the supporters of Honchar's novel 'Sobor'¹³⁵, the culmination of what had apparently been a longer campaign against the supporters of Ukrainian culture and language. Thus, the programme of the authors, such as it was, may be construed as one of support for the views expressed by those attacked, a position asserted in this manner: 'A man with an ordinary and not a twisted sense would see in all this only a feeble birth of elementary concepts of national dignity, of national integrity, and not infrequently also of a feeling of national insult, and finally, of ordinary human dignity'¹³⁶. The persons involved were condemnatory of the attitude that the preservation of Ukrainian characteristics and even antiquities represent manifestations of bourgeois nationalism¹³⁷, and sought a response from the authorities to the question, 'Who gave them [so-called friends of the Ukraine i.e. Russian and the Russified] the right to trample on the national dignity of the Ukrainian people with their dirty Russificatory boot'¹³⁸, declaring that, 'We... demand that they and all those who stage brutal Ukrainophobe campaigns... be made to answer'¹³⁹.

Thus the Dnipropetrovsk case may be equated to a large extent with the 1965-6 events, with its essentially defensive character devoid of any aggressive chauvinism, and its apparently regime-supporting outlook at root. The attack was concentrated on specific failings of the regime and not on the regime itself as such.

The range of viewpoints of the nationalist manifestations thus has clearly been both broad and diverse in nature sharing in common a support for a Ukrainian identity and a branding by the authorities as bourgeois nationalism, in spite of the evident support by a number of Party members.

Methods

As has been indicated above, the methods utilised by the Ukrainian nationalists vary according to the type and intensity of the feeling and aspirations, but the available data reveals the use of at least the following techniques for putting forward their grievances and pressing them upon the authorities:

- (a) the formation of the various organisations themselves, to further the ends envisaged;

¹³⁴) *Ibid.*, p. 49.

¹³⁵) See Radio Liberty Research, "Ukrainian Novel Raises a Storm", *Research Paper USSR*, 1 July, 1968.

¹³⁶) The open appeal of Young Creative Intellectuals, *loc. cit.*, p. 50.

¹³⁷) *Ibid.*, p. 51.

¹³⁸) *Ibid.*, p. 52.

¹³⁹) *Ibid.*, p. 52.

- (b) the dissemination of their ideas through open appeals circulated as samizdat (such as Karavansky's 'About One Political Error'), through complications of evidence on the grievances similarly distributed (including Dzyuba's 'Internationalism or Russification', and Chornovil's materials on the 1965-6 case), and even through published organs of their own. In this latter respect, the Ukrainian National Front (whose printing shop was purportedly discovered in an underground bunker in the Carpathians, along with a typewriter, paper, and carbon paper) was reported as having produced several score issues of its journal *Bat'kivshchyna i Svoboda* (Motherland and Freedom) in 1965-7 — containing theoretical articles by members, along with reprints from another journal *Ideya i Chyn* (Idea and Deed) and from preserved archives of the OUN — as well as a collection of artistic works entitled *Mesnyk* (The Avenger)¹⁴⁰;
- (c) demonstrations with a nationalist content, including those at trials¹⁴¹;
- (d) lobbying of the authorities, mainly at a local level in Kyiv¹⁴²;
- (e) petitioning, either of the central Moscow authorities or more locally in Kyiv (nevertheless including state leaders represented there — such as Shelest) by both participants in many of the manifestations and by protesters against the arrests of the participants, several instances of which have already been cited. The 1964 group of lawyers were in fact variously reported as having planned to lobby the Supreme Soviet in Moscow¹⁴³, the United Nations¹⁴⁴, and/or the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S.S.R.¹⁴⁵. Even at least one of the organised secessionist groups, the Ukrainian National Front, did not refrain from drawing attention to itself by sending a memorandum to the 22nd Congress of the CPSU (containing an evaluation of the economic, social and political situation in the Ukraine, demanding independence, and calling for the reading of the memorandum at the Congress) and a similar document to Shelest¹⁴⁶.

¹⁴⁰ Samizdat document on the Ukrainian National Front, *loc. cit.*, pp. 9-11. A further source mentions another journal — *Zemlia i Volia* — but there is no other confirmation of this (see *ABN Correspondence*, Vol. XIX, No. 4, 1968, p. 46).

¹⁴¹ Chornovil, moreover, claimed that, 'Young people used every available means to demonstrate their solidarity with the accused. During the trials in Kyiv and Lviv there were spontaneous demonstrations of protest' (Chornovil's introduction to *The Misfortune of Intellect*, in *The Chornovil Papers*, p. 80).

¹⁴² E. g. Rusyn's wife (in the 1965-6 group) obtained an interview with Shelest in November 1965 concerning her husband — see Chornovil's appeal to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R., *ibid.*, p. 72.

¹⁴³ *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XII, No. 3, 1965, p. 17.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, and *ABN Correspondence*, Vol. XVI, No. 3, p. 43.

¹⁴⁵ *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XIV, No. 1, 1967, p. 13.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, No. 2, 1969, p. 11.

- (f) individual direct action, most probably including the suicides by Mykola Didyk (by self-immolation outside the KGB headquarters in Moscow in 1966)¹⁴⁷; Kresenkov (possibly a Ukrainian, who blew himself up with a hand-grenade near the Lenin mausoleum in Moscow in 1967)¹⁴⁷; Vasyl Ye. Makukh (previously imprisoned for OUN and UPA activities and latterly a teacher in Dnipropetrovsk oblast' — by self-immolation, in the Khreshchatyk, Kyïv, on Constitution Day, 5 December, 1968, reportedly shouting 'Long live free Ukraine')¹⁴⁷; and the attempted suicide by Mykola Beryslavsky (a former prison camp inmate — on 10 February, 1969, in Kyïv, by self-immolation, reportedly in protest against Russification)¹⁴⁸.

These varied methods, in their differing ways, have served to focus some of the attention of the authorities on Ukrainian problems and affairs, and it is through a continuation of such activities that they may be made aware of the feelings of at least some sections of the Ukrainian population.

Results

The direct results of all these activities have again been largely in the shape of a negative response, although this has not produced any appreciable diminution of the various efforts. For the most part, the negative response to the demands made has consisted of reprimands; reduction in status; dismissals from work, Komsomol or Party; or imprisonment; only in a few cases, already cited, going beyond this to the point of physical liquidation.

The OPVU was responded to with closed trials from 4-10 March, 1959, in which the seven members were given sentences ranging from 7-10 years under Article 54 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R., while an eighth received 2 years for not denouncing his brother¹⁴⁹.

The URSS was similarly treated following the arrest of its members. All were sentenced — in Lviv after a five day closed trial in the KGB isolator prison — on 20 May, 1961, under Articles 56 and 64 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R. (relating to illegal organisations), receiving the following sentences:

¹⁴⁷ See *Anglo-Ukrainian News*, No. 30, September, 1969, for a compilation of these first three cases, widely reported at the time in the Western press. On the Makukh case, see also *Khronika Tekushchikh Sobytyi*, Posev editions, No. 6, 28 February, 1969, p. 63, and No. 10, 30 October, 1969, p. 21.

¹⁴⁸ He was subsequently sentenced to 2 years, 6 months camp imprisonment. See on this case *Khronika Tekushchikh Sobytyi*, Posev eds., No. 8, 30 June, 1969, pp. 28-9 and 44 (which also claimed — p. 29 — that in March, 1969, in the course of an interrogation in Kyïv, V. Sirenko, formerly of the Dnipropetrovsk case, was called upon to sign a declaration condemning Berislavskiy, but refused — a curious link between the various cases) and No. 10, p. 21.

¹⁴⁹ Kandyba's appeal, *loc. cit.*

¹⁴⁹ Kandyba's appeal, *loc. cit.*

Table 10: *Sentences imposed on members of URSS — May 1961*

<i>N a m e</i>	<i>S e n t e n c e</i>	<i>Articles of Ukrainian Criminal Code</i>
Lukyanenko	Death and confiscation of property	56
	15 years concurrently	64
Kandyba	15 years with deprivation of civil rights and confiscation of property	56
	12 years concurrently	64
Virun	11 years with confiscation of property	56
	10 years	64
Lutskiv	10 years with confiscation of property	56
Libovych	10 years	56

Source: Kandyba's appeal, *loc. cit.*, and *Khronika Tekushchikh Sobytyi*, No. 11, Posev ed., p. 32.

In Lukyanenko's case, it was taken into consideration that he was working as an employee of the Party propaganda machine while playing his second role, although his death sentence was later commuted¹⁵⁰. Appeals by Kandyba and Lukyanenko were not successful¹⁵¹.

The UNK group was tried in Lviv, from 16-23 December, 1961, standing accused of creating and being members of an illegal organisation¹⁵², although the sentences are unknown.

Such apparently unmitigated lack of success nevertheless did not discourage others, notably the similarly oriented Ukrainian National Front, the members of which were arrested in 1967 and probably tried in late 1967 or 1968 in Ivano-Frankivsk, under Articles 56(1), 62 and 64 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R.¹⁵³. All received six years hard labour and five years banishment except for Kravivskyi (12 years, with five years in closed prison), Diak (13 years, with 1 closed) and the leader, Kvetsko (15 years, with 5 closed)¹⁵⁴.

¹⁵⁰ See Lukyanenko's appeal to the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S.S.R., *loc. cit.*, in which he defended himself on the basis of constitutional rights. Details of the group members in the Dubravlag prison camps, in addition to those in Kandyba's appeal, are contained in Karavans'ky's appeal to the Presidium of the Union of Journalists of Ukraine, in V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, p. 210 (also in *ABN Correspondence*, Vol. XIX, No. 3, 1968, p. 17). Kandyba, Lukyanenko and M. Horyn' later petitioned the United Nations on the grounds that the camp authorities were attempting to poison them — *The Sunday Telegraph*, 14 September, 1969.

¹⁵¹ Appeal, *loc. cit.*

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ *ABN Correspondence*, Vol. XIX, No. 4, 1968, p. 46.

¹⁵⁴ Samizdat document, *loc. cit.* See also *Khronika Tekushchikh Sobytyi*, No. 11, Posev ed., p. 32.

As for the lawyers' plan, whatever its precise nature, it was, however, apparently betrayed, or, in some way, revealed to the KGB, and the lawyers were arrested. Their fate is unknown but some were reported (although unconfirmed) executed, some placed in mental institutions and the remainder in labour camps¹⁵⁵.

The intellectuals arrested in 1965 fared a little better, but did not escape lightly. The outcome of their activities was that Dzyuba appears to have been detained or questioned, but not arrested, in late 1965 (probably in September of that year)¹⁵⁶, and accused of having sent Symonenko's unpublished manuscripts (in which the poet made attacks on Soviet cultural policy) abroad for publication, where they could be used against the Soviet regime. He was subsequently reported to have been released under surveillance as he had contracted an incurable tuberculosis¹⁵⁷. He was moreover — having been dismissed from his former post in a publishing house¹⁵⁸ — given a minor appointment on the staff of the scientific magazine *Bio-khimichnyi Zhurnal*, presumably in an attempt to stem his demands for greater Ukrainian cultural independence¹⁵⁹.

Later, a satire appeared in the Soviet press ridiculing Dzyuba as a 'bourgeois nationalist' martyr, and connecting his views with those of emigré nationalist leader Yaroslav Stetsko¹⁶⁰. Dzyuba, however, published something of a reply in a Slovak Ukrainian newspaper¹⁶¹, in which he praised the 'universal achievements of Ukrainian thought and creative work, 'condemned' the slanderous allegations [of Perets'] which are beyond all moral and judicial norms', and stated that, 'Elementary human contempt will not permit me to pay attention to it'.

Along with Dzyuba was arrested his friend, 'accomplice', and fellow critic, Prof. Ivan Svitlychny¹⁶², who had been denounced (whether voluntarily or not is unclear) by Symonenko's mother as having taken

¹⁵⁵) *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XIV, No. 1, 1967, pp. 13-14.

¹⁵⁶) See *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 4, 1966, p. 90 — which, it seems, incorrectly claimed that he was arrested however.

¹⁵⁷) *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 2, 1966, p. 70 and No. 4, 1966, p. 90 — later confirmed in the letter by Chornovil et al., to Perets, loc. cit.

¹⁵⁸) See the petition by Karavansky to Gomulka, in V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, p. 183, and in *ABN Correspondence*, Vol. XIX, No. 3, 1968, p. 22.

¹⁵⁹) *East-West Digest*, London, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1967, p. 72.

¹⁶⁰) *Perets'* (Pepper), Kyiv, No. 17, September, 1966.

¹⁶¹) *Nove Zhyttia*, Priashiv, No. 2 (990), 14 January, 1967. This article was referred to in the 24 February, 1967 letter from prison from A. Shevchuk to his brother, cited in V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, p. 165.

¹⁶²) *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, Zurich, 2 April, 1966; *The Times*, and *The New York Times*, 7 April, 1967. The detentions and investigations were confirmed in an interview with officials of the Ukrainian Writers' Union, including the vice-Chairman, Yuriy Zbanatskyi — *The Daily Telegraph*, 22 April, 1966. See also *The New York Times*, 7 and 22 April, 1966; and O. Zinkevych, *Svitlychny and Dzyuba — Ukrainian Writers Under Fire*, Toronto, 1966.

the manuscripts¹⁶³. Svitlychny was variously reported as having been sentenced to seven years hard labour at a trial in Kyiv¹⁶⁴, and as having been released, without being formally charged, after almost nine months, although after he was said to have been accused of spreading subversive literature and having contact with anti-Soviet organisations¹⁶⁵. A further source however, claimed that Svitlychny had 'confessed to assisting western Ukrainian nationalist groups and arranging for the publication of anti-Soviet literature in European emigré journals. One of his literary colleagues said he had been released with a warning against continuing his anti-Soviet activities'¹⁶⁶. A still later source confirmed that Svitlychny spent eight months in prison¹⁶⁷, and it thus seems that he did escape with a warning¹⁶⁸.

About the same time as these events, and perhaps as early as July, 1965, the action spread to the broader 'group' of Ukrainian intellectuals in a move characterised by Karavans'ky as illustrating that, 'Representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia are accused of bourgeois nationalism systematically every five to ten years'¹⁶⁹. Chornovil claimed that scores of domiciles were searched (with documents being confiscated), hundreds questioned, many dismissed from jobs and subjected to administrative fines¹⁷⁰. Dzyuba too, claimed that, 'Dozens of people have been punished by dismissal from their jobs, by expulsion from establishments of higher education, by disciplinary action from the Party or the Communist Youth League for participation or involvement in some affairs or other arbitrarily and malevolently qualified as nationalism'¹⁷¹. Chornovil further admitted that there existed unverified data for actual arrests¹⁷², and, indeed, the precise number of those arrested is still unknown, but it has been somewhat tentatively suggested that as many as sixty intellectuals, students and cultural workers were detained, some of whom were released without trial¹⁷³. Probably nearer the truth, Karavans'ky

¹⁶³) *Radyans'ka Ukraïna*, and *Literaturna Ukraïna*, Kyiv, 15 April, 1965.

¹⁶⁴) *Münchener Merkur*, Munich, 3 April, 1966.

¹⁶⁵) *Le Monde*, Paris, 29 May, 1966.

¹⁶⁶) *The New York Times*, 2 June, 1966.

¹⁶⁷) See the appeal of Chornovil et al. to *Perets*, loc. cit., and his appeal to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R., loc. cit., p. 12.

¹⁶⁸) On a March, 1969 search of his house, see *Khronika Tekushchikh Sobytyi*, No. 7, 30 April, 1969, Posev ed., p. 19.

¹⁶⁹) In his petition to Gomulka, loc. cit., p. 184.

¹⁷⁰) In his appeal to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R., loc. cit., p. 53.

¹⁷¹) In his appeal to Shelest, in *Internationalism or Russification*, p. 6.

¹⁷²) In his appeal to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R., loc. cit., p. 53.

¹⁷³) *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 4, 1966, p. 90.

claimed twenty-eight¹⁷⁴, and Chornovil twenty-six¹⁷⁵, of whom twenty-one were subsequently convicted¹⁷⁶.

A number of closed trials ensued in the towns mentioned above, commencing in January, 1966, and terminating towards the end of April, with the final trial in Lviv¹⁷⁷. In spite of the apparent attempts at secrecy surrounding these cases, the arrests were actually confirmed by the Soviet Ukrainian poets, Ivan Drach and Dmytro Pavlychko, in New York while there as part of the Ukrainian delegation to the United Nations. Pavlychko declared that twenty-three persons had in fact been arrested on charge of anti-Soviet activity¹⁷⁸; while Drach stated that, 'This question is very painful for us and for me personally, because among those arrested were my friends'. Furthermore, he went on to say: 'The point is that among these people were persons who had earlier been connected with underground nationalist organisations which used to exist in the Ukraine; they had even been connected with the German Gestapo... They started to spread a blunt propaganda against our system, against our order; they spread, re-typed and sent out, as well as carried, all over the Ukraine, documents attacking the character of our system, its 'hostility to Ukrainian matters', the "Red fascism" dominant in our country...¹⁷⁹. While this statement may contain distortions, it is certainly revealing on the matter and nature of the officially perceived Ukrainian nationalist challenge; although Drach also declared his belief that it was not necessary to bring the accused to trial — a significant fact in view of his later participation in the early appeals and the protest petition of the 139.

The subsequent trials were also confirmed in a Kyiv Radio broadcast for emigré Ukrainians¹⁸⁰.

Details of the arrests and the trials are contained in the tables below:

¹⁷⁴) Appeal to Gomulka, *loc. cit.*, p. 103.

¹⁷⁵) In the letter to *Perets*, *loc. cit.*

¹⁷⁶) See Chornovil's appeal to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R., *loc. cit.*, pp. 52-3.

¹⁷⁷) *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 4, 1966, p. 90. For documentation on the trials see *The Chornovil Papers* and the more recent *Ukrains'ka Inteli-gentsiya pid sudom KGB* (for a review of which see Radio Free Europe, Ukrainian Intellectuals Tried by the KGB, *Research Paper USSR 0680*, 4 August, 1970).

¹⁷⁸) In reply to a question at a reception on 24 September, 1966 — see *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XIV, No. 1, 1967, p. 92.

¹⁷⁹) In an address to a gathering of the Overseas Press Club on 11 November, 1966 — see *Prolog*, New York, 18 November, 1966. See also *The Sunday Telegraph*, 8 January, 1967, and *ABN Correspondence*, Vol. XVIII, No. 5, 1967, p. 12.

