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**UKRAINIAN
REVIEW**



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Price: £1.50 or \$3.75 a single copy
Annual Subscription: £6.00 or \$15.00

Editorial correspondence should be sent to:

The Editors,
"The Ukrainian Review"
200 Liverpool Road,
London, N1 1LF.

Subscriptions should be sent to:

"The Ukrainian Review" (Administration).
c/o Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Ltd.
49 Linden Gardens,
London, W2 4HG.

Overseas representatives:

USA: Organization for Defence of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc.
P.O. Box 304, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Canada: Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation.
140 Bathurst Street, Toronto, Ont., M5V 2R3.

Printed in Great Britain by the Ukrainian Publishers Limited
200 Liverpool Road, London, N1 1LF *Tel.: 01-607-6266/7*

THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

Vol. XXXIV No. 1

Spring 1981

A Quarterly Magazine

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Published by
The Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain Ltd.
in cooperation with
Organization for Defence of Four Freedoms for Ukraine Inc. (U.S.A.)
and
Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation.



AFGHAN GUERRILLAS ON THEIR WAY TO RAID RUSSIAN OCCUPIERS. THE MAN, THIRD FROM THE RIGHT IS ARMED WITH A CAPTURED RUSSIAN ANTI-TANK ROCKET LAUNCHER.

T. KUZIO

THE RUSSIAN IDEA — FACT AND FICTION

— Third Rome to Third International —

"I think the theory of "Russian colonialism" is not only unfair to the Russians but also erroneous in fact . . . the basic features of national life in the U.S.S.R. are a direct result of the hegemony in our country of socialist ideology . . . The Russians, no less than others are its victims; indeed, they were the first to come under fire".

(Shafarevich. I. *Separation or Reconciliation? The Nationalities Question in the USSR* p. 97)¹

"Is it reasonable to act as if Russia's tragedy began only in 1917? Can one allow oneself simply to forget the history of one's own ideological forefathers?"

(Yanov. A. *The Fate of the Russian Idea* p. 289)²

The rise of Russian Nationalism (both "dissident" and, official) in recent years in the USSR of which Solzhenitsyn is the most well-known, has put forward the perhaps startling proposition that what has taken place during the sixty years of Soviet rule is not the fault of the Russians but that we are all equally responsible. Another interesting theory is that Bolshevism was imported from the West and that 'Russia' was³ "dragged along the whole of the Western bourgeois-industrial and Marxist path". It seems that "it has always been someone else who was to blame for the troubles of Russia — but not its own people, not the Russians".⁴ So the Byzantine Greeks, Germans, Poles, Ukrainians, Jews, the 'West' and now China are all to blame. The only inconsistency in this line of thought is that if the West is morally lacking, and Russia so "superior", why was it that Russia and not the West succumbed to this 'dark whirlwind', Bolshevism. If we continue this theorem to its logical conclusion it is surely "profoundly humiliating for the Russian people, depicting it as a helpless blind man ready to follow any guide".⁵

Putting the blame for imperialism on an ideology, whether under Peter

1) Solzhenitsyn A. *"From Under The Rubble"*. London. Fontana/Collins. 1976. p. 88-104.

2) Yanov A. *"The Fate of the Russian Idea"*. Studies in Soviet Thought. 17. 1977. p. 289-308.

3) Solzhenitsyn A. *Letter to Soviet Leaders*. London. Index on Censorship. Dist Fontana Books. 1974. p. 21.

4) Yanov A. *The Russian New Right: Right Wing Ideologies in the Contemporary USSR*. Berkeley. University of California Press. 1978. Institute of International Studies Rese arch Series. Monograph no. 35. p. 96.

5) Ibid. p. 96.

the Great⁶ or today's USSR, seems to be a peculiarly Russian trait. This inability to accept guilt is noticeable in the fact that even⁷ Soviet historiography has distorted the history of the non-Russian peoples to try and show that Tsarist aggression was "progressive", not in fact annexation but reunification (vossoedinenie), for which the non-Russians had supposedly exhibited a positive yearning (stremlenie). Thus today's "friendship of peoples" (druzhba narodov) is projected into the past, and Russian 'leadership', then and now, was positive due to the Russians being the 'elder brother' (starshii brat). In the words of one author, "this interpretation, in its broad dimensions and supporting arguments, which run counter to those of other historians (especially the first generation of Bolshevik historians), can only be described as an elaborate historical myth".⁸

The failure to admit guilt was vividly portrayed to a Jewish political prisoner who met some Russians in the camps who among themselves⁹ "only talk of whether *they can* allow other nations to be separate, and at the same time stubbornly refuse to recognise themselves as an imperialistic nation — to see the truth". The failure to see the source of the sickness within themselves must be surely a means of portraying everything the Russians ever did as being somehow 'good', and if later there is a change of mind they blame it on others. But, as is clear to all those who have ever had the opportunity to come into contact with Russians at first hand¹⁰ "without a clear diagnosis it is impossible to cure a disease". The deeper causes of this lie in the inferiority complex Russians have towards the outside world (and especially the West), and can be seen in the USSR, in the love of bigness and power and 'might is right' including claims under Stalin of being the 'first, largest and best' country in many fields and Khrushchev's 'catch up campaign'. Hence the importance of the military to the Russians, as being the only area in which they feel equal, thus,¹¹ "for the Russians the instinctive question is: who is the stronger and who is the weaker (something which makes detente tricky)". Hedrick Smith¹² goes

6) For a good example of an attempt at diluting Russian Imperialism see Riasanovsky N. V. *Old Russia, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Slavic Review*. 1952. XI. (3) 171-188. "Even Luxemburg was famous for its feat of arms once upon a time." p. 173 and "in 1654 in its hour of need, the Ukrainian people through its rada appealed to the Tsar in Moscow, beseeching him to take them under his domain". p. 179.

7) Probably the most thorough accounts are: Tillet L. *The Great Friendship, Soviet Historians on the Non-Russian Nationalities*. Chapel Hill. University of North Carolina Press, 1969 and Tillet L. "Nationalism and History."

Problems of Communism. 1967 XVI (5). Sept. Oct. p. 36-45.

Pipes R. *Russia Under the Old Regime*. London. Penguin Books Ltd. 1979. p. 97 makes an interesting point when he states that absorption of Ukraine by Russia for example, is called by Soviet historians 'unification' (prisoedinenie) whereas an identical act elsewhere is termed seizure (zakhvat) i.e. England seized Egypt.

8) Tillet. L. 1969. p. 4.

9) Vudka A. "A Nation Without Roots". *Ukrainian Review*. 1977. XXIV (3) Autumn. 8-11. p. 9.

10) Ibid. p. 9.

11) Smith H. *The Russians*. New York. Ballantine Books, 1976. p. 323.

12) Ibid. p. 351.

on to tell us about a Swedish diplomat that he knew in Moscow, who lamented to him that the Russians gave “short shrift” to his country and other small countries. This great-power chauvinism manifests itself in foreign relations, such as in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Afghanistan in 1980. The versions put forward by the KGB as to why these countries were invaded i.e. that an outside threat was mounting¹³ (W. German, American, Pakistani etc) were more readily believed than those put forward by a handful of “Russian Democrats” who demonstrated in Red Square. It was quite obvious who was more familiar with the psychology of the Russian Narod, when¹⁴ “the KGB openly appealed to the deep medieval ground of the nationalist subconscious of the masses of the Russian people — and was successful”. This must be borne in mind in the event of a collapse of the Soviet Russian Empire as we know it. Hedrick Smith after studying the Russians and exposing them in his prize winning book concludes by saying, “so you see,¹⁵

In order to understand the present Russian personality within the USSR, it would consequentially, be worthwhile to take a look at the Russian past in order to have a better understanding of the present.

Both Imperial Russian and Soviet Russian historians trace their history back to Kyiv-Rus’ and use the theory of ‘translatio’ to claim that the lands of Vladimir Suzdal, and later Muscovy, were the rightful heirs to the lands and traditions of Kyiv-Rus’. The more one looks into the whole political framework of Muscovy however, the more one tends to notice how dissimilar it in fact is from Kyiv, and how it owes more to Ugro-Finnic and Tartar influences, which in turn have shaped the Russian mentality of today. The true inheritors of Kyiv-Rus’ are through the Zaporizhian Cossacks, the Ukrainians who do not have to debate, whether they belong to Western European Civilization; unlike most Russians who either see themselves as Eastern or something ‘unique’ and different — a part of the Russian messianic tradition. One author has noticed¹⁶ “the absence of any imperialism in the Kyivan-Rus”, whereas in comparison to Muscovite and Soviet Russian history, there is a ‘uniqueness’ which¹⁷ “is the practically uninterrupted continuity of an expansion on a truly tremendous scale”.