¹⁸⁰) On 12 April, 1968 — see details in *ABN Correspondence*, Vol. XIX, No. 4, 1968, pp. 46-7; and *Anglo-Ukrainian News*, No. 26-7, Spring-Summer, 1968. The arrests were also referred to in Karavans'ky's appeals to the Polish and Czech Consuls and to Gomulka.

Talbe 11: Arrests and Trials of those specifically charged
with Nationalist Activities — 1965-6

N a m e	Date of Arrest	Date and Place of Trial	Sentence
Yaroslav Hevrych	End of Aug. 1965	Kyiv, 9-11 March, 1966 (closed trial)	5 years severe hard-labour camp
Oleksandr Martynenko	28 Aug., 1965	Kyiv, 25 March, 1966 (closed trial)	3 years severe hard-labour camp
Mykhaylo Masyutko	1 or 4 Sept. 1965	Lviv, 23 March, 1966 (closed trial)	6 years severe hard-labour camp
Yaroslava Menkush	?	Lviv, 25 March, 1966 (closed trial)	2½ years severe hard-labour camp
Mykhaylo Ozerny	End of Aug. 1965	Ivano-Frankivsk, 7 February, 1966	6 years severe hard-labour camp, reduced by Supreme Court to 3
Mefodiy Chubaty	End of Aug. 1965	Ternopil, 25 February 1966	Suspended 4 years sentence
Svyatoslav Karavans'ky	13 November 1965	No retrial	8 years and 7 months re- maining from previous 25 year sentence

Source: V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, pp. 52-3, 98, 137, 140, 150, 153, 161-2 and 169.

After two open trials, the remainder were held in secret¹⁸², and even after the trials it was claimed that some were further charged with preparation and dissemination of anti-Soviet materials in the prison camps¹⁸³.

While Chornovil's documentation does not hide the fact that the arrested were in possession of nationalistic Ukrainian poetry and of works dealing with actions taken against Ukrainian culture, and while it appears that these intellectuals were concerned about the Russification of the Ukraine, it is abundantly clear that the evidence of criminal liability, even that they held subversive views or aimed at positive action to rectify the situation, was, to all intents and purposes, to be found lacking. To Chornovil himself, the now infamous Article 62 'completely negates the freedoms guaranteed to the citizens by the Constitution of the USSR¹⁸⁴, while its conscientious enforcement 'will make it possible to raise the population of the camps to Stalin's levels, or even to exceed them'¹⁸⁵.

¹⁸²) See Chornovil's appeal to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R., *loc. cit.*, pp. 30-1.

¹⁸³) E.g. M. Horyn' — see V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, pp. 105 and 151.

¹⁸⁴) Appeal to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R., *loc. cit.*, p. 7.

¹⁸⁵) *Ibid.*, p. 8.

Table 12: *Arrests and Trials of the other Intellectuals — 1965-6*

<i>N a m e</i>	<i>Date of Arrest</i>	<i>Date and Place of Trial</i>	<i>Sentence</i>
Ivan Hel'	24 Aug. 1965	Lviv, 25 March, 1966 (closed trial)	3 years severe hard-labour camp
Ihor Hereta	27 Aug. 1965	Ternopil, 26 February, 1966	Suspended 5 year imprisonment
Bohdan Horyn'	26 Aug. 1965	Lviv, 13 April, 1966, (closed trial)	4 years severe hard-labour camp
Mykhaylo Horyn'	26 Aug. 1965	Lviv, 18 April, 1966, (closed trial)	6 years severe hard-labour camp
Mykola Hryn'	End of Aug. 1965	Kyiv, March, 1966, (closed trial)	3 years severe hard-labour camp
Panas Zalyvakha	End of Aug. 1965	Ivano-Frankivsk, March, 1966, (closed trial)	5 years severe hard-labour camp
Myroslava Zvarychevs'ka	24 Aug. 1965	Lviv, 18 April, 1966, (closed trial)	8 months imprisonment
Dmytro Ivashchenko	End of Aug. 1965	Lutsk, January, 1966	2 years severe hard-labour camp
Yevheniya Kuznetsova	25 Aug. 1965	Kyiv, 25 March, 1966, (closed trial)	4 years severe hard-labour camp
Valentyn Moroz	End of Aug. 1965	Lutsk, end of Jan., 1966	5 years severe hard-labour camp ¹⁸¹
Mykhaylo Osadchy	28 Aug. 1965	Lviv, 18 April, 1966, (closed trial)	2 years severe hard-labour camp
Ivan Rusyn	28 Aug. 1965	Kyiv, 25 March, 1966, (closed trial)	1 year severe hard-labour camp
Anatoliy Shevchuk	23 May 1966	Zhytomyr, 7 Sept., 1966	5 years severe hard-labour camp
Ivan Svitlychny	September 1965	—	Served 8 months in detention

Ivanyshyn	} in prison after 5 months all released	Perediyenko	} All released after detention for several days
Baturyn		O. Vorbut	
Kosiv		O. Horyn'	
Sadovs'ka			
Morhun			

Sources: V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, pp. 12, 52-3, 100, 102, 103, 105, 117, 118, 131, 133, 50-1, 154, and 161-3; and *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 2 April, 1966.

¹⁸¹) Following his release from Vladimir prison in September, 1969 (*Khronika Tekushchikh Sobytyi*, No. 10, Posev ed. p. 22), Moroz was again arrested on 1 June, 1970 (*ibid.*, No. 14), presumably in connection with a samizdat document authored by him in January 1970 on the Hutsul minority entitled 'A Chronicle of Resistance' (for details see A. Boiter, *The Hutsuls: Tribulations of National Culture in the USSR*, *Radio Liberty Research Paper* CRD 370/70, Munich, 22 October, 1970).

Numerous appeals from the convicted were subsequently sent from the prison camps, adding substantially to the documentation on the case¹⁸⁶.

As a result of his actions, prosecutor Antonenko and judge Rudyk decided to call Chornovil to judicial responsibility under Article 179 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R. (refusal to testify), changing that decision on 19 April to one of calling Chornovil to responsibility under Article 62, as was the case with those already on trial¹⁸⁷. However, in May 1966, the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian S.S.R. annulled this decision of the Lviv regional court as being unfounded¹⁸⁸. It was at this stage that Chornovil wrote a second appeal in which he addressed Shelest as 'a Soviet citizen another Soviet citizen, as a Ukrainian another Ukrainian'¹⁸⁹. The letter contained a forceful condemnation of illegalities practised in the Ukraine and its courts, quite contrary to constitutional legality, from which he quoted extensively, in such terms as the following: 'I could not but take up my pen when I myself experienced how the lieutenants and captains of the KGB, the judges, and the prosecutors understand legality. When I made notes of the court proceedings, I had only one goal in view: to prevent a repetition (under different labels) of the terror of the thirties, which bled the Ukrainian people white and reduced Ukrainian Soviet Statehood to a fiction'¹⁹⁰.

These were formidable charges to come from an ex-Komsomol official. However, as a consequence of this and the other activities, Chornovil was in turn arrested on 5 August, 1967, after a search of his home by the KGB two days previously.

He was tried in the following November, and sentenced to three years hard labour in a strict regime camp in Mordovia¹⁹¹, although the precise reason for this is somewhat unclear (the Soviet press having maintained a complete silence on the matter), save that it was on grounds of anti-Soviet activity, and for the circulation of his

¹⁸⁶) A number have already been referred to — see also in V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*.

¹⁸⁷) See Chornovil's appeal to the Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R., *loc. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

¹⁸⁸) *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XV, No. 1, 1968, p. 3.

¹⁸⁹) *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁰) See text in V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, pp. 74-5.

¹⁹¹) *Anglo-Ukrainian News*, No. 24-5, Autumn-Winter, 1967. See also *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XV, No. 1, 1968, pp. 3-4; *Anglo-Ukrainian News*, No. 26-7, Spring-Summer, 1968; and, on the trial, the November 1967 petition to the First Secretary of the CP of Ukraine from four Ukrainians, in *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XVI, No. 1, 1969, pp. 43-5. For Chornovil's final plea, see *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XV, No. 3, 1968, pp. 43-8. For Chornovil's appeal from the prison camp, see *ibid.*, Vol. XVI, No. 1, 1969, pp. 46-8; and on his prison hunger-strike see *Khronika Tekushchikh Sobytyi*, No. 5, 25 December, 1968, Posev edition, p. 53.

manuscript¹⁹². It was subsequently learned that his sentence had been reduced to eighteen months¹⁹³.

Of the petitioners against these trials, L. Kostenko and M. Kotsiubyn's'ka were reported to have been arrested, and Dzyuba to have been placed under house arrest¹⁹⁴, while others were also acted against in various ways¹⁹⁵.

The Dnipropetrovsk individuals were subjected to similar counter measures, but few are reported to have suffered arrest — a move possibly influenced in some small measure by unfavourable publicity in the West provoked by the earlier trials. The nature of these measures is summarised in Table 13 below:

Table 13: *Response to the Dnipropetrovsk Intellectuals*

<i>N a m e</i>	<i>R e s p o n s e</i>	<i>R e a s o n</i>
S. Yu. Shyinin M. T. Skoryk V. Zarembo	Dismissed from job ¹⁹⁶ Expelled from Party Expelled from Kom-somol & dismissed from job	Favourable review of Sobor Criticism of critique of Sobor
I. P. Opanasenko R. Stepanenko	Dismissed from job Expelled from Party & dismissed from job	Criticised critic of Sobor No explanation
H. Prokopenko	Severe Party reprimand	Produced a presumably unsanctioned play Called for reply to critics of Sobor and philosopher I Moroz ¹⁹⁷
S. Levenets' I. Sokul's'kyi	Dismissed from job Dismissed from Univ. course & job. Arrested in June, 1969	? ? Later attacked for Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism
M. Dunin (or B. Dubinin)	Severe reprimand	Published favourable response on Sobor from 2 workers, D. Semeniak and B. Uniyat
V. Sirenko	Dismissed from job	? Actions against him followed commencement of his writing in Ukrainian

¹⁹² *The Observer*, 11 February, 1968.

¹⁹³ *The Times*, 7 February, 1968. On his release from Lviv prison on 3rd February, 1969, see *Anglo-Ukrainian News*, No. 30, September, 1969; and *Khronika Tekushchikh Sobytiy*, No. 7, 30 April, 1969, Posev edition, p. 9. He subsequently signed the 'Action Group for the Defence of Human Rights in the USSR' petitions to the United Nations.

¹⁹⁴ *ABN Correspondence*, Vol. XIX, No. 5, 1968, p. 48. For later actions taken against Dzyuba, see *Kyiv Radio* broadcasts for abroad condemning his book, 2, 6, 9, 13, 16 and 20 September, 1969; *Radio Free Europe*, 'The Case of Ivan Dzyuba', *Research Paper USSR 0441*, 16 January, 1970; and *Khronika Tekushchikh Sobytiy*, No. 11, Posev edition, p. 50.

¹⁹⁵ See *Khronika Tekushchikh Sobytiy*, Posev edition, No. 5, pp. 49-50; No. 7, p. 19; and No. 8, 30 June, 1969, p. 37.

¹⁹⁶ *Khronika Tekushchikh Sobytiy*, No. 7, Posev ed., p. 16 claims he was also expelled from the Party.

¹⁹⁷ Conceivably P. Ya. Moroz — which would thus provide a link with the 1965-6 case.

V. Karapysh M. Chkhan V. Korzh V. Chemerys	Party reprimand Condemned at Writers' Union meetings for Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism. Chemerys dismissed from work	?
Later: H. & O. Zavhorodnii O. Ovcharenko V. Semenenko P. Vakarenko M. Romanushko O. Vodolazhchenko M. Malovyn et al. Kulchytskyi	Punished for Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism Arrested in Autumn, 1969	

Sources: Appeal of the Young Creative Intellectuals, *loc. cit.*; *Khronika Tekushchikh Sobytiy*, Posev editions, Nos. 7, pp. 16-17; 8, p. 41; 10, p. 21 and 11, p. 51; and *Anglo-Ukrainian News*, No. 32, May 1970.

Additionally, it has been reported that on 31 May, 1968, eight of the nine secretaries of the Writers' Union of Ukraine (including Honchar) were summoned to a meeting with Shelest, where they received a warning about their activities¹⁹⁸.

On a more positive plane, however, these various manifestations have caused considerable attention to be drawn to the problem of Russification, both within the Soviet Union and abroad, thereby adding some impetus to the demands.

Moreover, Dzyuba's book contributed further to the cause, by condemning the Russification policy on the basis of detailed documentation and argumentation supported by Soviet law¹⁹⁹. It was in fact reported that the essay was circulated among oblast' secretaries within the party requesting their comments²⁰⁰, although whether any action has been taken on its recommendations is not yet clear.

Karavans'ky himself claimed to have achieved some success with his appeal to the Prosecutor calling for the indictment of the Minister of Higher and Specialised Secondary Education²⁰¹ — an appeal apparently forwarded to the Minister. The latter thereupon, in 1965, substantiated the petition by implementing measures to remove the discriminatory rules of admission to schools of higher education and to Ukrainian secondary specialised training institutions, particularly

¹⁹⁸) *The Sunday Telegraph*, 25 August, 1968.

¹⁹⁹) I. Dzyuba, *Internationalism or Russification*; publication commenced previously in *Suchasnist'*, No. 1, 1968.

²⁰⁰) Introduction to I. Dzyuba, *Internationalism or Russification*, p. xvi.

²⁰¹) See Karavans'ky's petition to Gomulka in V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, p. 182 and his appeal to the College of Advocates in Odessa region, *ibid.*, p. 188.

the provision of the opportunity to write the entrance examinations in Ukrainian. A conference, on 16 August, 1965, of rectors was also claimed by Karavans'ky to have considered the question of the transfer of most Ukrainian higher education institutes to instruction in Ukrainian²⁰². Karavans'ky thus claimed of his appeal that, 'since it helped to disclose shortcomings, it should be regarded as beneficial to the cause of communism'²⁰³.

Again, the developments caused some unrest and protest at the trials — perhaps all that can reasonably be expected of them — while the mass imprisonment in the Mordovian camps of Ukrainians, either nationalist or otherwise, would seem to have contributed in some measure to the spread of nationalist ideas of one type or another, or at least to the cementation of existing views²⁰⁴. Indeed, both M. Horyn' and M. Masyutko have been reported as having been placed in solitary confinement in Camp 11 at Yavas, purportedly for writing and distributing some kind of anti-Soviet literature and speeches while in the camp²⁰⁵. It is through such means that the unrest is able to spread, whatever its total extent.

Finally, one may conclude that while the various nationalist participants thus far have been largely unsuccessful in achieving the satisfaction of almost all their basic demands, the prospects for the immediate future appear, on the whole, equally unpromising. This, however, is unlikely, any more than previous repressions, to diminish the insistence with which nationalistically oriented aspirations have been demanded of the Soviet government²⁰⁶.

²⁰²) *Ibid.*, p. 188.

²⁰³) *Ibid.*, p. 182.

²⁰⁴) See the letter from Imprisoned Ukrainians, *loc. cit.*

²⁰⁵) See the Ukrainian Information Service, London, bulletin of 27 February, 1968, and V. Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers*, pp. 105 and 151. Karavans'ky was similarly charged in Autumn 1969 — see *Khronika*, No. 11, p. 33. On his extended sentence see *The Times*, 28 April, 1970.

²⁰⁶) Indeed, a new trial of about ten people in Ternopil in September, 1969 on charges of distributing samizdat literature on the national question was reported in *Khronika*, No. 10, p. 21.

VALENTYN MOROZ SENTENCED AGAIN

Valentyn Moroz, aged 34, former lecturer in History, has been sentenced recently to a prison term of nine years, at a trial in Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine, for writing anti-Soviet articles which had been published in the West. Moroz had already served a five-year sentence which he had got for a similar offence in 1966.

Valentyn Moroz was born on April 15, 1936 at the village of Kholoniv, Volyn region of Ukraine, in a peasant family. He graduated in 1958 from Lviv University, Faculty of History. He became teacher of History at the secondary school in Horokhiv, Volyn region, and since 1964 he became lecturer in History at the Lutsk Teachers' Training College. He is married and has a 9-year old son.

In August 1965 he was arrested along with many other Ukrainian intellectuals and charged under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR for "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation", namely keeping and distributing articles with anti-Soviet contents. In fact these were merely articles which criticised Russification of Ukraine and demanded rights for Ukrainian culture and Ukrainian people in their own country. In January 1966 Moroz was sentenced by Volyn regional court to 5 years of imprisonment in strict regime forced labour camps. He was imprisoned in camps No. 1 and 11 of the Mordovian system of camps together with Gerald Brooke, Yuli Daniel, Sinyavsky and many others, the majority of whom were Ukrainian political prisoners.

In the camp he wrote the famous "Reportage from Beria nature reserve" (as he ironically called the Soviet concentration camp area in Mordovia). It described the inhuman treatment of political prisoners. (Published in English in *Revolutionary Voices*, Ukrainian Political Prisoners Condemn Russian Colonialism, ABN, Munich 1969, p. 116-138). This manuscript spread in Ukraine and was published in the West. He was thrown into camp jail for 6 months for it.

On September 1, 1969, Moroz was released and returned to Ukraine. In January 1970, while visiting the village of Kosmach in the Carpathians he wrote an article entitled "The Chronicle of Resistance" in which he described the destruction of Ukrainian cultural monuments in this picturesque Ukrainian mountain village which retained in an unadulterated form all the ancient customs, arts and crafts of the Ukrainian Carpathian highlanders ethnographic group known as Hutsuls, and whose original world has suffered from the deadly hand of Russian bureaucracy and Moscow-inspired steamroller of standardisation and levelling down.

In April, 1970 the KGB searched the flat in which he lived and found this document together with others, such as "Moses and Datan", and "Among the Snows." As a result he was arrested on June 1, 1970 and again charged under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR. The London *Times* of November 23, 1970 and the BBC Radio on November 23, 1970, reported that Moroz has stood trial at Ivano-Frankivsk before the regional court and was again sentenced to a nine-year term of imprisonment in strict regime forced labour camps for writing the "Reportage from Beria Nature Reserve" "The Chronicle of Resistance" and other works.

This savage sentence for a mild expression of protest against the destruction of Ukrainian cultural monuments and against the inhuman treatment of political prisoners in Soviet Russian prisons and camps proves once again that the Russian colonialist regime has not given up its intention to destroy the Ukrainian nation morally and physically. However, as long as people like Moroz exist and fearlessly voice the aspirations of the Ukrainian people to freedom and national independence, Moscow will not succeed in its criminal plans. Though Russians have

(Concluded on p. 79)

Dr. Wolodymyr SAWCHAK

THE STATUS OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR IN VIEW OF STATE AND INTERNATIONAL LAW

1. Basic Information

The concept of state is complicated and many-sided. A state can be analyzed in the sphere of law and sociology and in the static and dynamic aspects, both in the inter-relation of the three basic components of each state and in relations of one state with other single states, or with various international organizations, alliances or blocs. The analysis of the state's internal components and their inter-relations, state order and the activities of state government, as representative of the will of state, is a branch of state, or so-called constitutional law. All activity of state organs with respect to the outside world, and which is very often the result of treaties or power aspects, is examined from the position of interstate, or so-called international law, or rather customs and "precedents" for international law so far does not exist in a form of some generally accepted "code" of legal norms. Both fields — state and international law — although bound with each other, in some cases are completely deviant in their appraisal of various phenomena in real life (for example, the use of force to achieve a certain aim).

The classical definition of a state, which so far has not lost its actuality, is that a state is the most highly organized form of human societies, which live on a given territory and are subject to one supreme power (state government), which in its activity has complete internal and external sovereignty. A lack of any of the three elements (territory, population, sovereign power), or inferiority of substance which is usually placed on them arouses doubts or even contradicts the very existence of the state, regardless of the fact whether a given human society or territorial entity is recognized as a "state" by other states or not.

When dealing with the first element — *population* — then in the past the people were content with the very existence of the population which inhabits a particular territory and were usually not interested (in particular lawyers) with analysis of the make-up of this population, its social structure, or its relationship to state government. The

development of sociology and various auxiliary sciences (for example, demography, statistics, ethnography, group dynamics, etc.) have made depth analysis of various strata of the population possible, their dynamics in community and state life, their influence on state government and state order (this gave the name to various state forms, as for instance, theocracy, monarchy, oligarchy, plutocracy, democracy, or finally the newest form — the monoparty state, i.e. unlimited rule by one party), and even the reason for the very existence of the state (the well-known expression by Louis XIV "I am the state", or the state as an end in itself, or finally the state as a means to an end, which is an all-round social, economic and cultural development of the entire population).

The question of territory, the second element of any state, is basically a matter of a *de facto* state and the play of power elements, rather than juridical discussions, with the exception perhaps of the so-called dependent territories, of which there are fewer all the time, or territories with mixed population. As we can see from the text below, however, the question as to *whom* does the *territory of the Ukrainian R.* (read Russified) *S.* (read simulated) Republic belong, to this "republic" or to the "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" raises arguments even among the Soviet jurists.

The third element — *state government* — (or as often defined "power") calls forth most disputes among experts of both state and international law, in particular when the subject of internal and external independence of various governments is involved. The matter of independence is identified by some with the subject of so-called sovereignty, while the question whether sovereignty is an indispensable sign of any state or whether it is not such a sign has been disputed for a long time. This controversy is far from being settled primarily because so far there is neither a generally accepted definition of the concept of "sovereignty" itself, nor a general agreement as to who is the actual bearer of this sovereignty (e.g. the monarch, various social classes, the nation as a whole or its elected representatives, the monoparty, or finally the state itself, as a juridical person). And when it is taken into consideration that between complete internal and external independence, and full dependence on other factors there is a whole range of transient situations, that is various degrees of dependence (the so-called state of "limited sovereignty"), which gives scholars the basis to classify various states as genuine (sovereign), vassal (or more modern "satellites"), actual and disguised protectorates, client states, or even fictional states¹, then it is clear that analysis of the third element is the most complicated.

¹) Short summaries of the above-mentioned classifications can be found in specialized encyclopedias, as well as on p. 29 of the work by Aspaturian, Vernon V., *The Union Republics in Soviet Diplomacy; a Study of Soviet Federalism in the Service of Soviet Foreign Policy*. Geneva, Droz—Paris, Minard, 1960.

The state becomes the subject of interstate or international law essentially through its recognition by other states, at a time when it is necessary to keep in mind the differences between *the recognition of the state* and *the recognition of the government* as well as the *de facto* recognition (by way of any direct contacts by authorized representatives) and the *de jure* recognition. Other states have no obligation to recognize either new states or new governments of existing states, and in the matter of recognition are guided exclusively by their own interests. The question whether such recognition has constitutive (creative) or only declarative value, as well as the question of so-called "collective recognition" by way of permitting some state to participate in international agreements or organizations are also controversial among scholars. In practice, states systematically reject the principle of collective recognition, as was among other things explained in the memorandum of the UN General Secretariat of March 5, 1950, to which we are going to refer below.

2. The Emergence of the U.N.R. and the Ukr. S.S.R. — Two States Simultaneously?!

Analyzing the first three-year period of the existence of the modern Ukrainian state 1917-20, we must first of all resolve the question of whether *two states* can exist on the same territory at the same time, or only and exclusively *one*. Ignoring this basic question one can arrive at such controversial conclusions as for example:

"...In the same way in the times of the Directory of the UNR... the Ukrainian state *existed effectively* and enjoyed the status of internationally legal subject *until the end of 1920*, i.e. until the removal of the government and the Army of UNR from Ukrainian territory".

And simultaneously:

"...Constitutionally *the Ukr. SSR was considered* an independent state from March 1918 until May 1920"² (ital. added).

So far in theory and practice the axiom is dominant that only one state can exist at the same time, and on the same territory. When after World War II two Germanies, two Koreas, two Chinas or two Vietnams were created, each of the states-twins received its own territory, which it governs and defends.

Resting on this axiom let us examine the situation in Ukraine between November 20, 1917 and November 21, 1920.

The state which was established by the Third Universal of the Central Council under the name of the "Ukrainian National Republic" was recognized by the then government (the Council of People's Commissars) of Soviet Russia by a well-known ultimatum, received in Kyïv on December 4(17), 1917, and signed by V. Ulyanov (Lenin),

² *Entsyklopediya Ukraïnoznavstva*, Part 2 (Slogans), Vol. 4, p. 1572, lines 8-13 and 36-39 of left column.

as "head of the Soviet of People's Commissars" and L. Trotsky, as "People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs". This note, which is intentionally omitted or falsified in all Soviet sources and works of both historians and jurists, says among other things:

"...We, the Council of People's Commissars, *recognize the National Ukrainian Republic*, her right to separate from Russia completely or to reach an agreement with the Russian Republic as to federative or similar relations between them. Everything, which pertains to the national rights and national independence of the Ukrainian people is recognized by us, the Council of People's Commissars, immediately, *without restrictions and unconditionally...*" and further:

"...This uncertain policy (of the Ukr. Central Council), which deprives us of the opportunity to *recognize the Council* as a representative of the working and exploited masses of Ukraine..."³

(ital. added).

From the above-mentioned quotations it is clear beyond any doubt that the government of Soviet Russia:

1) *recognized* formally and without any conditions the newly created *state*, the Ukrainian National Republic, — and at the same time —

2) *refused to recognize* the *government* of that state, the Central Council, established by the will of the representatives of the people and acting effectively, then already planning to establish a rival, loyal government, which was accomplished (for the first time) a week later at the so-called First All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets in Kharkiv, which was already occupied by the Bolshevik units.

When Russian historians and jurists maintain that the Ukr. SSR emerged on December 25, 1917, they not only intentionally falsify historical facts and documents, but also confuse two concepts — "state" and "government". The regional congress of Soviets in Kharkiv, which was joined by several delegates of the real congress of representatives of Councils, which took place in the middle of December in Kyiv, called to life the government rivalling the Ukrainian Central Council, but did not create any state, and in particular did not determine the territory of this fictitious state, because at that time Bolshevik organizations of southern and eastern oblasts of Ukraine established various "Soviet republics" (e.g. the Donetsk-Kryvyi Rih, the Odessa, the Crimea and so forth), on the territory, which — according to the text of the Third Universal — constituted the territory of the Ukrainian National Republic.

It must be remembered that during 1918 the government of Soviet Russia:

a) *recognized* the independent Ukrainian state and its government *twice*, namely, during peace negotiations in Brest-Litovsk in a statement by Trotsky, made on January 10th when the delegations'

³) Dmytro Doroshenko, *Istoriya Ukraïny 1917-1923*, Vol. 1, p. 214.

credentials were examined, and in the peace treaty reached in Kyiv on June 12, 1918 between the Russian Socialist Federative Republic on the one hand and the Ukrainian (Hetman) State on the other;

b) after concluding a peace treaty in Brest-Litovsk it ordered the *self-liquidation* of the recently created *Soviet government in Ukraine*, which took place in Tahanrih, on April 16-18, 1918.

And in the resolutions of the First (founding) Congress of the so-called Communist Party of the Bolsheviks of Ukraine (CPBU), which took place on July 5-12, 1918 in Moscow, we can read the following among other things:

“...Taking into consideration that —

(3) the existence of the People's Secretariat, as the center of Soviet government, in conditions where the Soviets as organs of local government are absent, is a *harmful fiction*, which leads to the self-deception of the masses... The Congress resolved:

1) To declare the People's Secretariat dissolved”⁴.

*

Getting ready for the second aggression against the Ukrainian National Republic, Stalin (then Commissar for Questions of Nationalities), — executing Lenin's instructions to create regional “provisional Soviet governments” at the heels of the advancing army with the aim “of taking away from the chauvinists of Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia the possibility of regarding the advance of our detachments as occupation...”⁵ appointed, (in the railroad car near Kursk), the puppet “Provisional Workers and Peasants Government of Ukraine” consisting of the following men: Voroshilov, Sergeyev (Artem), Averin, Zatonskyi and Yurko Kotsyubynskyi. The first “state acts” of this new quiesling “government of the Ukr. SSR” included:

a) a declaration (of January 25, 1919) “on the necessity of the union of Soviet Ukraine with Soviet Russia on the basis of a socialist federation” (what a glaring negation of the Fourth Universal of the Ukrainian Central Council!), and

b) a proclamation “to all peoples of the world” (of February 26, 1919) with the call to recognize this government and to establish diplomatic relations with it.

Even the Directory of the UNR, which from January 9, 1919 was in a state of war (not only *de-facto*, but also formally-legally) both with the Russian Soviet Republic and with all “its political and military agents on the territory of Ukraine”⁶ received (at the beginning of

⁴) “The Communist Party of Ukraine in resolutions and decisions of congresses and conferences”, Kyiv, 1958, pp. 7 & 8.

⁵) Lenin's telegram to the C.-in-C. of the Red Army, Vacetis, of November 29, 1918, which was kept secret until 1942, published in the 4th Edition of *Lenin's Works*, Vol. 28, p. 225 and in the English edition, Vol. 28, p. 225.

⁶) According to the text of the Directory's ultimatum of January 2, 1919 as quoted in *Zamitky i materiyaly do istorii Ukraïns'koï revolyutsii*, by Pavlo Khrystyuk, Vol. 4, pp. 37-38.

March 1919) a telegram from Moscow, signed by the then Commissar of Foreign Affairs Chicherin, and another from Kharkiv, signed by Khristian Rakovsky⁷ on the subject of negotiations between the "Ukrainian Soviet government" and the Directory "under conditions of recognition by the Directory of the worker-peasant government of Ukraine"⁸.

This unsuccessful attempt to liquidate the Directory and the democratic order of the UNR with the help of diplomacy (regardless of military aggression) proves that in early 1919 the Bolsheviks themselves were conscious of the existence of a *single state* — the Ukrainian National Republic, and not the Ukr. SSR⁹.

Some researchers link the formal beginning of the Ukr. SSR with the ratification of the first so-called constitution in mid-March 1919, forgetting the fact that — a) the ratification of a constitution is in no way a state-creating act in light of knowledge about the state (England for example still does not have a written and formally ratified constitution); b) the existence of a single state, the Ukrainian National Republic, which at that time was already recognized by other foreign states, excludes the right to establish another state at the same time and on the same territory in the form of the Ukr. SSR.

Furthermore this "constitution of the Ukr. SSR" was only a carbon copy of the constitution of the Russian Soviet Republic in accordance with the decision of the Third Congress of the CPBU, which was held on March 1-6, 1919 in Kharkiv and was unreal in view of the principle of effectiveness, in as much as the state order elaborated in it was not the only normalizing and permanently acting one on the territory, for the domination of which a war was being waged. And the effectiveness of the supreme power (the Congress of Soviets, or rather the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee, according to the articles of the constitution) is best illustrated by the fact that on June 1, 1919 — "The All-Russian Central Executive Committee... adopted a decree on the "Unification of the Soviet Socialist Republics: Russia, Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, Byelorussia... in which it was mentioned (or rather ordered, — W. S.) "to put into effect close consolidation of: 1) military organization and military command, 2) the councils of national economy, 3) railroad administration and agriculture, 4) finances, 5) the commissariats of labour... on the

⁷ Khristian Rakovsky, partly Bulgarian and partly Rumanian, was the then head of the "Provisional Government" and Commissar of Foreign Affairs, in spite of the fact that only a few months earlier (June 12, 1918) he signed the peace treaty in Kyiv as an authorized representative of the Russian SFSR.

⁸ I. Mazepa, *Ukraina v ohni i buri revoliutsii*, Part 1, p. 103.

⁹ "Istoriya derzhavy i prava Ukraïns'koï RSR (1917-1960)", published by the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR, Kyiv, 1961; — on page 1967 in Note 3 we read literally the following: "Soviet Ukraine officially began to call itself Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic on December 6, 1919. Prior to this it was called Ukrainian National Republic".

condition that direction of various branches of national life will be centred in the hands of sole boards"¹⁰.

The Soviet author himself admits that this decree was "formally a legislative act of the RSFSR", but — he adds — "it was essentially an agreement between independent Soviet states about a military alliance"¹¹.

When as the result of the victorious march of the united Ukrainian armies on Kyiv-Odessa and the actions of guerrilla detachments the occupation army of Soviet Russia was forced to leave all Ukrainian lands in the summer-autumn of 1919, this fictitious "state", which appeared under the cover of the Ukr. SSR (if one were to allow even for a moment the juridically inadmissible thesis that it emerged in March 1919 as the result of the ratification of the constitution) lost two basic elements of statehood — territory and population. And when at the beginning of October 1919 both "the Soviet government of Ukraine" and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Bolsheviks of Ukraine again self-liquidated themselves, upon orders from Moscow of course¹², it also lost the third component of each state.

As can be seen from this brief survey of facts and documents, one cannot seriously speak about the existence of a "state" such as the Ukr. SSR in 1917-1919 without denying, at the same time, the existence of the Ukrainian National Republic, or the Ukrainian State (in Hetman's time) in general, which at that time was recognized "de jure" and "de facto" by various European states. One can speak about attempts by Russia and her henchmen in Ukraine to impose upon the Ukrainian National Republic, by way of a two-fold armed aggression and diplomatic measures, a puppet "government" (which was not recognized by anyone) and "Soviet order", which was rejected by the overwhelming majority of the population of Ukraine.

*

Preparing for the third in a series of aggressions against "agricultural" Ukraine, an "All-Ukrainian Revolutionary Committee", not a "government", was set up in Moscow (Dec. 11, 1919) with Hryhoriy I. Petrovskyi at the head, "to facilitate the operation of the Red Army..." as the Bolsheviks themselves cynically admitted in an appeal of February 21, 1920, which was published in the *Izvestia* (Newsletter) of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee and the Kharkiv

¹⁰ & ¹¹) *ibid.*, pp. 62-3.

¹²) a) Pipes, Richard, *The Formation of the Soviet Union: Communism and Nationalism, 1917-1923*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, Rev. Edition 1964, p. 144.

b) Borys, Jurij, *The Russian Communist Party and the Sovietization of Ukraine*. Stockholm, 1960, p. 235.

c) Sullivan, Robert S., *Soviet Politics and the Ukraine 1917-1957*. Columbia University Press, 1962, p. 52.

"gub-rev-kom" (Provincial Revolutionary Committee). After the 170-thousand-strong army of Yegorov again occupied part of Ukrainian territories in the late-1919 and early-1920 this same All-Ukrainian Revolutionary Committee issued a decree (January 27, 1920) "On the Consolidation of Activities of the Ukr. SSR and the RSFSR" declaring that all decrees and resolutions adopted until now, which pertain to the "consolidated" (by the above-mentioned decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee from June 1, 1919) branches of state life "are being annulled and are being replaced by the decrees of the Russian SFSR, which come into force in the whole territory of Ukraine..."¹³ This is what the "effectiveness" of the newly adopted "constitution" of allegedly "independent Ukr. SSR" looked like. What self-respecting state government would introduce to the territory which it does not even completely control, the legal norms of another state? Only an occupying power, no matter in what disguise it would appear, is abolishing the existing laws and introducing its own.

The All-Ukrainian Rev.-Com. self-liquidated itself on February 20, 1920, transferring its "mandate" to the "Council of People's Commissars" created on that same day under the leadership of Khristian Rakovsky. Notifying "all peoples and governments of the world" about its birth this puppet "government" again invited all to "enter into economic and diplomatic relations with Ukraine...", but this time too no state recognized this fictitious state or its "state government".

What did the so-called Ukr. SSR represent in the light of the principle of effectiveness in the late-1919 and early-1920 could also be seen from the fact that the Army of the Ukrainian National Republic, which upon orders from the Directory, launched the so-called "winter offensive" and was active for six months (from Dec. 6, 1919 to May 6, 1920) on the Bolshevik-occupied territory and that the then acting Prime Minister of the UNR, Isaak P. Mazepa, was on this territory from mid-February 1920 until the end of the winter campaign, maintaining contacts both with the Army of the UNR as well as the population, which did not recognize "the government of the Soviets" at all¹⁴.

3. Succession of UNR — Ukr. SSR, or Ukraine's Annexation by Russia?

In the autumn of 1920 the existence of the Ukrainian National Republic as a state became jeopardised after Poland, so far an ally

¹³) *Istoriya derzhavy i prava Ukraïns'koï RSR*, p. 175, 1964.