For two hundred years the lands of Vladimir-Suzdal, the nucleus of the Muscovite and later the Russian people, were under the control of the

13) It is interesting to note the similarity of this line of argument with Soviet historiography which claims that Ukraine “re-united” with Russia to “save” her from Polish imperialism, or that of Georgia to “protect” her from Turkey. Russia (and the USSR) have both therefore, only advanced in order to “protect” countries from “external” threats.

14) Yanov A. 1978. p. 17.

15) Smith H. p. 682.

... it’s nothing new. It was the same under the Czars. They’re the same people”.

16) Halecki O. “*Imperialism in Slavic and Eastern European History*”. *Slavic Review*. 1952. 11 (1) 1-26. p. 10. (The author is Polish by nationality).

17) *Ibid.* p. 5.

Golden Horde. The Tartar Khan was called Czar and his family Czarevichi. The Church was obliged to pray for him, and in return allowed freedom to conduct its own affairs. There was much intermarriage between the Tartar and Muscovite upper classes, and as late as the seventeenth century,¹⁸ "the families of Russian origin were obviously in a minority". By the mid-fifteenth century the Tartar (Turkic) language had become fashionable at the Muscovite court of Vasili II, who was accused of excessive love for 'their speech'. Even after the emancipation many Tartars entered the services of the Muscovite grand prince. Both the Tartar Khan and the grand prince had common interests in suppressing the 'Peoples Assembly' (Veche) in Novgorod (a system of rule inherited from Kyivan-Rus times and very similar to the Ukrainian Cossack system of electing and disposing of leaders). With the rise of Muscovy the roles between Khan and grand prince were reversed, and the Khan (Czar) now became a Muscovite. The Tartars were now vassals of the Muscovites, which made¹⁹ "it possible for Russia to control from the west that same Euroasian subcontinent which the Mongols had conquered and controlled from the east". Right up to the nineteenth century the name White Czar (Belyi Czar) was used by Russians to describe their Czar, and was merely an attempt to link up with the Mongol ruling dynasty, 'White Bone' being a clan descending from Genghis Khan.

The most significant influence the Mongols had on Muscovy was in the erosion of balance between the monarchy, aristocracy and democracy, a feature of Kyivan-Rus. In Medieval Europe with its feudal fragmentation of power, the Sovereign was not the master (*dominus*, *despotes*) of his vassals. He was merely the first among equals. During the ceremony of investiture, with its contractual qualities, he gave his Lords land and in return (*fief*) was promised *conditional and limited* services. In Muscovy on the other hand the ruler stood above *all* his subjects, and their land (*pomesties*) was remuneration for unconditional and limited services. This rise in autocracy, and Caesaropapism, with servitude (*votchina*) to the State for every social class²⁰ "limited the functions of the state... (which) was entirely devoid of any sense of responsibility for public well-being". This concept of the prince as supreme landowner²¹ "arose only in the Mongol period... Later the Russian princes inherited for their own full use these state rights from the khan, and this legacy shattered the emergence of private property". The repercussions of this are evident in the lack of democratic roots in the Russian Narod, as democracy depends on a dialogue between rulers and

18) Vernadsky G. *The Mongols and Russia*. Vol. 3: *A history of Russia*. New Haven and London. Yale University Press. 1970. p. 370.

19) Halecki O. p. 7.

20) Pipes R. p. 75

21) Wittfogel K. A. *"Russia and the East: A Comparison and Contrast. Slavic Review*. 1963. XXII (4). p. 627-643. p. 628.

ruled, and²² “how effective the dialogue will be will depend on national habits and circumstances”,²³ so that “it is no accident that democracy took root in societies that were relatively wealthy and sophisticated”.

The negation of private property and Roman Law that went with it, culminated in the Russian collective (mir), besides hindering the spread of individualism (upon which democracy is based) also prevented the growth of a money economy (due to the isolation of the peasant communes and their self-sufficiency) and developed in the Russian soul²⁴ the tradition of strong authoritarian leadership. In 1517 and again in 1526 Baron Sigismund von Herberstein, as Ambassador to the Holy Roman Empire, visited Muscovy and wrote the following about what he saw:²⁵

(The Grand Sovereign) “uses his authority as much over ecclesiastics as laymen, and holds unlimited control over the lives and property of all his subjects: not one of his counsellors has sufficient authority to dare to oppose him, or even differ from him on any subject. They openly confess that the will of the prince is the will of God, and that whatever the prince does he does by the will of God, on this account they call him God’s key-bearer and chamberlain, and in short they believe that he is the executor of the divine will”.

He goes on to say the people²⁶ “all confess themselves to be Chlops (Kholops) that is, serfs of the prince”, and that the Muscovites “enjoy slavery more than freedom”, (surely different from Voltaire’s description of the Ukrainian Cossacks as being lovers of freedom). The complete subordination of the populace to the Sovereign in Russia is a legacy of the Tartar occupation, so that even today in the USSR²⁷ “the intelligentsia may dream of democracy but the huge mass of people dream of Stalin — his strong power”. Russians often praise Stalin as the ‘krepki khozyain’ — the strong master — so that the masses²⁸ “like the feeling that someone above them is firmly in charge”, for “Russians prize order and security as much as Americans prize freedom”.²⁹ This was because of the strong fear of anarchy that most Russians seem to possess, especially concerning the unity and stability of their country. This fear of anarchy is really the fear of the inhumanity and barbarity in the Russian soul being released (something an authoritarian state prevents). In 1476 a Venetian Ambassador, Ambrosio Contarini stopped in Moscow on

22) Pickles D. *Democracy*. Baltimore. Penguin Books Inc. 1972. p. 13.

23. Ibid. p. 21.

24) This can be seen in the USSR with the revival of the cult of Stalin. See H. Smith. p. 325.

25) ed. Dmytryshyn B. *Medieval Russia. A Source Book. 900-1700*. New York. Praeger Publishers. 1973. p. 194-208. p. 197.

26) Ibid. p. 202.

27) Smith H. p. 327.

28) Ibid. p. 330.

29) Ibid. p. 334.

his way back from Persia and observed that³⁰ “they boast of being great drunkards, and despise those who are not . . . The sovereign, however, will not grant permission to everyone to make it (alcohol), for, if they had that permission, they would be constantly intoxicated, and would murder each other like brutes”. Herberstein observed that³¹ “the people of Moscow are more cunning and deceitful than all others . . .”

Montesquieu, the eighteenth century French philosopher, claimed that governments could be divided into three types: Republics, Monarchies and Despotic Empires. The first two were based on equality and both were moderate with no rule outside the law. These were, in his view both European. Despotic government though, was Asian and its only equality was in fear, impotence and non-participation with sovereign power. The only limit to the sovereign's power was religion which in Muscovy (as in all Russian regimes) was subordinated to the State. The Russian Church has, throughout its history been subservient to the rulers of the country, and was as we shall see, very instrumental in formulating Russian imperial ideology and helping it carry it out. Part of this was the suppression of the Ukrainian Church prior to and since 1917, since the Ukrainian Church was particularly despised: it could claim a link with Kyivan-Rus' which Muscovy claimed was hers. For Montesquieu, the size of Russia in itself required centralisation of power and also significant were the influence of factors like the soil, climate, foreign relations (Muscovy reached the Pacific Ocean before reaching the Baltic or Black Seas, i.e. she was primarily an Asian power), customs, laws, religion and institutions. Russia was in his view, and of most observers right up until the nineteenth century, an Asiatic Despotic country. Herberstein wrote of Moscow that³² “if not in Asia, at any rate on the extreme confines of Europe, where it joins Asia . . .”.

The peasant commune in Russia (which meant opposition to collectivisation was insignificant in the RSFSR region of the USSR, as opposed to the struggle put up by the Ukrainian peasantry to whom the idea of collective farming was alien)³³ “is to be found on a low level of development among all Indo-Germanic races . . .”. Yet this is what the Slavophiles of the nineteenth (and twentieth) centuries hailed as something unique and purely Russian. The mir had acted as a brake to further development in Western Europe (including the Polish and Ukrainian areas of the Russian Empire)³⁴ “In Great Russia (Russia proper) . . . , it has persisted until today, thereby proving in the first place that agriculture production and the social conditions in the countryside corresponding to it are still on a very undeveloped level”.

30) ed. Dmytryshyn B. 184-190. p. 188.

31) Baron S. von Herberstein p. 208.

32) Ibid. p. 206.

33) Engels F. (excehpt from) “*On Social Conditions in Russia*”. ed. Feuer L. S. Marx and Engels — *Basic Writings on Politics and Philosophy*. London. Fontana. 1976. p. 507-511. p. 507. The mir accounted for approximately 20% of holdings in Ukraine and 90% in Russia itself.

34) Ibid. p. 508.

The very word Mir, besides meaning peasant commune also translates from Russian as 'the World' and 'ves Mir' (a commune official meeting) also means 'the whole World'. To a Russian peasant therefore, his commune was the world as he knew it, the extent and limit of his experience and knowledge. This "complete isolation of the individual communities from one another, which is created throughout the country is the natural basis for Oriental despotism . . ." ³⁵

In the Mir the whole weighs heavily on the individual like a divinity whom one can ask for mercy but from whom one cannot demand rights. In the Mir the individual has no value and merely subordinates himself to the authoritarian order of things with no will of his own and no understanding. Commentators on the Mir have stressed that a similar order exists in the animal kingdom. Each member lives by the collective wisdom of the whole, each being simply a component part with no room for the individual to express any initiative (one of the main drawbacks in any type of collective farming — in the Mir the periodic redistribution of the land meant there was little incentive in investing anything in a piece of land that could be taken away from him by another member of the commune). No individual in the Mir holds any convictions or any philosophy towards life, like Platon Karatayev in Tolstoy's *War and Peace*.³⁶ "Like figures on a chess-board, each of the members of such a community moves in obedience to the hand of the player and in accordance with certain rules, but left to reason things out for itself, however, the figure either remains motionless or falls over". This inevitably makes the peasant (and the Russian in general) a person with few moral scruples or convictions and submits himself to all that is sent upon him. As a rule he is apolitical and afraid to take responsibility (which is very apparent in the context of the Soviet economy and hierarchical political framework) and³⁷ "makes the best of whatever comes along, enjoying calm political seasons and trying to find shelter in rough ones".

It is not by coincidence that the taking of censuses was highly developed in Muscovy. The Muscovites used it like the Tartars whom they copied it from as a means to control the population. Restriction on the movement of peasants is not a purely Soviet phenomenon but goes back in Russia to³⁸ two decrees dated 1450 and 1463-1468. The first census taken by the Tartars in 1257 and 1275 served as the basis for taxation and military conscription, and continued from 1480 in Muscovy to be repeated every 2-3 years (the first census in England was in 1801). Peasants paid their cash, labour services or in kind to their tax-collectors (pomeschchiki), with the tribute (dan) and

35) Donzow D. D. "The Spirit of Russia". ed. Bohdaniuk V. *The Face of Russia*. London. Ukrainian Information Service. 1967. 11.-76. p. 39: Comments on the book by Gleb Uspensky, *The Power of the Soil*.

36) Smith H. p. 339.

37) ed. Dmytryshyn B. p. 168-169.

38) Amalrik A. *Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?* London. Allen Lane. The Penguin press. 1971 p. 31-2.

basic unit of assessment (sokha) all being a continuation of practice during the Tartar occupation. The country was divided into five military regions (polki) and the death penalty was confirmed by the 1397 Dvina Land Charter and torture by the Sudebnik of 1497. It is interesting to note that these were purely from Tartar influence. The death penalty was unheard of in the Ukrainian State of Kyiv-Rus'

Small wonder then that democracy collapsed so easily in Russia in 1917 since³⁹ "the idea of self-government, of equality before the law and of personal freedom — and responsibility that goes with these — are almost incomprehensible to the Russian people". They failed to benefit from Europe's humanist tradition (which Ukraine shared). To the Russian the idea that anybody can live better than him means not to try and reach his level, unlike in the West — to climb up the 'ladder',⁴⁰ but the Russian will instead try and bring him down to his lower level. This can be projected on to the external and international scene with Russia's hatred for the Western World whether he be a Slavophile, or a Marxist-Leninist, because of her ingrained inferiority complex. It tells her that she cannot ever aspire to attain the same heights as the West which she must bring down to her own level by first of all destroying her. Herein lies the basic of the Russian "Idea", why she must have a "mission", the messianism behind the Third Rome and the Third International — White or Red Internationalism which will come from the East (the Light) to shine on the 'darkness of the West'. These developments that were taking place in Muscovy, namely the reaffirming of the supremacy of the Czar, coincided with the confirmation of the supremacy of Parliament in England, with which the Ukrainian Cossacks were in contact through the correspondence between Khmelnytsky and Cromwell.

From the mid-thirteenth to the mid-fifteenth centuries the lands from which the modern day Russian nation grew were under the complete control of the Golden Horde. Between the ninth and thirteenth centuries the lands of Rus' (Rus'kaia Zemlia) had two different meanings. These were — the older narrower one with its origins in the Dnipro River basin, the triangle formed by the cities of Kyiv, Chernyhiv and Pereiaslav.⁴¹ The other meaning it had was political — the state ruled by the Kyivan Riurikid dynasty which included within it the complete area under the control of Kyivan-Rus'. The former meaning is purely ethnic and synonymous with the ancestors of the ancestors of the present day Ukrainians. In the *Lay of Ihor (Slovo o polku Ihorevimi)*, a description of an unsuccessful campaign against the Polovtsians in 1185 by Prince Ihor of Novhorod Siversk (1180-1202), Ihor fights for the land of Rus' in the narrower sense of the Kyiv region. By the mid-fourteenth century the term 'land of Rus' (Rus'kaia Zemlia) had reemerged, but refer-

39) Ibid. p. 33.

40) Halperin G. J. "The Concept of the Ruskaia Zemlia and National Consciousness from the Tenth to the Fifteenth Centuries". Nationalities Papers 1980. VIII (I). p. 75-86.

41) Pelenski J. "The Origins of the Muscovite Claims to the 'Kievan Inheritance'" Harvard Ukrainian Studies. 1977. March 29-52. p. 34.

ring neither to the Kyiv area or the whole of Rus', but instead to the lands of Vladimir-Suzdal (Muscovy), "the term 'whole Russian land' was used in fourteenth-century Russian sources rather loosely, and it usually referred to North-East Rus' or ethnic Great Russian territory, but not to Southern or Kyivan-Rus'".⁴² In the *Tale of Events Beyond the Don (Zadonschina)* of the fourteenth century, a Muscovite work modelled on the Ukrainian *Lay of Ihor*, Dmitri Donskoi fights for the Rus' land of Moscow. Here lies the attempt by Muscovy to usurp Kyivan Rus'-Ukraine's heritage and claim it as her own. This is in order to disguise her Ugro-Finnic roots (coupled with the influences of the Tartar occupation) that place the origin of the Russian people of today from the lands of Vladimir and Suzdal (Muscovy).⁴³ The Ukrainians are the rightful heirs, therefore, to the lands of Kyiv-Rus'.

Between the Battle of Kulikovo in 1380 and the mid-fifteenth century we see the cooptation and monopolization of the myth and fusion of the land Kyiv-Rus' and Muscovy through a dynastic line and patrimony. The first major step in the development of Muscovite claims to Kyiv-Rus' came with the inclusion in the Muscovite codex of 1456 of the *Vita of Dmitri Ivanovich Donskoi (Slovo o zhiti i prestavlenii velikogo kniazia Dmitriia, tsaria russkago)*. The four basic parts are as follows —

- 1) Vladimir baptized the Rus' land.
- 2) Metropolitan Peter is the defender of the Rus' land.
- 3) Ivan Kalita is the "gatherer of Rus' lands" (sobiratel ruskoi zemli).
- 4) Dmitri Donskoi is the czar of the Rus' land, which is his patrimony. This represented part of the ideological contest that was being waged between Muscovy and Poland Lithuania for the lands of Kyiv-Rus' which lasted three centuries. It is no coincidence that the second half of the fifteenth century, when these claims were being made, was after the Council of Florence and the collapse of Constantinople in 1454 to the Turks, when Muscovy wished to strengthen its position in Eastern Europe and reinforce this by successes in expanding her territory. The formulation of the theory of Moscow the third and final Rome would not be long in coming. Just as in the times of the Romans "the Caesars needed an ideology to legitimize their rule, and they found it in imperium".⁴⁴

42) See article by A. Vudka. Also see G. Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*. New Haven and London. Yale University Press. 1973. p. 159, where he discusses the ethnic groups that made up the lands of Vladimir-Suzdal. The Finnish groups that lived there had done so since time immemorial, "Suzdalia in particular became the Slavo-Finnish melting pot and out of the mixture of Slavs and Finns the nucleus of the so-called 'Great Russian' branch of the eastern Slavs was formed, to assume leadership over the Russians in the Muscovite period. Many national characteristics of the Great Russian are to be explained by the Finish strain in his blood. "The Russian Orthodox Church was instrumental in russifying the eastern Finns and converting them to orthodoxy which separated them from their western branch in what is now Finland, who were converted to Catholicism and later to Lutheranism.