¹⁴) Ol. Dotsenko, *Zymovyi pokhid (6.XII.1919—6.V.1920)*. Warsaw, 1932, Works of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute, Vol. 13, as well as in the above-mentioned work by I. Mazepa: *Ukraina v ohni i buri revolutsii*, Part 2, Chapter XVIII.

of the UNR, broke the provisions of the so-called Warsaw Treaty of April 21, 1920, and entered into separate negotiations with Soviet Russia in connection with the so-called "Polish-Soviet" war of 1920. During peace negotiations (Sept.-Oct. 1920 in Riga) the Russians included in their delegation Dmytro Z. Manuïlskyi and Emanuil I. Kviring as representatives of the "Ukrainian SSR" and got the head of the Polish delegation, Jan Domb ski, to recognize the mandates of these "representatives" of the "Ukrainian SSR" as valid, at the first session (September 21, 1920), set aside for the checking of credentials¹⁵. The Bolsheviks repeated at Riga the same trick which they once attempted to use in Brest-Litovsk (January, 1918); in Brest they failed but in Riga they managed to put the trick over and the so-far fictitious state in the form of the Ukr. SSR won recognition by the first foreign state. The preliminary peace treaty between Poland and the Russian SFSR and Ukrainian SSR was signed on October 12th and ratified in Moscow (October 20th), in Kharkiv (October 21st) and in Warsaw (October 22nd), and the final so-called Riga Peace Treaty was concluded on March 18, 1921.

The transfer of the government and the army of the UNR beyond the Zbruch on November 20-21, 1920, to the territory which according to the provisions of the Riga treaty was awarded to Poland, must be considered, from the legal point of view, as the end of the Ukrainian independent state, since that state lost two basic elements — territory and population.

Trying to find an answer to the question whether the Ukrainian state as such ceased to exist or not, some of our researchers have put forth a theory of so-called "continuity and succession" as follows:

"In spite of the change of governments and regimes in Ukraine from 1917 the continuity and succession of the Ukrainian state exists in the legal sense: UNR — Ukr. State — UNR — Ukr. SSR, documented in various constitutional and internationally legal acts..."¹⁶

This theory, regrettably, does not take into consideration the following very basic legal and historical moments:

1) The Ukrainian state went from federative ties with Russia (in the Third Universal) to full independence, which it never renounced, — (the proof of which is, among other things, a revolt against Hetman Skoropadskyi after the latter's proclamation by a writ of November 14, 1918 of a federation with the non-existent Russian non-Bolshevik state) at a time when the Ukrainian SSR, even when one conditionally

¹⁵ V. Kedrovskyi, *Ryzh's'ke Andrusovo*, Reminiscences about the Russo-Polish peace negotiations in 1920, Winnipeg, Man. 1936; p. 18. The author who is still living in the USA, had been the Consul of the UNR in Riga and an eye-witness of the events which he is describing. He emphasizes that the head of the Polish delegation, Jan Domb ski, is the same one who signed the treaty with the government of the UNR in April 1920.

¹⁶ *Entsyklopediya Ukraïnoznavstva*, Vol. 4, p. 1573, lines 5-11, right col.

accepts that such a "state" really emerged (when?!), never went beyond the status of a "federative republic". This status was constantly stressed and underlined in official documents of various "Soviet governments", but was unacceptable even to such Ukrainian Communists, as for instance Vasyl Shakhrai, who was one of the "delegates of the Ukr. SSR at peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk"¹⁷. What kind of "continuity and succession" can exist between "an independent, on no one dependent, free sovereign state of the Ukrainian people" (the words of the Fourth Universal), and a quasi-state which annulled its own laws and regulations and renouncing authority over the major branches of state life proclaimed as true and binding the decrees and resolutions of another state, the Russian SFSR "on the whole territory of Ukraine"?!

This is not only "a change of government and regime" (as for instance the UNR and the Ukrainian State of the Hetman period), but — in view of state and international law — something much more essential: a substitution of "federation" for independence and a transition from the state of genuine statehood into the state of a "satellite", or even worse, fictitious statehood (as for instance the "Protectorate of Czechia and Moravia").

2) The legal *state of war* which began to exist in the second half of December 1917 and was renewed at the beginning of January 1919 between the Ukrainian National Republic and Soviet Russia and "her political and military agents on the territory of Ukraine" (see above-mentioned ultimatums) was not *legally* liquidated to this day by any peace agreement. Can one then speak about "continuity and succession" between two warring sides? Is it not simpler and more logical to describe the state of affairs which took shape in Ukraine at the end of November 1920 and which continues to the present by a well-known legal term "annexation", which, as a matter of fact, was aptly defined by Lenin himself as:

"Under annexation or conquest of foreign lands, the government understands according to the legal consciousness of democracy in general and the working classes in particular, all incorporation in a large or powerful state of a small or weak nationality without an exact, clear and voluntary expression of agreement and wish by that nationality...

"If any nation is held within the boundaries of a said state by force, if, contrary to the desires expressed on its side — regardless whether this desire is expressed in the press, at popular meetings, in the decisions of the parties or disturbances and uprisings against national oppression — it is denied the right by free elections, *with complete withdrawal of troops by the annexing or generally stronger nation*, to decide without the

¹⁷) Serhiy Mazlakh and Vasyl Shakhrai, *Do khvyli*, Second edition, "Prolog" publishers, New York, 1967.

slightest duress the question about the forms of state existence of that nation, then *its incorporation is annexation*, that is conquest and coercion"¹⁸.

In international law annexation is one of the admissible ways of acquiring territory of a foreign state, besides such formally legal methods as yielding by treaty (cession) or a court judgement (adjudication), in particular when other states agree to the annexation, albeit silently.

The UNR Directory, or any other government of independent Ukrainian state did not cede to Soviet Russia or her "political and military agents in Ukraine", that is "the government of the Ukr. SSR" the territory of Ukraine by any treaty; this territory was not awarded to the Russians by any international tribunal or the court of arbitration. Therefore only one logical deduction remains, that they gained this territory by way of annexation so clearly outlined above.

Have the annexing aggressors really "taken over" the rights and duties of UNR, that is of the independent state of the Ukrainian people effectively existing until November 21, 1920? — about this Soviet jurists and historians are silent. If we, in exile, are bringing up the theory of continuity and succession then we must prove the following by facts and documents: 1) when did this succession take place, 2) in what constitutional and internationally legal acts was it expressed, and finally 3) what are the similarities or differences between the UNR and the Ukr. SSR in the post-secession period.

4. The Role of the Communist Party of the Bolsheviks* Within the System of Soviet State Organization

While analyzing the Soviet state order "three aspects... must always be borne in mind", says Leonard Shapiro in his well-known work¹⁹: first, the *confusion of nomenclature*, second the importance of theory,

¹⁸) Decree "on peace" of the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets of November 8, 1917, written by Lenin, now included in "The Works of V. I. Lenin", 4th Edition, Vol. 26. Here quoted according to *Ukraïns'ka RSR na mizhnarodnii areni*. Compilation of documents (1917-1923). Published by "Scientific Thought", Kyïv, 1966, p. 6.

*) Although the word "Bolsheviks" was removed from the party's name at the 19th Party Congress in 1952 I shall continue to use this term not only in the strictly historical sense, but primarily because "Bolshevism" as a typically Russian phenomenon should not be mixed up with Communism of other nations or states. This difference was already pointed out by various researchers, even Russian (Berdyayev), and this ever deeper difference between Russian "Bolshevism" and Yugoslav, Czech, Rumanian, Chinese, etc. Communism is now becoming apparent in the setting of so-called "polycentrism", or more precisely demoralization among the Communist parties, both in Communist states and in parties which are not in the government.

¹⁹) Shapiro, Leonard, *The Government and Politics of the Soviet Union*. Random House, New York 1965; revised edition Vintage Book (paperback) 1967, p. 12. (Italics added — W. S.)

and finally, the specifics of historical development of the Soviet system of state. As examples of this confusion of nomenclature he cites i.a. the "Communist Party" and "elections" in the USSR and says:

"Traditionally and etymologically a 'party' is one of several groups contending for a share of power in the state. In Soviet usage the term is applied to one group, which... exercises a virtual *monopoly of power* and is... doctrinally considered to be entitled to this monopoly"¹⁰.

Despite the fact that all serious students of the Soviet state system thoroughly analyze the role and the task of the party and mutual ties between the state and party organs and individuals at all echelons of government, the authors and adherents of the so-called statehood theory of the Ukr. SSR among the Ukrainian emigré scholars are consistently keeping silent about this aspect in their argumentation, as if they did not see that in the Soviet state system the party is the actual holder of power ("the sovereign" — as was said by another student²⁰ in his work) and the unifyingly centralistic force which acts according to the principles of "the dictatorship of the proletariat", "the government by the Soviets" and the so-called federative state order of the USSR.

While examining the state status of the Ukr. SSR from the point of view of state law, it is in no way possible therefore to bypass or to keep silent about the problem of the functional relationship of state and party organs in this "Union Republic" because:

1) the dominant role of the Communist Party of the Bolsheviks is clearly defined in Article 126 of the USSR Constitution (which corresponds to Article 106 of the Ukr. SSR Constitution), by a categorical assertion that this party... "constitutes the *leading nucleus of all organizations of the workers, both civic and state...*";

2) throughout the USSR, although it is allegedly built on the "federative" principle, there exists and acts only a single "Communist Party of the Soviet Union", — in contrast to Yugoslavia for example, where separate national parties exist in each of the component parts of the federation, or even to Czecho-Slovakia, where a separate Czech and a separate Slovak Communist party exists;

3) the so-called Communist Party of Ukraine (CPU) from its very beginning was and is only a provincial cell of the CPSU, (which in 1918-1925 was called "The Russian Communist Party of the Bolsheviks" (RCPB), and between 1925 and 1952 "The All-Union Communist Party of the Bolsheviks"), a cell which is wholly subordinate to the leading organs of the Russian, or the "All-Union" party.

The leadership of the RCPB although it agreed — under pressure of circumstances and from tactical considerations, — to tolerate national republics which rose on the ruins of the Romanov empire,

²⁰) Meyer, Alfred G., *The Soviet Political System; An Interpretation*. Random House, New York, 1965, p. 113.

took great pains not to allow the reconstruction of the party along federative lines. This became apparent for the first time in attempts to establish a Ukrainian party formally independent from the RCPB and having equal rights with it, in the time of the so-called Tahanrih meeting of the Bolsheviks of Ukraine, which took place there on April 19-20, 1918, as well as during the First (founding) Congress of the CPBU, which was held on July 5-12, 1918 in Moscow. This is discussed in the works of I. Maistrenko and T. D. Bondar²¹.

The party meeting in Tahanrih, while discussing the question of "creation of an independent party of Communists-Bolsheviks of Ukraine" (point 2 of the day's agenda), which was tightly bound with the question of the party's name, the forms of ties with the RCPB, the leading organs, etc., revealed basic differences in its approach to the solution of the national question within the party. Three proposals as to the party's name were made which reflected three opposing points of view of the Bolsheviks of Ukraine, the so-called "Katerynoslavtsi" who felt that the CPBU should be an integral part of the RCPB, proposed the name the "Russian Communist Party in Ukraine", a group of Bolsheviks from the Poltava region with V. Shakhrai and H. Lapchynskyi at the head and a group of left-wing Ukrainian Social Democrats, who cooperated with the Bolsheviks and were present at the meeting proposed the name "Ukrainian Communist Party", while M. Skrypnyk proposed the name the "Communist Party of the Bolsheviks of Ukraine" and this name was adopted by the majority of votes. With respect to the form of ties between the CPBU and the RCPB, E. Kviring on behalf of the "Katerynoslavtsi" proposed: "to create an autonomous party with its central committee and its own congress, but subordinated to the general central committee and congresses of the Russian Communist Party", while M. Skrypnyk proposed to create "an independent Communist Party which would have its own central committee and its own party congresses and would be tied to the Russian Communist Party through an international committee (the Third International)". In a roll-call vote Skrypnyk's proposition was accepted by the majority of votes (35 against 21 and 1 abstention). This gives Maistrenko a basis to maintain that allegedly "beginning with the Tahanrih meeting of April 19-20 and up to the First Congress of the CPBU in Moscow in July 1918, a Bolshevik Party existed formally in Ukraine, independent from the RCPB and having equal rights with it, similarly to the Polish, Rumanian, German, or some other Communist Party independent from Russia or another country"²².

²¹) Ivan Maistrenko, *Storinky z istorii komunistychnoi partii Ukraïny*. Part I, "Prolog" Publishers 1967. Continuation in periodical *Sushasnist'*, Nos. 7/79 and 9/81 for 1967 and 3/87 and 12/96 for 1968. See pp. 47-57, Part I. Tykhon Danylovyh Bondar, *Komunistychna partiya Ukraïny v period inozemnoi interventsii ta hromadyans'koi viyny*. Kyiv University Publishers, 1968, pp. 10-24 and 81-95.

²²) I. Maistrenko, *ibidem.*, p. 49.

The Soviet author, Tykhon Danylovych Bondar however maintains that Skrypnyk, Zatonskyi and others:

"...in a draft resolution tried: a) to give no grounds to dump upon the government of the RSFSR the responsibility for military actions in Ukraine; 2) to give no grounds to the Austro-Hungarian interventionists to break the peace of Brest; 3) to deprive the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist counterrevolution of the opportunity to slander the Bolsheviks about the fact that allegedly the victory of the socialist revolution in Ukraine is 'the deed of Moscow's hands', the RCPB, the Russian Communists, who have come to Ukraine".

Further he claims that:

"...to explain the decision of the meeting about the ties of the CPBU with the RCPB through an international organization only by the influence in the CPBU of 'leftist Communists' and the separatism of Skrypnyk, as some historians are attempting to do, would be a violation of historic truth. To this the CC RCPB and V. I. Lenin had consented"²³.

Nevertheless, the First Congress of the CPBU which took place in two and a half months' time in Moscow, adopted — in the question of ties between CPBU and RCPB — the point of view of the "Katerynoslavtsi" and transformed the CPBU into a provincial type organization subordinate to the RCPB. In the Congress's resolution on this question it was stated:

"To unite the Communist party organizations of Ukraine into an autonomous, as to local questions, Communist Party of Ukraine with its own Central Committee and its own congresses, but which would be part of the single Russian Communist Party with subordination in the program questions to the general congresses of the Russian Communist Party, and in the general political questions to the CC RCPB"^{24a}.

At that same congress the tasks of the CPBU in the field of government relations between Ukraine and Russia were defined as follows:

"...to fight for *revolutionary unification* of Ukraine and Russia on the basis of proletarian centralism within the framework of the *Russian Soviet Socialist Republic*"^{24b}.

If one keeps in mind that "revolutionary", i.e. forced "unification" is to take place on the basis of "proletarian centralism", i.e. the well-known Russian "sole authority", which means blind obedience to the orders and commissions of the central Party organs, and must lead to the incorporation of Ukraine within the boundaries of the Russian

²³) T. D. Bondar, *ibidem*, pp. 21 and 22.

^{24a} & ^{24b}) The minutes of the sessions of the First (as of all the other congresses of the CPBU) were written in Russian; the quoted text was taken from the work by Bondar, pp. 93 and 92; (italics added, W. S.).

SSR, then it becomes clear that all members of the CPBU without exception were (and still are) forced to carry out unreservedly everything which was decided by the central committee of a foreign (Russian) party under the threat of severe punishment, including physical liquidation. What did the "proletarian centralism" look like in practice could be seen, among other things, from the fact that the CC RCPB dissolved the CC CPBU on October 2, 1919, when the latter failed to carry out the task "of unifying Ukraine with Russia... in the framework of the Russian SFSR". And when at the 4th Conference (having the rights of a congress) of CPBU, which took place on March 17-23, 1920 in Kharkiv —

"in conditions of fierce struggle between the followers of Lenin and the anti-party group of 'democratic centralism' ('decists'), who demanded freedom for factions and groupings within the party... spoke against the line of the CC CPBU, which *was carried out according* to the decisions of the party and the directives of the CC RCPB... a 'decist' majority was elected to the CC CPBU... The CC RCPB adopted a resolution on *the dissolution of the CC CPBU*... and set up a provisional CC CPBU"²⁵.

On the question of international relations between Ukraine and Russia, the 4th Conference of CPBU resolved that all attempts "to break or weaken the ties of Ukraine to RSFSR" are classified as "counterrevolution, aimed against the dictatorship of the proletariat" (i.e. the Russian Communist Party of the Bolsheviks, whose aim was to rebuild the empire). I. Maistrenko rightly asserts that "*the CPBU continued to be an external occupational force...*"²⁶

The 10th Congress of RCPB, held on March 8-16, 1921 (it coincided with the so-called Kronstadt uprising) by a separate resolution clearly forbade the creation of groups and factions among party members holding different views, authorizing the CC RCPB to destroy completely all manifestations of factionalism. From that time on all further attempts to make the CPBU "independent" became practically unthinkable.

It must be added further that the CPBU never had its own program in spite of the fact that the Tahanrih meeting adopted a resolution "to work out a draft program and to present it to the party conference (for consideration)". Soviet author (T. D. Bondar) states that this resolution

"...was not implemented because there was no need of a separate program for the CPBU. The CPBU was guided by the single program of the RCPB, which unfolded the goals and tasks

²⁵) *Ukraïns'ka Radyans'ka Sotsyialistychna Respublika* (collective work — Vol. 17, Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia), p. 185, as well as "*Kommunisticheskaya Partiya Ukrainy v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh syezdov i konferentsiy*" 1918-1956. Kyiv 1958, p. 45. (All italics added).

²⁶) I. Maistrenko, *ibidem*, p. 75; italics added.

of political activity of all Communists, including the Communists of Ukraine"²⁷.

In the program of the RCPB adopted at the 8th Congress, held on March 18-23, 1919, that is several days after the approval by the 3rd Congress of the Soviets of Ukraine of the so-called Constitution of the Ukr. SSR, the following was decided among other things:

"Mandatory is the existence of a single centralized Communist Party with one Central Committee, which directs the whole work of the party in all parts of the RSFSR. All decisions of the RCPB and its ruling organs are unconditionally binding on all segments of the party, regardless of their national composition. The Central Committees of the Ukrainian, Latvian, Lithuanian communists enjoy the rights of provincial committees of the party and in their entirety are subject to the CC RCPB"²⁸.