43) Lichteim G. *Imperialism*. Harmondsworth. Penguin Books Ltd. 1974. p. 25.

44) Cherniavsky M. "Study in the history of an ideal Holy Russia" *American Review*. 1958. v. 63 (3). 617-637.

The idea of 'Holy Russia' (Svetlorusskaia) evokes the image of the Holy Land, and meaning "enlightened" and "illuminated by faith". Palestine was the Holy Land because Christ had lived there, it represented the physical setting for a possible means of salvation. Russia would be holy with a specific role to play in the field of salvation where "Christ still walked, in spirit if not in person".⁴⁵ It was therefore the Czar's mission to 'protect' all Orthodox Christians in his realm. This meant laying claim to the lands of Ukraine and Bieloruthenia and eventually led to the attempts at expansion into the Balkans to 'protect' the Orthodox Christians there. Indeed one of Czarist Russia's First World War aims was the incorporation of Constantinople into her empire. Muscovite imperial ideology began by laying claim to the lands of Kyivan Rus'-Ukraine with the use of the Riurikid dynastic ties and once this line of argument was exhausted and the dynastic ties had died out and been replaced by those of the Romanovs, Russia did not hesitate to advance other arguments to back up her imperial expansion. Ivan III told Lithuania that the lands of Rus' she controlled were "by God's will, since the days of old, our votchina (inherited) from our ancestors".⁴⁶ Later "as he invaded Livonia which had never formed part of the Kyivan state, Ivan IV did not hesitate to call it his votchina as well".⁴⁷ Similarly, Kazan and Astrakhan had never been a part of Kyiv-Rus', but "the feeling among many Turkish and Mongol tribes that the Russian Czar was the successor of the Mongol khans created a favourable situation psychologically for the extension of the czar's rule over those tribes".⁴⁸ The fact that the rise of Muscovy to a national state proceeded at the same time that an empire was being forged, both "concurrently and continuously", meant they "became virtually indistinguishable".⁴⁹ The effect that this had on the Russian psychology was that once an area had been annexed and joined to the Czar's patrimony it became sacred and could never be relinquished. To many Russians consequentially their image of Russia has never been an ethnic one, and even within the USSR this image has not been altered. Russians who live in Ukraine for example (ten million — 20% of the republic's population, 30% in the cities) are heavily contagious to the boundaries of the Russian republic, and "rather than being a minority, an external, as it were, body or element within the distinct social and cultural organism of the Ukrainian nation, the Russians of Ukraine, or a significant part of them, have been there for centuries and most of them have felt they had not left their homeland by living there".⁵⁰ In Solzhenitsyn's letter to the Soviet leaders he suggests a

45) Pipes R. p. 64-5.

46) Ibid.

47) Vernadsky G. 1970. p. 388-9.

48) Pipes R. p. 79.

49) Szporluk R. "Russians in Ukraine and Problems of Ukrainian Identity in the USSR" ed. P. J. Poticznyj. *Ukraine in the Seventies*. Oakville, Ontario. Mosaic Press. 1975. 195-217. p. 196.

50) Bilinsky Y. "Russian Dissenters and the Nationality Question" ed. Kamenetsky I. *Nationalism and Human Rights: Processes of Modernization in the USSR*. Littleton. Libraries Unlimited, Inc. 1977. 77-91. p. 84.

relinquishing of control from Eastern Europe, the Baltic republics, Transcaucasia, Central Asia but only “from parts of the present Ukraine”⁵¹ Lenin also fully supported the Czarist government’s attempt at destroying Ukrainian nationalism in Galicia during the First World War⁵² and only supported the right to independence from the Russian Empire when he was in opposition during the Provisional Government period, as he “believed that the non-Russian majority would not wish to secede from the Russian Empire and could therefore safely be given the ‘right’ to do so”.⁵³

The role of the church in formulating Muscovite imperial ideology was very important, and wished to extend its control over the separate Ukrainian Church. Russian Christendom represented the culminating chapter in the sacred history of mankind, and Muscovy and her rulers the chosen bearers of this world mission on behalf of Orthodoxy. The book of Decrees of the Imperial Genealogy (*Stepennaia Kniga*) compiled by Metropolitan Macarius, carried to new extremes the blending of sacred and secular history, tracing the lineage of the Muscovite ruling house back to Emperor Augustus. The Church supported the policy of the Czar in “gathering all the Rus’ lands” in chronicles, legends and various supporting songs. The title “of all Rus’” was coined by the Metropolitan Prelate Vladimir. The czars were in effect told that they had obtained their authority from God, and were His vice-regent on earth. The ideal prince for Russians, consequentially, “would be in effect ‘the living icon of God’”.⁵⁴ The logical continuation of this line of reasoning is that anybody opposing the Czar is by definition also opposing God. Opposition to both Church and State were treated with hostility and the state had the ‘duty’ to ‘protect’ the Church from internal and external ‘enemies’. Thus, the reliance of the Russian Orthodox Church on the Soviet Regime today is nothing new and in this respect government actions towards the Ukrainian Uniate Church in Galicia during the Great War are no different from the Soviet regime’s liquidation of the same Church in 1945-47, the latter is merely the conclusion to the former. The short sightedness of the Russian Church in the long run led to the complete dominance of State over Church, something unheard of in Byzantium or Kyiv Rus’-Ukraine where a symphonia of both parts kept a balance, and eventually led to its corruption and divorce from the masses who saw it as being allied to their hated landlords. This was in return for the short-term success of suppressing ‘heretics’ and increasing its property and land. The Church was helpful in converting tribes of the Far North and Siberia which was then followed up by russification and the inclusion of their territory in the empire.

51) Reshetar J. S. “*Lenin on the Ukraine*”. The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S. INC. 1961. IX. nos. 1-2. (27-28) — 11. p. 8.

52) *Ibid.* p. 9.

53) Billington J. H. *The Icon and the Axe*. An interpretive History of Russian Culture. New York. Vintage Books. A division of Random House. 1970. p. 62.

54) Dmytryshyn B. ed. p. 201.

Filofey, a monk of the Abbey of Pskov, is the author of the well-known epistle written around the turn of the sixteenth century to Ivan III where he states that "all the empires of the Orthodox Christian Faith have come into thy sole empire: thou alone in all the earth art tsar to the christians . . . two Romes fell, but the third stands, and there will be no fourth". Filofei was the first to combine all five elements for the theory of Moscow the Third Rome from Metropolitan Zosimus' *'Exposition of the Easter Cycle'* and Cercisimov's *'Tale of the White Cowl'* (1492). Moscow was the new Constantinople and Ivan III the new Emperor Constantine. The translatio of imperium was from Rome to Constantinople to Moscow. It was justified on the basis of the faithlessness of the previous seats of the empires, and a suitable scriptural basis was included to give it an air of fulfillment of prophecy. Herberstein observed that, "the Muscovites boast that they are the only true Christians, and condemn us (Italians) as deserters from the Primitive Chrch and from the old sacred institutions".⁵⁴

The theory of the Third Rome was also backed up by a number of other developments which after the marriage of Ivan III to the niece of the last Byzantine Emperor, who died in the Turkish assault on Constantinople in 1454, the Czars undertook to try and increase their standing in the eyes of the rest of Europe:

- development of the system of land tenure based on servitude to the grand prince and patrimony.
- the adoption of the two-headed Byzantine eagle in 1472-73 and its use on seals sent to the Hapsburgs. The first extant seal, dated 1497, with the motive 'Grand Prince Ioan by God's Grace Sovereign of all Rus' conformed to the practices adopted by other European monarchs of the time, and was an attempt at claiming equality with them.
- Ivan III began the building of the Kremlin. Its beauty was to symbolize the pretensions of modern Russia and the desire for some earthly taste of the Heavenly Kingdom.

Ivan IV was the first Muscovite ruler to refer to his state as a Czardom and to identify a number of possession of the grand princes as the regalia of the Czar, and their inheritance from Kyiv-Rus' as proof of their rights to claim these lands. Monomakh's crown (Shapka Zolotaia) was claimed to have been given by the Byzantine Emperor to Volodymyr Monomakh of Kyiv, together with a short cap and jacket of Byzantine make. These were supposed to have been kept in reserve in Muskovy till then, after having been inherited from Kyiv-Rus', and were used in the coronation of Russia's Czars right up to Nicholas II in 1894. The inheritance that Muscovy owed to the Golden Horde and not to Kyiv-Rus' can be seen in this 'Shapka Zolotaia' which was in fact of thirteenth or fourteenth century origin and given to Ivan I by Khan Uzbek from Central Asia.⁵⁵ It is no wonder there-

54) Dmytryshyn B. ed. p. 201.