On the occasion of the adoption of a new party program (at the 23rd Congress of the CPSU in October 1961) an article by P. Polezhai, an assistant professor, appeared in the periodical *Radyans'ke pravo*, No. 1/1962 which said among other things: "...The party's policy comes before the law and at the same time gets from it state legalization, as was noted by V. I. Lenin more than once". And in the article by the secretary of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, M. Georgadze, which appeared in the periodical *Soviety deputatov trudyashchikh* (No. 1/1958) it is stated that

"...the all-round activity of the Supreme Soviet is fully subordinate to the all-guiding party and is directed to the performance of tasks elaborated by the Communist Party, which is the leading force in Soviet society".

As can be seen from this analysis of the role of the party, the Soviet state system of the Ukrainian SSR from its dark beginning²⁹ was

²⁷) T. D. Bondar, *ibidem*, p. 24; italics added.

²⁸) "K.P.S.S. v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh...", Moscow, 1954, Part I, p. 443.

²⁹) As to the date of its beginning and the legal basis for the existence of the Ukr. SSR there are conflicting views among Ukrainian exile scholars; in *Entsyklopediya Ukrainoznavstva* (Vol. 4, p. 1572) Prof. B. Halaichuk and V. Markus' say: "Constitutionally the Ukr. SSR was considered an independent state from March 1918 until May 1920". — without any further explanations, — while in the English-language Ukrainian Encyclopedia, p. 794, Prof. Holubnychyi writes that "the Ukr. SSR... was proclaimed in January 1919 just after the defeat of the forces of the Ukrainian National Republic..." Dr. Matviy Stakhiv in his work *Druha soviets'ka respublika v Ukraini* (The Second Soviet Republic in Ukraine) says that "in the formally legal respect" the Ukr. SSR was... "an independent state of the Soviet type" from January 1919 (p. 212), although in another place he emphasizes that in the fall of 1919 "the second 'Ukrainian Soviet Republic' also ended" (after the liquidation of the Soviet "government" on October 2, 1919 (pp. 152-154). Prof. Sullivant links the date of the rise of the Ukr. SSR with the adoption of the constitution (March 1919) stressing that "in theory, if not in practice... an independent Soviet republic was established".

lacking the most essential element of statehood, the so-called sovereignty, i.e. *its own supreme power*, independent in its internal and external activity from any outside factors. The supreme power in the whole USSR, including the Ukr. SSR, is executed by a *single party* (or more precisely, its central organs — the Central Committee and the Politburo), and since the CPBU is only a provincial cell of that party, state organs of the Ukr. SSR do not exercise as much power, even in the spheres which are strictly “republican” (whose number is steadily decreasing) as do the satellite states, where the power is nevertheless exercised by their own Communist parties, *de facto* more or less independent from Moscow (but juridically completely independent).

All speculations on the subject of Ukr. SSR’s “statehood” which do not take into consideration *the constitutionally formulated role of the party* in that “Union Republic” must lead to erroneous conclusions, for the Soviet state system is basically different from other state systems in that the element of power is transferred from the “elective” state organs to the organs of the party.

Andrei Y. Vyshinsky in his widely known work on “The Law of the Soviet State”³⁰ states with unconcealed pride that “The Stalin constitution is thus the only constitution in the world which frankly declared the directing role of the party in the state”. And the recently deceased Prof. O. Yourchenko in the introduction to his work³¹ warns against the study or the classification “of legal and government forms which pertain to the Soviet state and legal complex, “apart” so to say from their ideological base and political reality”.

5. The Critical Period — 1920-1923

Referring to the problem of “continuity and succession” of the UNR—Ukr. SSR and the questions which were raised in Section 4, let us try to analyze and to define more accurately a possibility that after the Directory and the Army of the UNR left the territory which came under the control of the Bolsheviks — the heretofore fictitious state and its puppet “government” really did take over the rights and duties of the Ukrainian National Republic and its legal government,

(p. 49). As can be seen, there are three different answers to the same question. Is it possible to speak about “the defeat of the forces of the Directory” as early as January 1919, as is done by Prof. Holubnychyi and is it not necessary to keep in mind the events of the second half of 1919 which are mentioned by Prof. Stakhiv? These are the problems which should be reflected upon by the above-mentioned authors.

³⁰ Vyshinsky Andrei Y., *The Law of the Soviet State*. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1948, p. 628.

³¹ O. Yourchenko, *Pryroda i funktsiya sovets'kykh federatyvnykh form* (The Nature and Function of Soviet Federative Forms), Munich, 1956, Institute for the Study of the USSR — Research and Materials, p. 8.

and if they did, then with what purpose in mind — its continuation or liquidation? This question must be answered in the negative for the following reasons:

1) As defined by the so-called constitution of the Ukr. SSR of March 10, 1919³² "The Ukr. Socialist Soviet Republic is an *organization* of dictatorship of the working and exploited masses..." (beginning of the first paragraph) with completely concrete tasks — "the realization of transition from the bourgeois order to socialism..." (according to the second paragraph), *but no state* in the normal sense of the word (it is characteristic that in the whole constitution there is no mention of the judicial system in that "state"!);

2) handing over to the Russian SFSR the power in the five most essential spheres of state administration (the army, the economy, roads, finance and labour), in compliance with a decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of June 1, 1919. The organs of central government in the Ukr. SSR enumerated in the "constitution" would not even have been capable of taking over and independently executing these state functions;

3) the third occupational government created in February 1920, which at the smallest opportunity issued its own "appeals" and "diplomatic notes", to everyone's amazement did not issue a single document, after the Directory's migration to the West, in which there would be at least an allegation that this "government" is taking upon itself the execution of the state functions, which heretofore were performed by the Directory.

Juggling of phrases about "its firm will to defend the independence and the integrity of the Socialist Soviet Republic of Ukraine" in an appeal by that same occupational government "to all peoples and governments, all, all, all" of February 19, 1920 was dictated by purely tactical considerations for the Russian Bolsheviks wanted:

a) to erase the negative reaction of some members of the CPBU as to the centralist tendencies of the CC RCPB, in particular the

³²) We are giving the date of the first "constitution of the Ukr. SSR" with some reservations, for it is hard to pinpoint for the following reasons: a) At the Third Congress of CPBU which was held on March 1-6, 1919 it was decided — "...to adopt in full and on the whole the *Constitution* of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, allowing for its amending depending on local conditions". b) At the Third All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets, which was held from March 6th to 10th, 1919 the following resolution was passed — "The constitution is *confirmed in full* and is handed over for final editing to the editing commission of the Central Executive Committee". c) Under the text of the constitution (in Russian) which was made public on March 18, 1919 there is the following note: "Ratified by the Third All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets on March 10, 1919. *Adopted in the final draft of the Central Executive Committee of Ukr. SSR on March 14, 1919*".

This unique in history method of ratification of the fundamental state law speaks for itself and proves that the Bolsheviks attached no particular value to any legal norms, for to them "power always determined the law".

dissolution (October 2, 1919) of the CC CPBU and the liquidation of the "Provisional Worker Peasant Government", the reaction which among other things manifested itself at the so-called Homel meeting which took place at the end of November 1919, in spite of the prohibition by the CC RCPB;

b) to draw to close cooperation all leftist Ukrainian independence-minded groups [the so-called Borotbists, Ukapiists, left-wing Esers (Social Revolutionaries)] in conformity with Lenin's directives, who worked out a new tactic on "the Ukrainian question" in December 1919, which was then adopted by the 8th Conference of RCPB;

c) to obtain recognition of the new "government" (Sovnarkom) by other states and governments, which previously had recognized the UNR and the Directory, ignoring various notes of the former "government", sent out in the period from February to July 30, 1919.

It must be stressed that although the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs (as well as the commissariats of Justice, Agriculture, Education, Foreign Trade and Post) remained "non-unified", Khristian Rakovsky, as Commissar of Foreign Affairs, relatively seldom sent out diplomatic notes solely on behalf of the "government of the Ukr. SSR", and in all matters acted essentially as a "satellite" of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of the Russian SFSR, which was then headed by Chicherin. Out of 67 documents, reprinted in the compilation "Ukrainian SSR in the International Arena"³³ in the year 1920, I came across only 9 independent notes (but not a single agreement or treaty), sent to the governments of Poland, Rumania and the Baltic states. Very characteristic i.a. is a note (of July 1, 1920) sent to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Finland protesting the recognition (for the second time) of the UNR and the Directory³⁴ by the Finnish government, which contains an insolent assertion that

"the Finnish government cannot help but know that Petlyura's government is a synonym for foreign invasion and violence over the will of the Ukrainian people..."³⁵

When the Russian Sovnarkom rejected the proposal of the British government dated July 11, 1920 to terminate the war (with Poland and the UNRepublic) and to begin peace negotiations, it issued an "appeal" to workers, peasants "and all honest citizens of Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine" dated July 20, 1920³⁶, signed by Lenin alone, as

³³ *Ukraïns'ka RSR na mizhnarodniy areni* — compilation of documents (1917-1923). Publ. "Scientific Thought", Kyiv, 1966. Issued by the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR — Section of State and Law.

³⁴ In August 1918 the government of Finland recognized Ukraine's independence and established diplomatic relations with the government of Hetman Skoropadskyi, while on June 11, 1920 the Finnish government confirmed its recognition of the UNRepublic and agreed to renew diplomatic relations with the Directory. See the above-mentioned work, p. 641, note 39.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, Document No. 119, p. 165.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, Document No. 123, pp. 175-180.

head of the Russian Sovnarkom, which already then decided about war or peace not only in Russia, but also in Ukraine, although it was allegedly "independent" and had "its own government". In the same way the terms of the treaty between the Russian SFSR and Poland were agreed upon by the All-Russian CEC on September 23, 1920³⁷ without any kind of participation by the "government of the Ukr SSR".

A prominent student of Soviet Russian politics toward Ukraine in the years 1917-1957, Prof. Sullivant, states the following:

"Out of 32 treaties and agreements to which Soviet Ukraine was a party, entered into between 1919 and 1924 (including the treaties between Soviet Ukraine and Soviet Russia) in 15 instances negotiations were conducted and treaties signed by representatives of the *Russian* government, who acted on behalf of Ukraine; 14 were such in which the representatives of Soviet Russia conducted negotiations, but the agreements *were also signed* by representatives of Ukraine, and (only) in *three* (3) instances were negotiations conducted and treaties signed by Ukrainian representatives themselves..."³⁸

After signing an armistice and the preliminary conditions of peace with Poland (October 12, 1920) the so-called government of the Ukr. SSR sent out identical notes (November 25, 1920) to the governments of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia urging them to start negotiations with the aim "of concluding a peace treaty, analogous to those concluded between Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic..."³⁹ without worrying about the fact that between these three states and Ukraine there never existed a state of war which would demand "the conclusion of a peace treaty" between them. The real motive behind the sending of these "diplomatic notes" was the inclusion of the UNR in the conference of the Baltic states, Poland and Finland, which was held in early September 1920 in Belderingshof near Riga⁴⁰; trying to win recognition for the Ukr. SSR and its puppet "government" the Bolsheviks wanted to liquidate this bloc of states, so dangerous to them, and the diplomatic ties of the UNR.

Appearing outwardly as defenders of "Ukr. SSR's independence" the organs of so-called central Soviet government in Ukraine conducted from within a systematic liquidation of all manifestations of statehood, as can be seen for instance from the resolutions of the 4th All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets, which took place between

³⁷) *Ibidem*, Document No. 127, pp. 184-186.

³⁸) See 12c) Prof. Sullivant, p. 339, note 91 and the sources quoted; italics added.

³⁹) Compilation quoted in 33), Document No. 146, p. 218.

⁴⁰) V. Kedrovskiy, *Ryzhs'ke Andrusovo*, p. 45 & 47.

the 16 and the 20th of May 1920 in Kharkiv; in the resolution dealing with official relations between the Ukr. SSR and the RSFSR it was stated that "the Ukr. SSR, while preserving its independent state constitution, is a member of the *All-Russian Socialist Soviet Federative Republic...*"

The Congress authorized the Ukrainian CEC "to continue to conduct the same policy of getting closer together" and to reach an agreement with the All-Russian CEC on the matter of inclusion of 30 representatives of Soviet Ukraine into the make-up of the All-Russian CEC, which later (in June 1920) actually did occur. Thus, as maintained by Prof. Sullivant "Ukraine was placed on the level of subordinate provinces of the Russian SFSR"⁴¹.

The so-called "Union Worker-Peasant Treaty between the RSFSR and the Ukr. SSR" of December 28, 1920, which was concluded according to regulations of common international agreements, signed by Lenin personally and ratified immediately by the 8th All-Russian Congress of Soviets which was then in session, was the camouflaging of sorts of Ukraine's annexation. As worded in Article 1, this "military and economic alliance" was in essence a repetition and broadening of the aforementioned decree of the All-Russian CEC from June 1, 1919, as can be seen from the following comparison:

Decree of June 1, 1919

"considers it mandatory to effect close consolidation:

- 1) military organizations and military command,
- 2) councils of national economy,
- 3) railroad administration and agriculture,
- 4) finances,
- 5) commissariats of labour".

Decree of December 28, 1920

Par. III "both governments proclaim the consolidation of the following commissariats:

- 1) military and naval affairs,
- 2) higher council of national economy,
- 3) roads,
- 4) finances,
- 5) labour,
- 6) foreign trade,
- 7) post and telegraph offices".

According to Par. IV "consolidated commissariats become part of the Sovnarkom of the RSFSR...", while according to Par. VI — "Direction and control of the consolidated commissariats is to be effected through the *All-Russian congresses of Soviets...*"

The treaty did not mention, as is usually done in real international treaties on "military and economic alliances", either the time of its duration, or (which is even more important) the conditions of its denunciation by each of the treaty partners; therefore there is nothing strange then in the fact that both the Soviet and Western scholars had and still have a great deal of trouble with defining the actual legal character of this treaty, which has all attributes of a treaty

⁴¹) Sullivant, Robert St., *Soviet Politics and the Ukraine 1917-1957*, loc. cit.

imposed by a stronger party, known in law as octroian treaty. One of the students of the Bolshevik revolution, E. H. Carr states that this treaty (just as all similar ones concluded with the Byelorussian SSR and the Transcaucasian SFSR) —

“had some features of an alliance, some of federation and some of a unitary state”⁴².

He adds that in this uncertainty as to the legal status of the treaty

“...The curious may find... a case of history repeating itself. Generations of historians had debated the question whether the treaty of Pereyaslav of 1654 constituted a personal union between Muscovy and Ukraine or an incorporation of the Ukraine in the Muscovite empire”.

This ambiguity was not accidental but intentional. This is evident, among other things from the resolutions of the 1st All-Ukrainian conference of the CPBU which took place on May 2-4, 1921 which say the following:

“5. The question on the form of official relations between the RSFSR and the Ukr. SSR under conditions of victory of the proletarian revolution both in Russia and in Ukraine has lost its former, typical of bourgeois state relations, sharpness. Where *there are no boundaries between states, except ethnographic*, where there are no tariffs or economic competitions, there *the question of official relations* is solved depending on concrete situation...” (i.e. as Russia sees fit).

After mentioning various periods of “Ukrainian statehood” (only Soviet of course) the resolutions further state that:

“...with all these outward changes only the form had changed, but *not the nature of official relations between the republics* built on the bases of fraternal unity and solidarity of workers, which are still incomprehensible to Ukrainian chauvinists, *who are evaluating state relations* of the Soviet republics according to the *clichés of bourgeois constitutions and bourgeois political science*. For the Communist Party of Ukraine the question of Ukr. SSR's attitude to RSFSR *was never a question of principle*, but *exclusively* the question of *revolutionary expediency*, and he, who in the midst of our party would attempt to pour the question on state relationship (independence or the principle of one and indivisible Russia) into the form of disagreements in principle would in fact become a leader in the party of the ideas of Great Russian or Ukrainian chauvinism...”⁴³

During 1921 and the first half of 1922 the Russian Sovnarkom and the CEC of RSFSR treated Ukraine as an integral part of Russia, and

⁴² Carr, Edward Hallett, *The Bolshevik Revolution 1917-1923*; Volume I, Pelican Books A749, 1966, p. 393.

⁴³ *Kommunisticheskaya Partiya Ukrainy v rezolyutsiyakh...* (as in 25), p. 134.

not as "an independent and sovereign" state and ally. The Russian government authorities did not even try to fulfil Par. V of the treaty of December 28, 1920, which provided that:

"The order and form of internal government of Consolidated Commissariats is to be established by special agreements between the two governments".

Besides this, they did not permit representatives of the Ukr. SSR to assume leadership and control of the consolidated commissariats, as had been provided in Par. VI of the treaty, and in numerous instances even gave directives directly to individual commissariats of the Ukr. SSR, including those which remained unconsolidated as for instance, agriculture, justice, education, etc. And when they usurped the right "to defend the interests" of the Ukr. SSR (and of all the other "republics") at the Genoa conference which was held from April 10th until May 19, 1922 and concluded the Rapallo treaty with Germany (April 16, 1922) with participation of representatives of the Ukr. SSR, then even Kh. Rakovsky realized what in practice is the allegedly "independent" Commissariat of Foreign Affairs headed by him, and the whole "government" of the Ukr. SSR. As the result of formal protests by Skrypnyk, Rakovsky and others the CC RCPB called to life (in May 1922) a separate commission under the leadership of M. V. Frunze which worked out a resolution "about the inadmissibility of measures which in practice would lead to the liquidation of the Ukr. SSR and to the lessening of power of its Central Committee, the Sovnarkom and the central organs". This commission condemned the practices of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of the RSFSR and drafted several agreements dealing with the actions of the commissariats of both republics, but this did not improve the situation at all⁴⁴. On the contrary, the Russian Bolsheviks, consolidating their power and achieving considerable successes at the international forum, were attempting to liquidate even the fictitious "statehood" of the republics, which was granted to them in the treaties of alliance. In the second half of 1922 work began for a speedy organization of the one and indivisible Russia under the cover of the U.S.S.R.

The Politburo of the CC RCPB called to life (August 10, 1922) a separate commission made up of representatives of the CC RCPB and the Central Committees of other Communist parties, headed by Stalin, "to prepare and solve the question of interrelations" between individual "republics" and the Russian SFSR. Stalin worked out the so-called proposal of "autonomization" according to which the republics would have had to unite with the RSFSR by way of their entering the Russian SFSR on the basis of autonomy, and not federation, which corresponded to Stalin's personal views, who as early as 1920 expressed the idea (in a letter to Lenin dated June 12, 1920)

⁴⁴) See 12a) Prof. Pipes, p. 264 and the sources quoted there.

that "in reality there is no difference between the Ukrainian and the Bashkir form of federation, for it is so small that it equals zero"⁴⁵.

Stalin's proposal, which he sent to various central committees of the republican branches of the party for discussion and confirmation, encountered sharp protests, in particular in Georgia, where a serious affair broke out in this connection and in which Lenin himself became involved later on. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Bolsheviks of Ukraine delayed in answering rather long and then on October 3, 1922 finally adopted the following resolution:

"1. To express categorical support for the resolution on inter-relations between the RSFSR and Ukr. SSR passed by the last plenary session of CC CPBU, as mandatory to preserve the independence of the Ukr. SSR and the formulation of inter-relations, adopted by the commission of com. Frunze... Actual centralized direction of independent republics can be fully achieved by appropriate directives along the party line.

2. In the event that the CC RCPB will nevertheless accept the necessity of Ukr. SSR's entry into the RSFSR, *not to insist upon the preservation of the formal attributes of Ukr. SSR's political independence*, but to determine relations on the basis of practical expediency"⁴⁶.

As the consequence of intervention by Lenin, who was a shrewder tactician than Stalin, the CC RCPB decided to create the USSR and in order to draft "the treaty on the establishment of the Union of S.S.R." called to life the second, 11-men commission, composed of Kalinin, Kamenev, Pyatakov, Rykov, Stalin and Chicherin and the representatives of five "republics" (Ukraine, Byelorussia, Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia). The new proposal on federation also met with opposition in Georgia and Ukraine, where inside the CPBU a struggle was taking place between the supporters of confederative ties and broader rights for the Ukr. SSR, and the "centralists" that is the Russians and the Russified "nationals", who penetrated the party and the state apparatus in order to preserve the empire. The controversy surrounding the question of "federation or confederation" is even dealt with by Soviet historians⁴⁷.

On December 29, 1922, immediately after the 10th All-Russian Congress of Soviets (23-27. XII), a conference of delegates elected by the congresses of the "republics", which resolved to hold on the next day the so-called First Congress of Soviets of the USSR, at which after Stalin's address the following were adopted:

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 270.

⁴⁶ B. M. Babi, *Ukraïns'ka Radyans'ka derzhava* (1921-1925), Kyïv, 1961.

⁴⁷ D. A. Chugaev, *Kommunisticheskaya partiya organizator mnogonatsional-nogo gosudarstva*, Moscow, 1954.

a) Declaration on the establishment of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, and — b) *Treaty on the establishment of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics*⁴⁸. The declaration stated among other things that “conditions imperatively demand the unification of the Soviet republics into *one union state*...”, while “the treaty” specifies the principles of this “unification” in 26 points, which later became the basis for the first constitution of the USSR. Without going into a detailed analysis of the terms of this treaty, I must emphasize that the definition of the newly created state entity (both in the declaration and in the treaty, and later in all works of Soviet jurists and historians) as “ONE” (also “single”) — “union state” introduces into the concept of federativeness (“union state”) *an element of unitarianism*, for so far in the legal sense “one — state” is a synonym for a unitary state (in German *Einheitsstaat*). The aforementioned Prof. O. Yourchenko says the following on this subject in his interesting work:

“It can be assumed that the term “one” in conjunction with “union” reflects a clear tendency in fact to underline and to distinguish the exceptional and specific character of the Soviet state entity, which united in itself *the federative form and the centralized essence of internal relations*”⁴⁹.

At this time it should be mentioned that Lenin, being sick, did not attend the congress personally, but was very interested in it, and — being a good strategist — saw that CC RCPB and Stalin went too far and too fast in the direction of reconstruction of the one and indivisible Russia under the cover of the USSR. Forcing the doctors to grant him permission to work for 10-15 minutes a day he dictated notes to his secretaries, of which three, dated December 30 and 31, 1922 were devoted to the national question. These notes have not been published in Lenin’s native land until 1956 and only after Khrushchov’s so-called “de-Stalinization speech” did they appear in the periodical *Kommunist* No. 9, 1956 and were later included in the fourth edition of Lenin’s works, published in 1957 (Vol. XXXIII, pp. 553-559)⁵⁰. In the first note Lenin condemned the “apparatus” (party and state) — “borrowed from tsarism and only slightly greased with Soviet oil...” and with respect to “the freedom of secession from the Union” (point 26 of the treaty) “by which we are justifying ourselves”, Lenin stated that the “right of free secession” —

⁴⁸) Full texts of both documents of December 30, 1922 in Ukrainian are to be found in compilation quoted in 33) pp. 554-555 (Document No. 281) and pp. 556-560 (Document No. 282).

⁴⁹) See 13), pp. 60-61.

⁵⁰ & ⁵¹) The English translation of all three notes can be found in Prof. Pipes’ work, pp. 282-287. Ivan Dzyuba also refers to these notes in his work *Internationalism or Russification?*, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, London, 1968, p. 126.

"will be a mere scrap of paper, unable to defend the non-Russians from the onslaught of that really Russian man, the Great Russian chauvinist, in substance a rascal and a tyrant, such as the typical Russian bureaucrat is. There is no doubt that the infinitesimal percentage of Soviet and Sovietized workers will drown in that tide of chauvinistic Great Russian riff-raff like a fly in milk"⁵¹.

These words of Lenin must be remembered by all those who consider "the right to free secession", guaranteed by no one and nothing, (the ancient Romans called such a right "lex imperfecta")! as a basis of Ukr. SSR's "statehood".

I do not consider it necessary to discuss the other two notes by Lenin, dated December 31, 1922, although they are also interesting since the ideas expressed in them had no influence whatsoever either on the flow of events in the USSR or the historic evaluation of Lenin, as the one who by tactical cunning, or even violence at times, saved the Russian empire for "the chauvinistic Great Russian riff-raff" at the expense of the subjugated nations. Lenin's "solution of the nationality question" (= assimilation) is analyzed quite correctly by some Western scholars⁵², and is consistently put into effect on the territory of the USSR by typical "Russian bureaucrats".

In the first half of 1923 debates on the formulation of the constitution of the USSR were held both in a separate constitutional commission and inside the party, and in particular at the 7th Conference of CPBU, which took place on April 4-10 and at the 12th Congress of RCPB from April 17-25, 1923. At all these debates, which centered around the national question, Georgians, Mdivani and Makharadze, and representatives of the Ukr. SSR (Shumskyi, Skrypnyk and even Kh. Rakovsky) submitted various counterproposals with the aim to guarantee in a new state entity the rights due to the "republics". However, in view of the numerical superiority of the Russians and the Russified elements⁵³ almost all of their amendments to the constitution were rejected.

The constitution was ratified on June 26, 1923 by the real sovereign of the new state, the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party of the Bolsheviks, and on July 6 by the second session of the First Congress of Soviets of the USSR, putting it into force immediately, in spite of the fact that the adopted text was not yet complete and final (the final constitution was ratified by the Second Congress of Soviets on January 31, 1924). On July 13 the Central

⁵²) Low, Alfred D., *Lenin on the Question of Nationality*. Bookman Associates, New York, 1958. Goodman, Elliot R., *The Soviet Design for a World State*. Columbia University Press, New York, 1960. Conquest, Robert, *Soviet Nationalities Policy in Practice*. Frederick A. Praeger, Publisher, New York-Washington, 1967.

⁵³) The above-mentioned work by Prof. Pipes, pp. 264-266 and 290-293, as well as the statistical table on the national composition of the RCPB membership in 1922, p. 278.

Executive Committee of USSR in an appeal "to all peoples and governments of the world" told of the establishment of "a single union state", and in ten days, on July 23, 1923 "the governments of the Ukr. SSR" handed a notice to all foreign representatives in Moscow stating that the Ukr. SSR "has transferred to the Union of SSR the conduct of all its international relations... and the realization of foreign trade relations..."⁵⁴.

The process of putting together a new Russian empire, defeated in 1917 by the spontaneity of the subjugated nations, was thus completed under a new label, the USSR, with the new autocrat, the mono-party and its politbureau, the secretariat and General Secretary Stalin.

And in Ukraine a reverse process came to an end — the liquidation of even that fictitious state, created upon Lenin's directions and in accordance with the resolutions of the 7th Conference of the RCPB of December 1919, with which the Russian SFPSR "entered into a military and economic alliance" on December 28, 1920.

Prof. Charles de Visscher states in his short study⁵⁵ that the December 30, 1922 treaty and the 1923 constitution of the USSR —

"achieved the disappearance of the Ukrainian state by way of renunciation by that state of its independence on the international level".

I must emphasize that this liquidation pertained to the fictitious state — the Ukr. SSR, because, as understood by "bourgeois political science" i.e. Western constitutional law, the Ukr. SSR was not a state, *only an annexed territory of the Ukrainian National Republic without its own boundaries* (see above-mentioned resolution of the First All-Ukrainian Meeting of CPBU of May 2-4, 1921), which by the decision of the highest organ of the central Soviet government (see Par. 7 & 10 of the March 1919 constitution) of the 4th All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets of May 16-20, 1920 *was proclaimed an integral part* (compare the words "is a member") of the single state RSFSR, even before it was completely occupied militarily⁵⁶. Outside forms, as for instance the constitution of the Ukr. SSR, which was a carbon copy of the constitution of the RSFSR of July 1918 and "the government" of the Ukr. SSR, which arose by the will of the occupying power and acted exclusively in its interests, "depending on a concrete situation", in no way provided a reason to regard the Ukr. SSR as

⁵⁴) Compilation cited in 33), Document No. 318, p. 633.

⁵⁵) P. De Visscher, "A propos de la personnalité juridique de l'Ukraine" in the compilation: *L'Ukraine dans le Cadre de l'Est Européen*, Research Notes of the Ukrainian Free University of Munich, Louvain—Paris, 1967, pp. 95-107, quotation from p. 102.

⁵⁶) The so-called winter expedition to the right bank of the Dnipro of the UNR Army lasted from December 1919 until June 1920, while on April 25, 1920 the Polish-Ukrainian armies began an attack against the Bolsheviks, and captured Kyiv on May 7-8, 1920.

a genuine state. Only from the point of view of Soviet state law, if one can talk about it at all, in particular in the period of so-called "war Communism" when the principle of "revolutionary expediency" was the basic "legal" norm, could the Ukr. SSR be considered a state in a quasi-confederative link with the RSFSR.

From the point of view of international law, which does not deal with the analysis of the internal state structure, nor the degree of states' independence, one can consider the Ukr. SSR of the 1921-1923 period a state entity of sorts, in which "the Soviet government" took the place of the "Directory's government", in spite of the fact that it acted as a liquidator of international ties of the Ukrainian National Republic.

6. Peculiarities of Soviet Federalism

All students of Soviet state system emphasize and prove that prior to the Revolution of 1917 the Bolsheviks were hostile to all federalistic concepts and supported strict centralism as the basic organizational principle of the Soviet state. Even Soviet jurist D. L. Zlatopolsky comes to the same conclusions:

"... Only after the October Revolution did the party begin to support firmly the view favouring recognition of federation as the form of state order in the Soviet multinational state"⁵⁷.

He stresses that the federative form of state organization is "subordinated to the task of the solution of the nationality question..."

Stalin arguing for the adoption of the federative concept defined the reasons for the change of views regarding federation as follows:

"First... at the time of the October Revolution a number of nationalities of Russia found themselves in fact in the state of complete separation and completely out of touch with one another, because of which federation appeared to be a step ahead from the differentiation of the working masses of these nationalities to their reconciliation..."

Second... the forms of federation themselves which emerged in the course of Soviet construction proved far from being so contrary to the goals of economic cooperation of the working masses of the nationalities of Russia, as it might have appeared earlier, or even completely non-contradictory to these goals, as was shown later in practice...

Third... the exact importance of the national movement proved to be much more serious, and the way to unification of the nation far more complicated, than it might have appeared earlier in the period before the war, or the October Revolution. These move-

⁵⁷) Zlatopolsky D. L., *Obrazovaniye i razvitiye SSSR kak soyuznogo gosudarstva*, Moscow, 1954.

ments went so far that the old plan of autonomy... proved to be inapplicable in a number of cases..."⁵⁸.

As can be seen from the above, the "federalism" of the Soviet type forced upon them by actual circumstances, was conceived and shrewdly used by the Russian Bolsheviks as a mechanism:

1) of constant interference by the Russian center in the affairs of the "borderlands", in particular Ukraine, which were legally and de facto separated;

2) of gradual integration of these "borderlands" in the empire which they were reconstructing;

3) of manipulation in the sphere of "self-determination of nations" and in the so-called solution to the national question.

According to the program of the RCPB of March 1919 "federative unification of states organized in Soviet style" — should be considered "as one of the transient forms on the way to complete unity"⁵⁹. In the process of putting together a unitary, autocratic Russia, defeated by the liberation revolutions of the subjugated peoples, Soviet "federalism" was conceived as a temporary phenomenon and served in the role of a masquerade garment which concealed the real aim of the RCPB and state organs of the new Russia — the reconstruction of the "one and indivisible". It never became a lasting principle, in form and contents, of regulating international and interstate relations, as for example was later the case in Yugoslavia. In order to achieve their objectives the Bolsheviks: a) filled the forms of a federative state known in the West with *specific Bolshevik substance*⁶⁰ preserving, in contradiction to the real principles of federalism, *the unitary, centralized* monoparty, whose members were dispatched to various key positions both in the provincial branches of the party and in the so-called "governments of the union republics"; b) with the help of such "dispatchees" they firmly took into their hands absolute and exclusive administration of all economic and military affairs, prior to the creation of the "federative state", the USSR.

The difference as to political goals and structural principles between the Western and Soviet federalism, which has been pointed out by quite a few researchers can be briefly summarized (without exhausting the subject completely) in the following points:

⁵⁸) Stalin, J. V., *Sochineniya*, Vol. 5, p. 265; also A. Y. Vyshinsky in work quoted in note 30) pp. 224-5.

⁵⁹) VKP(b) *v rezolutsiyakh...*, Moscow, 1940, pp. 286-7. Also see note 52, Goodman, pp. 224-6 and the sources cited there.

⁶⁰) Work by Prof. Yourchenko quoted in 31) and chapters VII and VIII of E. R. Goodman's work quoted in 52); also A. Y. Vyshinsky speaks about "a new type of federation — the Soviet type, radically differing from the bourgeois type of federation..." (p. 224).

1) A possibility to change the Union constitution, that is also to change the federative system to a unitary one, by the decision of both houses of the Supreme Soviet without asking the member units of the federation for their consent;

2) a lack of a judicial organ which would decide possible conflicts between the Union and its component parts and which would guard the constitutionality of laws passed by the All-Union and the republican organs of government;

3) the budgets of the "republics" constitute an integral part of a single state (All-Union) budget which is voted on not by the republics but by the All-Union organs of government, at a time when the republics have no right to levy taxes for their exclusive needs;

4) ambiguity in the division of power between the "All-Union", "union-republican" and "republican" organs of state government and the possibility to change this power by an ordinary "ukase";

5) "the right of free secession from the union", which allegedly "is granted to each union republic", but which is nevertheless denied not only in the party's charter, but also in the criminal code, which carries force on the territory of all union republics.

I do not want to spend any more time with the analysis of Soviet "federalism" which in words of A. Y. Vyshinsky himself —

"Both by its class essence and by its organizational structure... is sharply distinguished from all existing forms of federation, confederation, and unitarism formerly or now existing in the capitalist world. *It is a type of state without a precedent in history*"⁶¹.

It is necessary to define the character of the state system in the USSR for this system also determines the state system in the Ukr. SSR and the legal meaning of the concept "union republic" itself. If one were to consider the USSR as a real federation then the position of the Ukr. SSR in this federation could possibly be compared with the position of Swiss cantons, American "states", British dominions, or German "länder", as is done by some students. However, on the basis of detailed analysis of all documents, the majority of objective students consider the USSR a unitary and even a highly centralized state, in which the so-called union republics have at times less autonomy than was enjoyed by the so-called *zemstvos* (country councils) of the tsarist times. The term "union republic" is in essence only a name for the administrative territorial unit of this unitary state, which under the name USSR is a continuation of the imperial Russia, or ancient Muscovy.

In conclusion, a brief word about Soviet "self-determination". In the declaration "of the rights of the peoples of Russia" of 2/15

⁶¹) Work by A. Y. Vyshinsky quoted in 30) pp. 228-9.

November 1917 we find that the Russian Sovnarkom resolved to put at the basis of its activity among other things:

"The right of the *peoples* of Russia to free self-determination including separation and establishment of an independent state".

However, in a month's time, at the 3rd All-Russian Congress of Soviets, which was held on 10-18 (23-31 N.S.) January, 1918, Stalin (perhaps influenced by the actual self-determination of Ukraine by the 4th Universal) considered it mandatory to interpret the principle of self-determination in a sense that self-determination is "a right *not of the bourgeoisie, but of the working masses* of the given nations. The principle of self-determination must be an *instrument in the struggle for socialism* and must be *subordinated* to the principles of socialism"⁶². And these principles — to add on our part, are instituted by the leadership of the Russian party and state. More of similar "definitions" of the right of nations to self-determination later appeared from under the pen of Lenin and Stalin, and all of them can be boiled down to the fact that only "the proletariat", or rather its "avant-garde" the Russian party of the Bolsheviks, has the sole right to speak on behalf of the peoples.

⁶²) Work by E. H. Carr quoted in 42), Vol. I, p. 272 with a reference to an incomplete set of documents from the 3rd All-Russian Congress of Soviets.

VALENTYN MOROZ (Concluded from p. 48)

arrested and imprisoned Moroz hoping to do him to death in the forced labour camps, there are others who continue his work, and the ideas for which he suffers are spreading ever wider in Ukraine. Ukrainian resistance grows stronger every year and one day it will erupt in a nation-wide revolution which will overthrow the Russian system of Communist slavery. Independent Ukraine, free from alien interference in its internal matters, will arise on the ruins of the Russian colonial empire.

In his "Reportage from Beria Nature Reserve" Valentyn Moroz stated: "I and my friends are condemned for "propaganda directed at the separa-

tion of Ukraine from the USSR." But Art. 17 of the USSR Constitution speaks clearly about the right of every Republic to secede from the USSR. The right of every nation to separation was laid down in the pact on the civil and political rights of men adopted at the 21st session of the UN General Assembly... People condemned for 'anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda' — are those who think differently, or those who dare to think... They are those who dared to use the rights proclaimed in the Constitution, who raised their voice against the shameful oppression of the KGB, against the violation of the Constitution."