55) Vernadsky G. 1970. p. 339.

fore that “for Russians of the sixteenth century the title of ‘Tsar’ was firmly connected with the image of the khan, more so than with that of the basileus”.⁵⁶ If the basileus was the holy ‘most gentle’ (tishaishii) tsar in spiritual union with his flock, then the khan stood for the absolutist secularised state, arbitrary through separation from his subjects. All the Czar’s subjects were serfs (vse khlopy), as when the Golden Horde controlled them. When a Papal Legate came to see Ivan IV to persuade him to accept the outcome of the Council of Florence, he told him that, “we accepted Christianity at the beginning of the Christian Church, when Andrew, Peter’s brother, crossed our lands on his way to Rome. Thus we adopted Christianity at the same time that you did in Italy”.⁵⁷ This was a blatant attempt to disclaim Rome’s primacy, another attempt at using the heritage of others in order to elevate Muscovy to an equal status with Western Europe, which Kyiv Rus’-Ukraine had undoubtedly enjoyed. Ivan IV elevated himself to Czar and Autocrat (Tsaria i velikago kniazhia Ioanna Vasilievicha, Samoderzhets vserossiiskago) and saw his high position as having been sanctioned by Byzantium which Muscovy had now superceded. The founder of the modern theory of the state, Jean Bodin (1576-86 when his writings were released) saw three types of sovereignty: monarchy, the corruption of it — despotism, and seigneurial. ‘La monarchie seigneuriale’ existed where there was no separation between the property of the ruler and the state, so that as his territory increased it was simply attached to the grand prince’s patrimony. The Czar became “Lord of the goods and persons of his subjects . . . governing them as a master of a family does his slaves”.⁵⁸ The only cotries in Europe that were like this were Muscovy and Turkey, as this system of government would not have been tolerated in the West, but there were many examples of it in Asia and Africa. This lack of contract between ruler and ruled, and the prevention of the development of private property and a middle-class that would have been able to challenge the regime, has left profound imprints on the Russian mind.

One author⁵⁹ has written that “messianic consciousness is more characteristic of the Russians than of other people, except the Jews. It runs all through Russian history . . .”. There were, curiously, many similarities between the role God had supposedly ordained, according to their leaders, for the Jews and Muscovites. Like the Jews, Muscovy dated its calendar from creation, and celebrated New Year’s day in September, and both had elaborate regulations about the eating and preparation of meat. Filofei

56) Cherniavsky M. “Khan or Basileus: An aspect of Russian Medieval Political History”. Journal of the History of Ideas. 1959. 20 (4). 459 — 76. p. 473.

57) Kortschmaryk F. B. *Christianization of the European East and Messianic Aspirations of Moscow the ‘Third Rome’*. Toronto. Studium Research Institute. 1971. The Shevchenko Scientific Society Series. no. 10. p. 38.

58) Pipes R. p. 65. See R. C. Howes ed. *The Testaments of the Grand Princes of Moscow*. New York. Cornell University Press. 1967. p. 325 — Ivan IV Testament.

59) Berdyaev N. *The Russian Idea*. Boston. Beacon Press. 1962. p. 8.

addressed the Czar as 'Noah in the ark, saved from the flood' and Moscow was the new 'Jerusalem' and Muscovy was the 'New Israel'. Dmitri Donskoi was likened as a Saviour to Moses and Gideon, and the princes to Saul and David. Both Israel and Muscovy were more religious civilizations than political orders. Life was hedged round religious regulations and rituals, like the mid-sixteenth century Household Book (Domostroy), which ritualised domestic activities with semi-monastic rules of conduct. Both were the suffering servants of God and called on their peoples to repent (the Tartars were supposed to have been sent by God as a punishment). Ivan IV in a letter to prince Kurbsky in Lithuania defends his right to absolutism as leader of the 'chosen people', "Did God having led Israel out of bondage, place a priest to rule over men, or a multitude or ordinary officials? No, Moses alone, like a Tsar he made Lord over them".⁶⁰ At the beginning of the sixteenth century and right up to the mid-seventeenth century there were numerous visions of apocalypse by both Old Believers and Jewish Sabbataians, which coincided exactly with times of violent anti-semitism that "bespeaks a inner similarity between the ancient claims of Israel and the new pretensions of Muscovy".⁶¹ Was this then a clash between the two claims of being chosen to lead a mission on behalf of mankind? Anti-semitism as a tool to divert attention away from the shortcomings of the ruler was used by the Czars, and has been used in the Soviet period as well. Any sign of discontentment among the masses, "was immediately countered by a call for a pogrom against the Jews. In the organization of the pogrom the Russian Church served as the 'right hand man' of the Czars" . . . , under the slogan "kill the Christ Killers".⁶² Similarly, "the moment Josef Stalin began to feel insecure he turned to the old reliable Czarist device of retaining power by inciting hatred against the Jews",⁶³ the 'Doctors Plot' for example.

The election of Nikon to the Muscovite Patriarchal Throne established in 1589 when Patriarch Jeremiah of Constantinople (now under the Turks) was forced to authorise its creation under duress in Moscow, resulted in the crisis of the Russian messianic idea. Was Muscovy fulfilling its messianic vocation? Had the Anti-Christ seized power? The reforms introduced by Nikon go beyond whether one should cross oneself with two or three fingers, but in fact ask whether Muscovy was what she claimed to be, and if so she did not require reforms that had Greek and Western influences. It was the age-old question, Europe against Moscow — which was superior? Ukraine was a principle source of material with which Nikon attempted to Westernize the Russian Orthodox Church, and Kyiv was Nikon's 'window on to the West', in the same way that Petersburg was to Peter the Great. The immediate outcome of the Church schism in Muscovy was a divergence

60) Billington J. H. p. 75.

61) Ibid. p. 72.

62) Pram L. "Commentary: Antisemitism as a government policy in Soviet Russia", ed. Simmons G. W. *Nationalism in the USSR and Eastern Europe in the era of Brezhnev and Kosygin*. Detroit. The University of Detroit Press. 1977. p. 346 — 47. p. 346.

63) Ibid p. 347.

between the masses and the upper classes, which widened under Peter the Great. The schismatics (raskolniki) who fled into the Russian wilderness rejected the hierarchy of the Church and existed in a state of priestlessness (bezpopovstvo), with a strong nihilistic attitude to the structure of the Church, State and culture. These Old Believers were also responsible for the numerous apocalyptic visions of impending doom. This rejection of the State and the Church meant that initial monarchism supported by the Old Believers developed into anarchism. Aloofness and suspicion before the authorities led to a divorce between the common and cultured classes. The intelligentsia of the nineteenth century cut off from their own roots either looked to an idealised past (Slavophiles) or an idealised future (Bolsheviks), but at the same time felt cut off from the reins of power and retreated into intellectual daydreaming. Their atheism eventually permeated the Russian masses so that during the Russian Revolution this led to “a transformation of religious motives and religious psychology into a non-religious or anti-religious sphere, into the region of social channels, which thereby take on a religious character”.⁶⁴

The Slavophiles of the nineteenth century who had a close parallel in the German “Teutonophiles” of the same period (the idea of national rebirth) saw the need for an unprecedented national consolidation behind a common cause in the name of a single common ideal with the expectation of complete harmonisation of interests and selfless work for the general ‘national good’. In the words of V. L’vov (a member of the Russian Provisional Government of 1917) “Russia will rise before the world in the new dress of its own national existence and service to all mankind”.⁶⁵ Internal solidarity, the unity of the Czar and the people, closed ranks around Authority under the banner of a great historical mission to which everything must be sacrificed (the Russian people not being created for freedom) (K. Leontiev). If someone begs to differ with this policy then he is an enemy of Authority, and by definition an enemy of the People too, who are the same as the nation. Therefore, if one disagreed with the plan of the Slavophiles it is clear that one would also be a traitor to one’s nation, there is little room left for manoeuvre and the government is automatically identified with the will of the people, seen in Czarist and Soviet Russian history, these same people “who do not count their sacrifices or trouble themselves with thoughts of these sacrifices, who dig graves for the masses so that other masses can walk over them”. (E. Soloviev).⁶⁶ The belief that the real truth of life was to be found in the peasants (Narodnichestvo) who were to enlighten the rest of the world (we have already discussed their glorification of the peasant commune). The people as a collective, not as individuals,

64) Berdyaev N. *The Russian Revolution. Ann Arbor Paperbacks for the Study of Communism and Marxism*. The University of Michigan Press. 1971. p. 8.

65) Yanov A. 1977. p. 295.

66) Boyko Y. “*The Russian Historical Roots of Bolshevism*”. in the *Real Face of Russia*. p. 131 — 147. p. 145

were to be the carriers of this mission. The Russia peasantry under their Czar would bring salvation to the 'darkness of the Western World' while the Russian proletariat would bring a new world order in the minds of the Bolsheviks. Either way Russia would be the Third Rome or the Third International. Nationalism in both Russia and Germany (Narodnost and Volkstum) were both regarded as subversive by the State before they became conservative and respectable. Eventually there was reconciliation and a decline of the radical content (Dostoyevsky is a good example of a rebel turned Orthodox transformed into a conservative upholder of the regime). Solzhenitsyn, before converting to religion in the camps was an atheist and communist, and in his letter to the Soviet leaders advises them to turn to orthodoxy but at the same time to keep an authoritarian system, as the authoritarian regime of Muscovy "possessed a strong moral foundation".⁶⁷ One then wonders why his period of Russian history produced the least number of Satints?

The Slavophiles of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have a number of things in common. They both claim that there is a global crisis shaking the contemporary world, and vilify the bourgeois and cosmopolitan West that is unable to deal with its own crisis. Russia was to be the vehicle for the great mission, and orthodoxy the catalyst. Both preached reconciliation with authority and hostility towards the intelligentsia who were alien to the masses. They looked to a geographic quest for a second Russia which would be the cradle for the rise of the new Russia and wished to see the shift of the capital from Petersburg to Moscow, something which the Bolsheviks managed to undertake for them. "In short, they expected something vague and miraculous, almost exactly what Russia was promised at the dawn of Soviet rule".⁶⁸ N. Danilevsky (Russia and Europe) one of the leaders of the nineteenth century Slavophiles, saw Turkey as Russia's main obstacle to her mission. The Balkans and Constantinople were an important part of this. The borders of Russia, according to Danilevsky, would be as follows, "Persia is our province, as are Khiva, Bukhara and Afghanistan. Our Western border starts at Danzig goes through Eastern Prussia, continues on through Austria, Bohemia and Moravia, past Salzburg and Bavaria, down to the Adriatic Sea, around and including Trieste".⁶⁹ The borders of the Russian empire today are not so different: the Soviet border starts only 50 miles from Gdansk (Danzig), Russian troops are in Afghanistan and on the borders of Persia (Iran) and for a time a part of Austria was under her, including Yugoslavia too. Only Greece has managed to slip the net, although Moscow fomented a civil war there during the late forties. Both German and Russian (Slavophile and Bolshevik) ideology saw national minorities as a detriment to the national interests of the dominant group. Even those who were dissenters still believed in maintaining the unity of the empire.

67) Solzhenitsyn A. p. 52. (Letter)

68) Yanov A. 1977 p. 295.

69) Ibid. p. 304.

The German Conservative Revolution demanded Germanisation of the Polish and other minorities, the Russian Slavophiles and Bolsheviks saw Russification as a means to establish a new world order. This kind of chauvinistic nationalism, of which the Poles have been guilty in the past and from which one hopes they have learnt their lesson, cannot be compared to the nationalism of the Ukrainians whose movement has been "aiming at the establishment of an independent state".⁷⁰ Lenin, when commenting on secession, said "this demand is by no means identical with the demand for secession, for partition, for the formation of small states".⁷¹ Both German and Russian ideology "suggested a concept of larger international complexes in which the nature of the relations and the common interests of the nations involved were actually defined and determined by the strongest nation in a paternalistic way".⁷² The idea of Russians being the elder brother (starshii brat) in the USSR is surely an extension of this, despite the fact that Ukrainian history begins seven centuries before, not to mention the even older cultures of the Armenians and Georgians.

It is a characteristic feature of the Russian Slavophiles that although they see orthodoxy as being important they nevertheless see the injustices of life as being caused by God because He created the world. Here is another example of the Russians' inability to accept guilt: they are not to blame for creating the Czarist regime nor are they to blame for Russification. The fault lies in the ideology. The non-Russians on the contrary are defiling and destroying the purity of the Russian language. They agreed to be controlled by Russia and besides their standard of living is higher than the Russians. It cannot therefore, be said that they are being exploited. Russian anarchism's most famous representative Bakunin, regarded it as mystical and religious. The Slav world, under the leadership of Russia, has the great mission to light a vast fire in which the old sinful world will perish. Out of its ashes, a new world would be created, free and beautiful. In order to fight the injustices of the world one must fight the source of evil which is God. "God must be denied, in order that the Kingdom of God may come on earth"⁷³ Bakunin and Marx were very antagonistic towards each other for the simple reason that the former saw the peasantry as having messianic qualities. Marx saw the proletariat as the bringers of light. This was a clash of the messianism of Bakunin the Russian and Marx the Jew. Zhelyabov, member of the "Narodnia Volia" (the Peoples' Will) and assassin of Czar

70) Armstrong J. A. *Ukrainian Nationalism*. Littleton, Colorado. Ukrainian Academic Press: A Division of Libraries Unlimited, Inc, 1980 p. 4.

71) Kamenetsky I. "Marxism-Leninism and German Conservative Revolutionary Thought". p. 21-34, in *Nationalism and Human Rights: processes of modernization in the USSR*. p. 26.

72) Ibid. p. 27. The difference between the acceptance of discipline by Russians and Germans is that the German obeys and respects the state whereas "the Russian obeys power, not the law. And if Power is looking the other way, or simply does not notice him, the Russian does what he thinks he can get away with". (Smith H. p. 335).

73) Berdyaev N. *The Origins of Russian Communism*. Ann Arbor Paperbacks for the Study of Communism and Marxism. The University of Michigan Press. 1972. p. 26.

Alexander II on March 1st 1881, when asked at his trial if he believed in orthodoxy, replied: "I was baptized in Orthodoxy, but I repudiate it, although I acknowledge the essence of Christ's teaching"⁷⁴ Before he was executed he nevertheless kissed the cross.

Hatred of the Western World is a recurrent theme in both Russian Slavophilism and Bolshevism, it is a hatred arising from the realisation of being inferior. In the *Gambler* by Dostoevsky there is a hatred of the West which rouses in him only indignation. He dislikes the idea of working like an ox or saving money like a Jew. In true Tartar fashion he prefers to debauch like a proper Russian. In the *Brothers Karamazov* they will not accept the world with its suffering and cruelty. They want to destroy it in order to create a new one where suffering does not exist. God created the unjust world and therefore He must be rejected. This need to destroy and the hatred of one's homeland goes back to the schism of the seventeenth century and developed into the divorce of the intelligentsia from their traditions and from the masses. In turn they were also separated from the reins of power so that they were isolated and suspicious of all outsiders and the "living by ideas alone" became social daydreaming. They became sectarian, split from their environment which was evil. This led to aloofness, suspicion and an 'us and them' attitude. One had to be intolerant to survive which led to extreme dogmatism, dominated by social motives and a revolutionary frame of mind. Western ideas were taken and transformed into dogmas. Science became idolatrous (i.e. Darwinism). This led to the peculiar conclusion that "man is descended from a monkey, therefore we ought to love one another". (Soloviev)⁷⁵ Dostoyevsky commenting on the Russian exiles wrote "why do practically nine-tenths of the Russians when travelling abroad, always seek to establish contact with European leftist circles, who, as it were, disdain their own culture? Is this not an indication of the Russian soul to whom European culture has always been something foreign?"⁷⁶ It is no accident that among the Anarchists were many members of the upper classes, such as Tolstoy and Prince Kropotkin, and that their aloofness from the masses had developed a certain mistrust of them, which has continued during the Soviet period. The lives of the leaders even today are hidden from view, anonymity being prized "as an essential ingredient of mysterious and unchallengeable authority" as if they became open they would no longer be awesome, "but become human and vulnerable"⁷⁷ In Pushkin's *Boris Godunov*, the Czar advises his son not to expose himself too often to popular view if he wishes to rule effectively. In Chekov's *Fat Man and Thin Man* the two-faced servility of the Russian bureaucrats to superiority, and their arrogance to the masses, are seen when two former schoolmates meet accidentally a number of years later. The meeting goes along smoothly until the Thin Man finds out that the Fat Man has risen higher in the scale of ranks

74) Ibid. p. 75.

75) Ibid. p. 21.