Olexa WOROPAY

CUSTOMS OF OUR PEOPLE

(Continuation—5)

CHRISTMAS EVE (Sviat-vechir)

It is winter. Snow is glittering everywhere. Frost like a good artist has painted the windows over. The Trees are covered with hoar-frost and are standing as if it were scenery in Fairyland.

It is a peaceful morning, no one can be seen in the street, but the village is not asleep. From every chimney rises smoke and in every house work is in full swing.

To-day is a special day

From old-old time on this day Ukrainian peasants with words and magic create images of riches, happiness and peace in their own homes. Christmas Eve customs differ somewhat from region to region and from village to village in Ukraine but the following may be an outline of the most characteristic customs.

From early morning, when only a blue gleam is peeping through the frozen window, peasant woman begins her magic actions. In the first place she makes the "new" fire. She takes from the "corner of honour" a piece of flint and a piece of iron, which for the last twenty days have been lying under the icons. She crosses herself and makes "new" fire striking the iron at the flint. After she obtains fire in this way she lays on it twelve pieces of wood. On this fire peasant woman does her cooking of twelve dishes for the supper on the Christmas Eve. That elaborate yet meatless and milkless supper represents the main products of the field, kitchen-garden and orchard — as if the housewife was rendering an account to the coming New Year.

In the meantime her husband gives water to the animals, changes their litter, and gives them hay for eating. Everything and everybody must be in its own place: nothing should be lent or left behind. All members of family also should stay at home. "God forbid to spend this night in somebody else's place", people say, "otherwise one would wander about through the whole coming year."

"God forbid to quarrel on this day", people say again. "On the contrary, it is much better to make peace with one's enemies. Then in the new year all will be peaceful within and outside the house."

But it is not always that the peasant woman knows her enemy, that is why she plugs with tow all holes in the chairs and whispers: "I am plugging not a hole but the mouths of my enemies in order that their hatred would not catch me during the whole coming year."

Sometimes the housewife makes knots with the string, lays it on the chair, sits down on it and says: "May my enemies be as silent as these knots."

So that the year is prosperous

And so the whole day is spent in busy preparations — without breakfast, without dinner . . .

When sun has set, they begin to build the home altar with ploughshare, sickle and a sheaf of winter rye which has a special name of "Didukh" (the "grand-sire") — it is a symbol of harvest. Hay or straw is strewn under and on top of the table, which the housewife then covers with a tablecloth. When a peasant enters the house and steps over the threshold carrying the "Didukh", he takes off his hat and greets his wife in such a manner, as if he sees her for the first time this day:

"God give you health."

"God help you, too", answers his wife and asks him:

"What is it you're bringing?"

The husband answers:

"Gold, so that we may prosper throughout the coming year."

After that dialogue the peasant addresses his family with the following words:

"I greet you on this Christmas Eve and wish you happiness and good health: I wish you to spend in happiness and good health this feast and live to see the next Christmas Eve in peace — and thence till a hundred years as long as God allows lifetime for us."

After these words the peasant raises the "Didukh" over his head and puts it down under the icons in the "corner of honour." He girdles the "Didukh" with an iron chain.

"Against evil forces"

On this evening of mystery our peasant endeavours to defend his home against the evil forces with magic action and herbs. The peasant and his wife go round their buildings on the farm, they carry newly-baked hot bread, honey and wild poppyseeds. Before the door of the cow-shed the peasant woman scatters wild poppyseeds — "in order that a witch would pick up wild poppyseeds and would not have enough time to reach the cow."

At the end of this walk peasant hits three times with an axe at the threshold of the cow-shed — "in order that a beast would not step over."

In the house the peasant woman puts down under the table-cloth on every of the four corners of the table a garlic and other vegetables to ward off evil spirits.

"Holy" or "Rich" supper cooked on the "new" fire with various fruits of the earth and in keeping with the traditional rules — becomes an inexhaustible fountain of magic powers.

The majority of the magic actions during this Evening are carried out by the householder himself, but his wife and children help him in it, too.

In the "corner of honour" beside the "Didukh" on the dry aromatic hay the "Innocent Soul" — a child up to seven years old puts down three loaves, a small piece of salt and a big wax candle.

His mother puts down in same place a pot with "stewed fruit" and a tureen with "kutia" (cooked whole wheat grains, honey, and poppy seeds), the most important Christmas Eve and "Generous Eve" meal whose origin and the entire mystical meaning is lost in antiquity.

At last everything is ready and family is watching for the wonderful rise of the evening star. Its light will announce the miraculous birth of Christ.

"Holy Eve"

The peasant enters the house and announces to his family that "Holy Eve" has begun because the evening star had appeared. "Before we start our rich supper, — he says, — I should give fodder to our animals and ask the guests to the house."

He takes a tureen with mixture of all dishes of the rich supper, a loaf of bread and a big wooden spoon full of honey. Peasant does not forget his dog. He takes a piece of bread and a piece of mutton for him.

With these provisions the householder goes out. In the cattle-yard he meets his best friend — a watch-dog, he gives him bread and mutton and says to him:

"It is bread and sheep that you watch for me the whole year; if you will be a good boy again in the coming year, you will have more and better food."

After this, the peasant goes to the cow-shed, the stable and so on. The householder blesses each domestic animal with bread and says:

"I am blessing you with this sacred bread and call on you all the best in order that you are not frightened by any beast, do not fear lightning and that misfortune avoids you."

He takes the wooden spoon and makes a small cross with honey between the eyes of each domestic animal. Then the peasant gives to each animal "rich supper" and returns to the house.

On this "Holy Eve" the peasant treats very kindly all animals. It is considered a great sin to whip or to hurt in any other way any

animal on this evening, for the story goes that domestic animals will have a chat with God at midnight. God will ask them about the peasant:

"What sort of man is he — good or bad one?" If animals complain to God against their owner, the peasant will not be lucky with domestic animals in the coming year. Much better for the owner if cow, horse or pig will say about him:

"He is a good man to us."

In the meantime the housewife visits the hens, ducks and geese, she presents them with good, cooked wheat.

"Frost, Frost, come to us, "kutia" is served for you!"

When the peasant returns from the cattle-yard, he goes out again to invite guests into the house. He takes a plate of "kutia", honey, a cup of water, some bread and one apple. All this he holds with his left hand, with his right hand he holds a flail or an axe and capless steps over the threshold. The housewife closes the door after her husband, blows out a candle and asks her children to keep absolutely silent.

In the house there arises tension, everybody knows that outside the closed door something mysterious is happening. The children believe that their father is in danger, because he stands tête-à-tête with an elemental force of nature, which can appear to him in the form of a huge ice and snow-clad old man with many-many wolves around him.

It is a real danger, because if this man lays down his icy and snowy hand on their father's shoulder, father will freeze to death.

The children are frightened, but their father is a brave man, he is not afraid of anything, he takes a good look at the starry sky and speaks three times in a deep voice:

"Frost, Frost, come to us, "kutia" is served for you!"

He keeps silent for a moment, as if listening to silence of the cold winter night and speaks in a deep voice again:

"Frost, Frost, come to us for the Holy Supper!" He says that three times and then threatens Frost with the flail and cries out loudly:

"If you do not come now then don't you ever come to our cornfields!

It is much better for you to go to the open sea, wild forests and the high mountains, but don't do us any harm, please!"

After he has said this father asks grey wolf:

"You, too, come to eat "kutia", grey wolf! If you will not come then don't take away our lambs, calves and sucking-pigs."

At last, the peasant invites black storms and evil wind. He says:

"Black storms and evil wind come to us for the Holy Supper. If you will not come now to share the gifts of God, to eat a rich meal, to drink a strong drink — to which we are asking you, then

don't come to us in the summer and don't do any harm to us in the spring and winter cornfields."

After that invitation of the unusual guests, the peasant returns to the house trying not to look back and bolts the door after himself. And to the end of this supper no one may leave the house and the door will be shut.

Common supper for all generations of the family

The Holy Supper — is a common supper for all generations of the family, even the dead members of the family take part in it together with the living ones.

Before they start to eat father invites all the dead souls to the Holy Supper. He takes piece of linen, a tureen with "kutia", a lighted wax candle and goes three times round the table, then stops in front of the icon and prays:

"We pray to Thee, o God, for all the souls which were lost in the thick woods, were drowned in the deep waters or perished in the fire of war. Let them come and share with us this supper."

He crosses himself three times and hands to his wife the tureen with "kutia", the piece of linen and candle, with the words:

"We ask from the whole heart and with permission of God, the pious and sinful dead souls to the Holy Supper. We will share with them anything we have in order that they in that other world will have supper as we have here. We are anxious as well about those souls which perished from this world and were not saved. Let God take this supper to them. I invite as many of them to this sacred supper, as there are holes in this linen and as there are grains of wheat in this "kutia."

At last the family sit down at the table and the Holy Supper begins.

Later children take supper to their grandparents or godparents, making them, so to speak, partake of the common supper. They do not take all the twelve dishes, of course, but only sweet dishes. For exchange children get presents: sweets from grandmother and from grandfather some money.

Naturally, this is only a very sketchy description of our traditional Christmas Eve, rich in legends and mystical meaning.

KOLYADA (Carol-singing)

The word "Kolyada" originated from the term for a New Year in the ancient Roman Empire — "Calendae Ianuariae." When and how this word came to be accepted in Ukraine it is very difficult to discover now. Some of the researchers think that "Kolyada" is an evidence of Greek and Roman influences on the Ukraine-Rus' in the Black Sea and Danube area — before the 9th century.

This surmise is very probable because at that time the Ukrainian colonization reached the shores of the Black Sea and the banks of

the Danube and met there with the influence of the Greek and Roman culture.

In the land of the East Slavs the Greek and Roman culture met with a New Year ritual that existed here a long time already. Inhabitants had their own ritual songs already and followed their own New Year customs. In pagan times our ancestors celebrated a feast of winter solstice.

It is quite possible that their New Year songs were called "Shchedrivka" and the evening before a New Year was called "Shchedryi Vechir" — Generous Evening. These names and customs have been preserved till our days, and are associated with the Eve of the New Year (Old Style, 13th January New Style), and in some regions with the Eve of Epiphany (18th Jan.).

When Christianity came to Ukraine (988 A.D.) one part of ritual "Shchedrivka" songs have become associated with Christmas and so arose the new custom which needed a new term. This word probably was Roman "Calenda" which in Ukrainian gave "Kolyada."

The old Ukrainian ritual "Kolyada" songs are intended to eulogize persons of householders, housewives or their children — according to circumstances — and the names of people to be eulogized by these songs are placed in the text of the particular "Kolyada" (Carol).

The period of Carol singing begins at different times in different districts of Ukraine. In West Ukraine children go with "Kolyada" (Carol-singing) on Christmas Eve; in the Dnipro regions and in the Hutsul region (Eastern Carpathian Mountains) "Kolyada" begins on Christmas Day after the divine service; in Podolia on the morning of the second day of Christmas.

Everybody — children as well as grown-up boys and girls go carol singing in Ukraine. In the Hutsul region even married men go Carol-singing. But in the whole of Ukraine the first to go with "Kolyada" are children.

Motifs of Carols

As a rule the first to go Carol-singing are children. They come near to the window and loudly cry:

- Bless us to sing the carols!
- Do sing, please! — somebody answers from the house.
- For whom?
- For the master of the house.

And children all together begin to sing old Ukrainian "Kolyada" song about a wealthy and lucky householder, whose name is Mr So-and-So, and who sits at the table in his own rich house and drinks the best wine with a golden goblet.

If children sing carols for the housewife they also describe the ideal mode of living and enormous wealth. This kind of Christmas

"SHCHEDRYI VECHIR" (Generous Eve)

A week after Christmas Eve, on the eve of a New Year (December 31. O.S., January 13, N.S), comes "Shchedryi Vechir (Generous Eve). It is a remnant of ancient, probably, pagan customs. It is a day of Saint Melania (Malanka) by Christmas calendar. In folk tradition both these feasts are joined together and now we have "Shchedryi Vechir" — **Malanka**.

In Western Ukraine **Shchedryi Vechir** is celebrated on the eve of the Feast of Epiphany (18th January). People celebrate this day as an important feast of the Christmas cycle with well developed customs.

In the good old times, in the old patriarchal Ukrainian family this evening began with a funny custom: father "hid" himself behind a heap of pies which were a symbol of peasant's wealth.

Sveryd Halushka, an old Ukrainian peasant from the region of Kyiv, told a story about this custom: "...the evening, when the evening star appeared, my mother used to light a candle before the icons, then burned incense in the room and put a big bowl with pies on the table. Father, sitting at the table, used to hide his head behind the pies. We, children, pretended that we could not see our father and asked:

"Mother, where is our father?"

"Don't you see me, children?"

"We can't see you, father."

"God grant us to be next year not worse off than we are now."

Then father used to make the sign of the cross and asked all family to sit at the table. And so would begin the supper of the "Generous Eve" with wishes: "That in prosperity and peace we live to see the next year's Generous Eve."

Afterwards children begin to sing carols outside the window:

"Generous Evening to you, Householder,

Save, o God, all your property,

Your property and all your wealth,

We pray Our Lord for your father and mother.

Good Evening!"

The dishes for the supper are different in different parts of Ukraine: in the Dnipro region people make pies with meat and fry "blyntsi"¹ of buckwheat flour. In the southern Ukraine they bake "boublyky"² and cook "varenyky".³

1) A kind of pancakes.

2) Thick ring-shaped rolls of bread.

3) Boiled dumplings stuffed with curd cheese, potatoes or fruit.

Ivan VOVCHUK

RUSSIAN EMPIRE THREATENED BY NATIONALISM

The Growing Contradictions

Domestic contradictions within the USSR are not decreasing but rather increasing. Contradictions in the economy during the present leadership are shaking the imperial beast like a fever. The state of agriculture did not improve a bit after the new reforms. In more than half a century of the Bolshevik management the yield from one hectare (2.47 acres) of cultivated area in 1969 equalled 10 quintals per hectare, while in 1913 it equalled 8.2 quintals. At a time when the yield increased 20% in 50 years the population increased almost 60% (1913 — 159 million, 1969 — approx. 240 million). The gross yield of grain in the current economic year is slightly higher than the harvest in Khrushchov's times. In many republics (including Ukraine), as stated in the resolutions of the December plenum of the imperial party, the CPSU, "an unfounded decrease in the production of cattle and poultry has been allowed; a decrease in the production of meat, milk, eggs has been allowed, which resulted in the difficulties of supplying the population with animal products, in particularly in large industrial centres."

The present leadership may be forced to buy grain and meat in "capitalist states", as was the case during the reign of Khrushchov.

Strained Conditions in Industry

The December 1969 plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which examined the state of the country's economy, found that the industry was also in a state of extreme tension. The plenum materials were not published by the Soviet press. But from the directives on the improvement of these conditions it is apparent that:

"Different branches of industry fail to perform their planned tasks from year to year." "A number of ministries allow industrial enterprises to keep their capital equipment idle for a long time." "The plenum of the CC CPSU notes that some workers have lost the sense of responsibility in producing poor-quality goods and have tolerated a breach of discipline, exhibiting a careless attitude to the fulfilment of state plans." But what is more, "some responsible workers are evading the difficulties encountered in solving the assigned tasks and trying to shift the responsibility for developing certain branches from themselves onto other organs."

The above quotations from *Pravda* of Jan. 13, 1970 do not call for any commentaries. They illustrate the state of industry with its chaotic system of centralized imperial muddle of planning. Almost all republican ministries have been abolished. Even the ministry of education has become all-union, i. e. imperial. In 1970 a fierce campaign was started for improvement of discipline among the workers, for the decrease in absenteeism and the struggle with drunkenness, petty theft and waste as well as low productivity. The defects in

production did not decrease, but rather increased. By the Stakhanov method, shock work and socialist competition — by these special means of exploitation — the leadership is trying to pull industry and agriculture out of a bad state. This is not new, but nevertheless significant since it shows that workers in the so-called socialist production are doing a worse job than their counterparts in countries with free economy. What is new is the reluctance, the carelessness, the rising wastefulness and misappropriations of the leading party bureaucracy. But these are the signs of its decay.

In October of 1969 the Central Committee of the imperial party and the government passed a resolution on the "Steps of improving the management of industry." Among other measures it was ordered to cut the 1970 administrative expenses by 1.7 billion rubles. This means that over 1 million workers from the administrative apparatus are going to be laid off. Such oddities are only possible in the economy of planned imperial socialism, the leader of which, Brezhnev, is called "the Armadillo of Darkness", for his stupidity and dogmatism. And "Brezhnevism" is aptly called Stalinism without the cult of Stalin. The bureaucratized and outdated leadership of the imperial party cannot rule effectively, neither by way of reforms, nor by way of open terror, as had been the case under Stalin. Because of this stagnation is created which leads to degeneration, disorganization and decay. A rupture in society — between the peoples and the political system — is getting bigger as time progresses and today is reminiscent of the pre-revolutionary conditions in tsarist Russia.

Nationalism vs. Internationalism

By activities in foreign policy and diplomatic bustle the leaders of the empire are trying to veil domestic contradictions from the population, but these contradictions are becoming more obvious and are rocking the imperial system of the USSR. Of these contradictions, the most burning are national problems, in particular Ukrainian nationalism. As revealed by Soviet press, it is the greatest enemy and the worse threat to the empire.

Internationalism, one of the myths of imperial policy which is used to conceal the colonial policy of the Russian great power toward the subjugated nations, is at war with nationalisms, in particular Ukrainian nationalism. At all meetings, congresses and conferences, mention is made of the intensification of the struggle against nationalism.

In December 1969, a congress of all unions of literary and artistic workers was held in Moscow and at that congress a demand was all too clearly placed before the literati, the artists and the cultural leaders to intensify their struggle against nationalism. For, as confirmed by *Literaturnaya Gazeta* of December 12, 1969, a tendency can be detected in literature and arts "that only national peculiarities are worthy of being depicted in literary and artistic works." This results in "idealization of antiquity without class analysis of the events of the past" in creative work. In January of 1970, the plenum of the Writers' Union of Ukraine also dealt with the intensification "of international contacts of Ukrainian literature."

The Kremlin is most afraid of historical truth. It was not by accident, and certainly not on his own that the instructor of the Lviv Oblast Committee of the Party, Podolchak, appearing at the meeting of the Board of the Lviv branch

of the Writers' Union criticised the board for not elaborating the subject matter for the writers, and not checking what they were writing. Why, asked Podolchak, do writers like historic themes so much, and do not want to write about the heroics of the present?