76) Donzow D. p. 24.

77) Smith H. p. 339.

than he. Normal relations become impossible, as the Thin Man is awed by the importance of the Fat Man.

The rejection of God and the lack of individuality in the future state proposed by Russians of any persuasion, their elevation of the collective — the basis for messianic internationalism (Tolstoy's and Dostoevsky's 'tsychelovechnost', a peculiar form of universalism) is at odds with the "Ukrainian vision of God", seen perhaps best by Shevchenko, which to him differs from the 'Suzdal' and Jewish portrayal. Man is not a slave but a fully worthy and independent being. Shevchenko's God is endowed with human attributes, the essence of beauty. He is not analogous to the ruler (as He is in Russian thought) and is in contrast to the grandeur of the Byzantine (Suzdal) God. Witnessing the Easter celebrations in the Kremlin Shevchenko wrote in his diary that "it lacks all harmony and there isn't a trace of beauty", and called 'Suzdal' art "repugnant".⁷⁸ When he saw the extreme religious sectarianism of the Russian church, transgressing all religious principles and human ethics, Shevchenko wrote that "I know of nothing more filthy, more brutal than these obstinate Old Believers. Their neighbours, the savages of the steppes — the Kirghiz are a thousand times more hospitable than those direct descendants of Stenka Razin".⁷⁹ He saw in Russia the traditions of Muscovy and the role the church played as an instrument of Russian national politics and imperial expansion. But probably the main difference between Shevchenko (Ukrainian) and Russian thought lay in the fact that man, as an individual, was important, especially man deprived of basic human rights. Shevchenko "found the divine in man and the human in God".⁸⁰

Russian literature of the nineteenth century became very prophetic of an impending doom. Pushkin, Lermontov in the 1830's and Leontiev in the 1890's, Dostoevsky in his *The Possessed (Devils)* all prophesied the downfall of Czarism and the ensuing bloodshed. A. Blok in his poem *The Scythians* prophesied the advance of the Muscovite horde to subjugate the world swearing that they love Europe, the love of an animal for its prey. "Are we to blame if your skeleton is crushed by our heavy tender paws?" In A.

78) Rozumnyj J. "Byzantium and Idealism in the Aesthetic Views of Taras Shevchenko". Canadian Slavonic Papers. 19 (2) 1977. p. 193-206. p. 200.

Differences with Russian traditions can be seen in the fact that, "as a people we have not benefited from Europe's humanist tradition. In Russian history man has always been a means and never in any sense an end". (Amalrik A. p. 32).

79) Ibid. p. 200. J. Rozumnyj.

80) Ibid. p. 206. Whereas the Russian Slavophiles stressed the leadership of the Russians in a future Slav Federation, the program of the Cyrillo-Methodius Society stressed an equal place for all nations in a Slav Federation. Shevchenko was arrested for being a member of this society in 1847. The program of this society, *The Book of Genesis of the Ukrainian People* (Knyhy bytija ukrains'koho narodu) written by Kostomarov stated that the 'true slavs' (true Ukrainians) love neither the czar nor any master, but God alone. The work concludes with "Ukraine lies in the grave", "And Ukraine will rise from her grave and once more call unto all her brothers". (Chyzevsky D. A History of Ukrainian Literature. (From the Eleventh to the End of the Nineteenth Century) Littleton. Colo. Ukrainian Academic Press: A Division of Libraries Unlimited Inc. 1975. p. 497).

Blok's *The Twelve*, the twelve apostles of the new order are twelve Bolshevik soldiers, at their head the Devil with a mask of Christ in a wreath of white roses. Blok, Lermontov, Pushkin all say so what if Europe has millions, Russia has infinite numbers. This is not a reference to a cultural, technical or political superiority but the superiority of the Russian Horde. Stalin when asked about the Vatican, was said to have replied, "and how many divisions has the pope?" Milovan Djilas⁸¹ noticed whilst in Stalin's Russia, "In the Kremlin, when we visited the imperial tombs, the girl who showed us spoke of 'our czars' with sentimental national pride. The superiority of the Russians was vaunted everywhere and assumed grotesque forms". The coming apocalypse was also seen in art. M. Vrubel painted two pictures of the Devil (1890 and 1902), the new hero seated as the prince of the world and replacing the traditional Christ. Nicholas Ge's Crucifixion (1891) is a purely human theme with Christ no longer able to resurrect himself, the look of a thief suggesting the self-centered pathos of the coming godless world. Repin's Crucifixion (1922) has only two thieves with Christ's cross lowered and a wolf licking the blood of the vanished saviour. This triumph of the anti-christ was also seen in Gorky's hailing of the 'People' as the 'masters of the sun', the shining of light from the East and the use of pre-Christian sun gods of the East, also used by Khlebnikov, Kliuev, and Maiakovsky. Bely writes a poem to the Russian Revolution 'Christ is risen', Maiakovsky called himself the thirteenth apostle and saw Lenin as being immortal in his famous 'Lenin was, is and always will be'. Esenin called Russia the 'New Nazareth' and Kliuev saw Moscow as the Fourth Rome and Lenin as the modern Avvakum.

The Russian Revolution became merely a switch from White to Red Internationalism. The Third International simply, "takes on Marxist clothes and Marxist symbolism and adopts the characteristics of the Russian, messianic idea; the vocation of the Russian people is worked into it"⁸² Marx's proletariat mission is russified and internationalized, the Russian proletariat is to bring light and happiness to the world and is the new 'chosen people', Russia is the new Israel and Moscow the New Jerusalem, "a secularization of the ancient Hebrew messianic consciousness"⁸³. It has its own symbols, own cult and orthodox theology and exposes heresies, excommunicating heretics. It is itself a religion, and precisely because of this will have no religious toleration, like the Russian Orthodox Church in its relations with other denominations. It is precisely why the messianism of the Bolsheviks, amongst other things, appealed more readily to the Russian masses than the slogans of the Provisional Government, reflecting the lack of democratic roots. They felt more secure with an authoritarian regime and felt more at home with the coarseness and cruelty of the Bolsheviks than the intellectual

81) Djilas M. *Conversations with Stalin*. Harmondsworth. Penguin Books Limited. 1969. p. 206.

82) Berdyaev N. *The Russian Revolution*. p. 41.

83) Berdyaev N. *The Origins of Russian Communism* p. 99.

ramblings of Kerensky and his entourage, there had always been a popular mistrust of the intellectuals in Russia. The Bolsheviks channeled this mistrust into support for them against the Provisional Government. Despite attempts by modern day Slavophiles to erode the Russian side of Lenin (Solzhenitsyn's *Lenin in Zurich*) and thereby to ascribe the causes of the Russian revolution to non-Russian sources there is a great deal of evidence to the contrary. N. Krupskaja, Lenin's wife, in her memoirs remembered that whilst in exile in Cracow "Lenin yearned for Russia and became a terrible nationalist"⁸⁴ G. Zinoviev also wrote that Lenin "was a Russian, one might say from top to toe. He was the incarnation of Russia, and he knew it and felt it... he personified the Russian mind and soul".⁸⁵ In the Ukraino-Polish war against the Bolsheviks in 1920 the Russians rallied round the purely imperialistic slogans of the Bolsheviks. Surprisingly many White Russian generals went over to the Bolsheviks (Brussilov, Polivanov, Klembovsky and Gutor) "as they will all share my opinion as to the Polish imperialism — all of them without distinction of party, from the Tsarists to the bolshevik leaders, that small number of them — to be precise — who are Russians by birth".⁸⁶ The Poles are imperialist, but the Russian re-occupation is not an act of imperialism, what hypocrisy? Similarly it was wrong for the Germans to extract foodstuffs from Ukraine in 1918 but when the Russians re-occupied the country it was a different matter and they could take all they wanted, even export it whilst Ukrainians died by the millions in 1932-33. In the words of that hater of the Ukrainian nation ("there is no doubt as to the Austro-German origin of the existence of a separate Ukrainian nation, p. 160) Prince Wolkonsky in 1920-21 "the policy of the Moscow Soviet Government is undergoing some sort of change and it sets to the army... unitarian and nationalistic problems".⁸⁷

In the USSR today, "the existence of Russian nationalism is an open secret. On every corner, in front of every beer stand, in every store and every bus, a Ukrainian can hear the contemptuous epithet "khokhol", a Jew the annihilating "zhid", a Korean "kosoglazyi", an Uzbek "ishak"⁸⁸ (slant eyes and ass). Stalin encouraged the revival of Russian nationalism during the Second World War and was instrumental in increasing the identification of Russia with the USSR. It was utilised to fill the void left

84) Boyko Y. Prof. p. 139. (*Vospominaniya o Lenine*, Moscow, 1931 p. 107).