Fearing historic truth, the Bolshevik dictatorship is distorting, falsifying and turning the history of the subjugated peoples to make it fit the Russian style. It is covered by the snow of imperial lies and stifled by the press of the almighty party dictatorship.

In Ukraine, as well as in other subjugated countries, the people dedicated to national ideals are struggling against the Russian dictatorship. There are barricades, as was confirmed by Dmytrenko, scolding Ivan Dzyuba (in *Literaturna Ukraïna*) for his speeches and writings. There are turncoats, and quite a few of them, who are running away from reality and out of fear do not want to see the imperial yoke around their necks and the neck of their nation, and, as snakes, are crawling before the all-powerful party, helping it to inject poison into the organism of the nations. There are those who oppose the imperial system of occupation and slavery and are confirming the Ukrainian truth by their heroic deeds and efforts. Resisting brutal pressure, they, to a greater or a lesser extent, by their courageous activities, by their example, are giving assurance to the nation that such activities are not only possible but are the only correct way, that only in a struggle is it possible to get rid of the "protection of the elder brother" and the yoke of colonial imperialism. It is extremely significant that as time goes on the bold are becoming more numerous and the struggle is becoming fiercer, and the voice of henchmen, "the slaves of the foreign power", is becoming silent.

Formation of Revolutionary Forces

A rebellious revolutionary force of the nation is growing out of the defence of elementary human dignity and national pride, in contrast to the brutal, administrative and political pressure of dull people making up the imperial mechanism. Koval's demands about "granting of independence to the Ukrainian state, with all attributes of its sovereign life", as well as other political letters written to imperial lords in Ukraine, show that previous demands of well-known circles (which tried to "correct the system") about the removal of constitutional abnormalities and political deception are turning into a national, political movement, fighting for a complete liberation of the nation — its state sovereignty. The government, by its cruel persecution and combating of all manifestations of the national idea, is hastening the formation of the revolutionary, national, political forces.

In 1969 a trial of Kyïv students was held for distribution of pamphlets and leaflets, reprinted from publications of revolutionary nationalism of the 40s. Many similar trials were held, and even more were persecuted in an administrative way without trial by the organs of the imperial government. At the Kyïv institutes and the university, passes were introduced, with which only students are allowed to enter the buildings of learning. Fighting with its fiercest enemy — nationalism — the imperial apparatus and its henchmen fail suspicious students at examinations, do not permit degree candidates, who seem suspicious

to them, to defend their theses and fire suspicious experts from their jobs. But all this does not stop the growing national struggle, in which the political forces of the nation are ripening and formulating themselves, and which are going to topple the imperial system in a decisive moment. In today's situation it is extremely important that nationally-minded people are attacking and combatt-ing those who serve the Russians. The circle of Russian henchmen, with its shady characters bent on treason, is not broadening, but rather narrowing, and the number of stooges of the occupation system is getting smaller. And this is all important in the struggle.

The poet and literary critic Vasyl Stus wrote a letter to the Writers' Union of Ukraine. In it the author ridiculed L. Poltoratskyi's article "Who Is Protecting the 'Humanists'?", published in *Literaturna Ukraïna*. V. Stus indicated that Russian stooges like Poltoratskyi and Co. do not see the repressions and the persecution of the nationally creative forces of Ukraine, but, arming themselves "with their talented pens... they spoke up when the West heard about the St. Bartholomew's night massacres in Ukraine." Arguing against Poltoratskyi's lies about the past activities of Chornovil and Karavanskyi, V. Stus points to the weakness of Poltoratskyi and his like of serving the Russians, and adds to his letter excerpts from Poltoratskyi's article about O. Vyshnya written in 1934 in which he called Vyshnya "a fascist and a counterrevolutionary", "a kulak ideologist", "a literary prostitute", and "an untalented scribbler." The younger forces, primarily students, hear about this and react in their own way. In the streets of Kyïv at night one can often hear the young people shouting: "Out with Brezhnev!"

Slander About OUN

In its struggle against nationalism the imperial apparatus in Ukraine is devoting a great deal of attention to the activity of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) abroad. Even an incomplete analysis of everything which is written about "traitorous nationalists" in literary, publicistic and propaganda publications gives ground to maintain that a special select group is working on combating the nationalist influences among the population. These people have their subjects and elaborate upon them in order to counteract the nationalist ideas in an appropriate form. It is typical that among these "experts" one can hardly find bright individuals, real writers, publicists and cultural leaders. The work is done to order by petty, dull-spirited men.

Great attention is paid to the "adoption" of "the working people" in exile. P. Zahrebelnyi in an address to the above-mentioned Plenum of the Writers' Union of Ukraine confirmed that "a specially created society at the *Ukrknyha* [Ukrainian book trade Corporation] annually sent abroad almost 1.5 million copies of Ukrainian books." "We are convinced, said he, that a lion's share of these books finds its way to our friends." Of course, his statement is highly exaggerated, for as many as five guardians from Moscow were taking part in the plenum, but one cannot ignore and underestimate this declaration.

In the indiscriminate propaganda war which is being waged against nationalism the greatest attention is devoted to combating the activities of OUN and ABN. L. Dmyterko denounces I. Dzyuba, connecting his "harmful" anti-Marxist

and anti-Leninist stand with the activity of Ya. Stetsko. The same is done by T. Myhal, Pavlychko or Kopylenko. In *Novoye Vremya*, No. 4, 1970 a long article entitled "In the Web of Anti-Communism" was published, which closely knits the activities of OUN and ABN with the world anti-Communist activities which are conducted in the free world. In a separate section, "From Petlyura to Stetsko", the present activity of OUN is tied in with the struggle of the past.

These few examples show that in Moscow nationalism is being treated as enemy No. 1 against which the literary and publicistic artillery has been directed in order to defend the indivisibility of the empire and its colonialist policy.

Contemporary Documentation

RESOLUTIONS OF THE ABN CONFERENCE IN BRUSSELS

The Conference of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations held in Brussels, Nov. 12-16 1970, reaffirms its conviction that:

National independence and personal freedom are the basic human rights, and a nation is a natural and spiritual body, a living and organic society created by God, welded by common history, culture, traditions and language, and a national state is a crowning of national aspirations;

Under the pressure of national liberation movements of the subjugated nations, colonial empires, except the Russian empire, have disintegrated;

The expansion of the Russian empire under the treacherous disguise of Communism and the idea of world revolution endanger the liberty of the still free world, and Moscow continues by all possible means to press its relentless drive for world conquest, Russia is trying to dominate entire continents and the warm seas. The Russian navy increasingly infiltrates into the Medirerranean Sea and the Indian Ocean without proper resistance from the Western powers;

The Russian empire is main obstacle to a better world organization, and the so-called "Soviet republics" are artificial creations, without parliament or government elected by the free will of the peoples, the USSR constitution is only a façade for the ruthless dictatorial and imperialistic system, and the Russian strength lies in the exploitation of their colonies;

All nations held captive in the Russian empire have been subjected to cruel political, cultural and religious oppression, genocide and economic exploitation, Russia is doing away with freedom fighters and intellectuals, suppressing native languages and cultures, killing the soul of nations;

Liberation nationalism, which is an antithesis to Russian imperialism, chauvinism and racism is a dynamic and unifying force, and the forces of freedom and independence of all suppressed nations are alive and hoping for a better social and political order;

It is in the interest of free nations to give support to the national liberation revolutions;

The revolutionary spirit is growing and hardening in the fight;

The revolutionary struggle for national independence of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, North Caucasus, Armenia, Siberia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Rumania, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Czechia, East Germany and several others is frustrating Russian global plans;

The prisoners in Russian concentration camps, jails and psychiatric asylums are a reminder to the free world of the plight of the subjugated peoples;

In order to weaken, confuse and disintegrate the free world Moscow applies very cunning tactics, such as coexistence, so called cultural exchange and "friendship" treaties, which are never kept;

Russian methods of infiltration, subversion, fifth columns, leftist groups and other subterfuges have to be countered by adequate means of ideological warfare in the free world and for the captive nations;

Military growth and expansion of Soviet Russia coincides with internal deterioration and deep crisis in all aspects of life;

The ultimate goal of our fight is the tearing down of the Iron Curtain, the complete liberation of the enslaved nations and the reestablishment of their independent national states;

A change of regime in the Russian empire, or a separate liberation of individual countries, is a short-sighted solution of the present situation, as the Russian nation is a nation aggressor and the creator of Bolshevism, with traditional messianism;

The free world's anti-Bolshevik activity will have direct influence on the non-Russian nations which are a serious threat to Russian imperialism;

The policies of the Western world in relation to the Russian empire have been weak and vacillating;

The fear of thermonuclear war has to be dispelled with noble ideas and spiritual values, which are stronger than atom bombs;

Moral rebirth and faith in God and Country are prerequisites to a successful struggle against the evils of Communism and imperialism;

By using indirect warfare against the free world, Russia gains strategic advantages without risking anything;

The free world's blindness, misinformation, confusion, fear and passivity foster Communist progress, (an example of it is the fact that the UNESCO infiltrated by Communists, proclaimed the year 1970 the year of Lenin "humanist", the man who caused the murder of dozens of millions of innocent people);

In the Sino-Russian conflict the Russian empire being stronger one should be regarded as the main enemy, it would be disastrous to help one of these adversaries as was shown by the disastrous consequences of the unquestioning support given by Western Allies to Russia against Nazi-Germany, instead of combating both tyrannies in alliance with the subjugated peoples;

The concept of the bipartition of the world, polarizing on spheres of influence is wrong and very dangerous one;

The only effective way to eliminate Soviet Russian threat is to help the subjugated peoples;

Only a common front of the captive nations with support of the anti-Communist forces of the free world can be successful;

To change the fate of the enslaved nations is the responsibility of the free community, since the denial of basic human rights is not internal matter of the Soviet Russian occupants;

A new generation, brought up on the example of heroes — fighters knows no fear and courageously protests against tyranny, which is the main feature of the present-day struggle behind the Iron Curtain.

In view of all these facts the Conference of ABN resolves:

To intensify the mobilization of all anti-Communist forces in the free world against Communism and Russian imperialism in a common front with the oppressed nations' liberation revolutions.

To consider the ideology of national liberation, independence, human rights and social justice as the main motivating force in the age of decolonization.

To support the liberation struggle by all available means, including radio broadcasting, and to foster all political, cultural and religious freedom processes behind the Iron Curtain.

To protest against the persecution of religion and of churches, of intellectuals, writers and scientists in Ukraine, and other enslaved countries against tyranny, genocide and Russification.

To demand the release from concentration camps and prisons of clergy, of Ukrainian Bishop W. Velychkowsky, many thousands of known and unknown political prisoners among others M. Soroka, V. Leonyuk, B. Khrystynych, Y. Hasyuk, V. Kalnins, the women — Red Cross volunteers helping the UPA — K. Zarytska, O. Husyak, and H. Didyk — Dr. V. Horbovyj, M. Horyn, L. Lukyanenko, V. Moroz, I. Kandyba, S. Karavanskiy, A. Amalrik, P. Hryhorenko and many other freedom fighters and intellectuals convicted to 10-30 years and the liquidation of all concentration and forced labour camps in general.

To proclaim a Great Charter of national independence of the nations enslaved by Russia and Communism.

To set up a world anti-Bolshevik front of all free nations.

To encourage all religions and churches of the free world to stand firm against atheistic Communism.

To unmask aggressive, insatiable Communist Russian imperialism which hides under various disguises:

To abandon coexistence, containment and friendly negotiations with the deadly enemy.

To work for a change of policy by the free governments in the direction of adopting the policy of liberation.

To fight the spirit of defeatism, which may plunge us into the abyss of annihilation.

To exploit the growing internal conflicts within the Communist parties.

To condemn the UNESCO resolution on Lenin as humanist.

To warn the German parliament of the dangers stemming from the treaty with Moscow.

To stress the global primacy of disintegration of the Soviet Russian empire into independent national states in their ethnographic boundaries and the liberation of all subjugated nations.

To accept the guiding principles of ABN, the *avant-garde* of the nations enslaved in the Russian empire and to adopt the global fighting strategy for victory over Communism and Russian imperialism.

To work against the presence of the Russian navy in the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean.

To support the independence strivings of the nations forcefully kept in artificial multinational state structures like Yugoslavia or Czecho-Slovakia.

To support the reunification in freedom of Germany, Vietnam and Korea, and the liberation of mainland China, Cuba, Zanzibar and other subjugated nations.

To urge the governments of the free countries of the world to break off diplomatic, cultural and economic relations with the USSR and its satellites and to exclude the USSR and its satellites from all international organizations, for their violations of the basic principles of UN Charter and human rights.

To demand bringing the USSR and its satellites before the International Tribunal at The Hague for beastly crimes of genocide, aggressive wars, violation of human rights, destruction of churches and traditions, for subversion and other horrible crimes.

Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations.

November 1970.

UKRAINE'S LOSSES IN WORLD WAR II

Complete statistics on the losses of the Ukrainian population in the period 1939-1945 have not been compiled so far and probably never will. Tens of thousands died during the occupation of West Ukraine by the Russian aggressors in 1939-41. Tens of thousands and were forcefully deported to remote corners of the empire during the Russians' retreat, of whom countless thousands never returned to Ukraine. Tens of thousands died while doing forced labour in Germany. Hundreds of thousands chose voluntary exile in order to avoid annihilation at the hands of the Russian aggressors. Tens of thousands were massacred by the Russians in their places of banishment after the war because they actively fought against the Russian conquerors. Other thousands were tortured by the NKVD, and the Bolshevik partisans-provocateurs. Still other thousands died at the hands of the German occupants.

Recently a three-volume work appeared in Kyiv entitled "Ukrainian SSR in the Great War for the Father-

land, 1941-1945" which says that in the said time 5,625,045 people perished, including 3,898,457 civilians and 1,366,588 in the Red Army.

According to this publication 2,244,000 Ukrainians were doing forced labour in Germany. The Germans allegedly ruined and burned 714 cities and urban settlements and 28,000 villages. How many were destroyed and ruined by the Russians is not mentioned. As the result of the war at least 10 million people lost a roof over their heads. The figure of 16,150 destroyed industrial enterprises is very inaccurate for it surely does not include those enterprises which were transferred deep into Russia. All in all 2 million buildings were destroyed. Of these 32,000 were school buildings, 62 theatres, over 500 cinemas and 151 museums.

These figures reveal only a small picture of ruin and devastation which befell Ukraine in several years of war between the two tyrannical big powers.

R E S O L U T I O N S

of the CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK RALLY organised by the British League for European Freedom in London at Chelsea Old Town Hall, on Saturday, November 28th, 1970.

We, assembled today at the Chelsea Old Town Hall, British subjects as well as representatives of the nations oppressed by Russian and other Communist tyrannies — Albanians, Armenians, Byelorussians, Croatians, Czechs and Slovaks, Estonians, Georgians, Hungarians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Rumanians, Ukrainians, Zanzibaris and others, state our firm conviction that:

Mankind is facing a great confrontation between the free world and the totalitarian bloc led by the Communist Russian empire.

Unprecedented Russian military build-up and relentless subversive expansion, the presence of the Russian fleet in the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean and the Caribbean Sea, Communist penetration in the Middle East, South America and Africa are threatening to bring the present confrontation of the two worlds to the brink of world-wide catastrophe.

The policy of appeasement of the Communists is extremely dangerous as it is based on slippery ground and self-deluding arguments. The expansion of the Russian empire under the treacherous disguise of Communism and the idea of world revolution endanger the liberty of the still free world. Moscow continues by all possible means to press its relentless drive for world conquest.

The Russian empire is the main obstacle to a better world organization. Russia is the last and the biggest, indeed the worst colonial empire that ever existed. Only the dissolution of the Russian empire through the restoration of national independent and democratic states of all the subjugated peoples within their ethnical boundaries would guarantee world security, a durable peace, liberty, justice and international cooperation. Under "subjugated nations" we understand not only the so-called satellite states, but above all the non-Russian nations enslaved within the U.S.S.R. itself, where they constitute 50 p. c. of the total population.

The subjugated nations are the Achilles heel of the despotic Russian prison of nations and individuals.

It is in the interest of the free nations to give support to the national independence struggle of the enslaved nations and to their coming liberation revolutions.

In order to avoid a thermonuclear war with Russia and her block the West has to support the national independence movements within the Russian Communist empire. Otherwise the West will one day be powerless to answer adequately Russian blackmail.

Russian methods of infiltration, subversion, fifth columns, incitement of leftist groups and other subterfuges have to be countered by adequate means of ideological response in the free world and action in support of the captive nations.

Some hopes entertained in the Free World that the Communist bloc will be weakened by a conflict between Russian and Communist Chinese empires may prove illusory, because it is just as likely that they will restore their alliance against the Free World.

In view of the above we resolve;

1. To appeal to free men to support by every possible means the subjugated nations in their struggle for freedom and state independence, to remind everybody that freedom is indivisible;
2. To raise the strongest protest against violation of human rights and genocide in the Soviet Russian empire and satellite states, against the hideous system of concentration camps and the persecution of religion;
3. To point out to the peoples of the Western powers how immoral and dishonourable it would be if they were to side either with Russia or Red China in their conflict because by doing this they would simply side with tyrants enslaving the Captive Nations in their empires and Communist blocs, while those subjugated peoples are struggling for their own deliverance from both tyrannies;
4. To remind the peoples of the Free World that unless adequate measures are taken against Communist infiltration, military expansion and subversion in the countries still free, they are going to be enslaved one after another or nibbled to death;
5. To fight unflinchingly against every form of treachery, opportunism and cowardice in the political quarters of the West; to offer the maximum of dedication of the member organizations for mobilizing anti-Communist and anti-colonialistic forces in common front for supporting the aspirations of the subjugated nations toward liberation and national independence;
6. To remind statesmen, parliamentarians, policy-makers of the NATO countries that unless defence is buttressed and security strengthened to the utmost for standing against Russian and communist expansionism, the Free World runs the ultimate risk of being cowed into surrender;
7. To appeal to free men to support the fight for the reunification in freedom of all countries divided by Russian imperialism and Communism both in Europe and Asia, and to never lose sight of the moral imperative that all Communist-dominated countries of the world should be liberated and decolonised from tyrannies and alien yokes that were imposed upon them in the past.

London, November 28th 1970.

RUSSIA IS NOT INVINCIBLE

by

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