85) Ibid. p. 139, (*V. I. Lenin*. Leningrad, 1925 p. 159). It is said that whilst in Cracow Lenin would drive to the Russian frontier, only 4½ miles away, in order to breathe in some 'Russian' air.

86) Prince Wolkonsky A. *The Ukraine Question*. The Historic Truth versus the Separatist Propaganda. Rome. Ditta E. Armani. 1920 p. 5.

87) Ibid. p. 169. Also see: Dziewanowski M. K. "*Pilsudski's Federal Policy. 1919-1921*". *Journal of Central European Affairs*. 1950. 10 (3). Part 2. p. 271-287. "As for the Great Russian section of the population, the Bolsheviks began championing purely Russian national feelings, which evoked a favourable response from a number of Tsarist generals, who offered their services to Trotsky". p. 277.

88) Yanov A. 1978 p. 3.

by the destruction of beliefs and customs "with its characteristic cult of strength and expansionist ambitions"⁸⁹ something the war had fulfilled in the conquest of Eastern Europe and Germany. This increased the association of the regime in the eyes of many Russians with Russian national interests, seen in the reconquest of lands that had belonged to the Czarist regime but had been lost in 1917. These were the Baltic area, Bessarabia, Karelia, southern Sakhalin (lost in 1905) and the Kuriles. The revolutions of 1905 and 1917 must have been caused by the failure of the government on the external scene, something the Bolsheviks have learnt from. The official Red Army march (*Sovetskii Voin.* 1966, no. 16. p. 49) bears this out:

*Our dear Russia knows
That in summer heat and snow
We shall cherish our native land
From the Kuriles to the Carpathians.*⁹⁰

The emphasis on Russian patriotism is justified by quotes from Lenin on education of the Soviet man in the spirit of 'revolutionary patriotic traditions', the love of Rodina and feeling of national pride. Adulation in praise of Russia is the logical consequence of this, as "Russian nationalism is deeply imbedded in the ruling majority groups in the country" and is "the dominant element of the official Soviet system of values, of Soviet culture, and of the required norms and patterns of social behaviour"⁹¹ It is therefore perfectly feasible for Russians to be patriotic but impossible for a non-Russian to be as he is immediately labelled as a "bourgeois-nationalist". One can see that "the slightest clarification will show that by 'nationalists' they mean any Ukrainian who has preserved the least trace of his nationality"⁹² N. K. Krupskaya, the Peoples Commissariat for Education under Stalin, lamented "that under various pretexts bourgeois nationalists prevented seasonal workers and poor people from learning the Russian language". She, herself had "to oppose Ukrainian nationalists who had demanded that the Ukrainian language be taught even to those persons of Ukrainian nationality who had long lived in the Russian federation and do not know the Ukrainian language". Of course the demanding of more Russian facilities is perfectly in order. We are told that Ukrainian, Russian and Byelorussian are "closer to each other in terms of both their vocabulary and grammar than, for example, the internal dialects of German or Chinese"⁹³ Soviet nationality policy invariably contradicts itself as we are

89) Amalrik A. p. 36.

90) Borys J. "The question of Political Development and Nationalities Issues in Russian and East European Political Theories" ed. Kamenetsky I. p. 35-51. p. 50.

91) Rakowska-Harmstone T. "The study of ethnic politics in the USSR". ed. Simmonds G. W. p. 20-36. p. 22.

92) Dziuba I. *Internationalism or Russification*, New York. Pathfinder Press. Inc 1974. p. 99.

93) Isayev M. I. *National languages in the USSR. Problems and Solutions*. Moscow. Progress Publishers. 1977. One third of all books published in the World are in the Russian language.

told that while it “has made possible, for the first time in history, a complete equality of nations and languages” on the other hand “the Russian people have earned the deep respect of other peoples of the USSR and a position of leadership”⁹⁴ How one can hope to be equal and at the same time be in a position of leadership is anyone’s guess?

Stalin with his doctrine of ‘socialism in one country’ and his appeal to patriotism in the ‘great patriotic war’ returned to the nationalist norm in Russian politics and the revival of the cult of Stalin among the Russian masses is because he is seen “as the leader who forged a modern state, who steeled a nation in wartime to emerge victorious and then made the rest of the world tremble at Soviet might, Stalin embodies power”.⁹⁵ Even the Russian exiles (Fascist and National-Socialist groups) “nevertheless adopted the view that Stalin was the ultimate fascist” . . . this was after computing “that Stalin had killed more Communists than Mussolini, Hitler and Chiang-Kai-Shek combined” and looked up to him “for resurrecting Russian national power through internal regimentation and external expansion”⁹⁶ The significance of this is that a Russian exile group patterned itself after, “and wound up worshipping; its archenemy”⁹⁷ This revival of Russian nationalism and the myth that the Russians had played the major role in the war (there were few ethnically Russian areas occupied by the Germans) can be seen in his treatment of certain minorities who were deported en masse to Siberia, “the Ukrainians avoided meeting this fate only because there were too many of them and there was no place to which to deport them. Otherwise, he would have deported them also”.⁹⁸ The fate of the Crimean Tartars is particularly tragic and they are unable to return to the Crimea even today (Solzhenitsyn, for example, agrees with this and says that they are only remnants of the Golden Horde). Despite the fact that the Crimea was a part of the RSFSR in 1945, it has been a part of Ukraine since 1954, this being simply a way to transfer the blame and the responsibility for the whole problem from Moscow to Kyiv. If we assume that a major factor which caused the revolutions of 1905 and 1917 were military defeats then it is no wonder that Russians are afraid of the impending war with China. External expansion is a means to take attention away from internal problems. A war with China would require the moving of Soviet troops to the Chinese border which would lead to a certain collapse of the regimes in countries such as Poland and Czechoslovakia, the re-unification of Germany and Romanian claims to the Moldavian republic. It is obvious that the regime would have to resort to nationalistic slogans again, which will only arouse non-Russian

94) Ibid. p. 370 and 351.

95) Smith H. p. 330.

96) Stephan S. p. 373.

97) Ibid.

98) Krushchev N. S. *The Secret Speech*. Delivered to the closed session of the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. ed. Z. A. Medvedev and R. A. Medvedev. Nottingham. Russell Press Ltd. 1976. p. 58.

resentment, "Let Ivan solve his own problem". Local officials in the non-Russian republics may well be the proponents of this in order to keep their jobs. This is the reason for claims by people such as Solzhenitsyn for the need to make the regime more Russian in order to be better prepared for this war. It is no wonder that Solzhenitsyn wrote in his letter that the war would cost them sixty million lives and "after this war, the Russian people will virtually cease to exist on this planet".⁹⁹ It is known that most Russians resented the fact that the Chinese went unpunished after the 1969 Ussuri border clashes (whilst at the same time supporting the invasion of Czechoslovakia a year previously).¹⁰⁰

We have seen how the Slavophiles went from open confrontation with the regime in the nineteenth century to a fraternal union and it seems likely that this could very well happen in the USSR, now that Marxism seems to be losing its appeal among the youth and cannot be used to mobilize the masses, nor could it be used as a rallying cry in a war against China. Just as in the nineteenth century when the regime looked upon Russian nationalism with some distrust at first but then came to accept it (Black Hundreds were a direct outcome of this), so now in the USSR where it is regarded with considerable tolerance and "could become a force to be reckoned with at any time".¹⁰¹ The possibility of the restoration of Stalinism in the USSR is not such a remote possibility, and "because of the absence in the contemporary USSR (in contrast to pre-revolutionary Russia) of a mass "left-revolutionary" movement, a new cataclysm... has a significantly greater chance of occurring under the banner of "right-wing" Russian nationalism than under that of a democratic movement".¹⁰² Yurii Gendler, who spent some time in the camps, relates that on Hitler's birthday a portrait of the Fuhrer appeared with the inscription "There is no God but Thor and Adolf Hitler is his prophet"¹⁰³ Apparently ninety percent of the discussions in the camps were on the nationalities question. Russian nationalism went through three stages in the nineteenth century and there seems a very likely possibility that it will repeat itself in the near future, these three features are as follows:

Nationalism A: Liberal nationalism in confrontation with the regime.

Nationalism B: Isolationist-totalitarian nationalism striving for collaboration with the regime.

Nationalism C: Military-imperialist nationalism merging with the regime.

The majority of all Russian dissident groups that have existed in the USSR and still exist are very negative on the issues of nationality and its

99) Solzhenitsyn A. p. 15. *The Daily Telegraph* (5. 9. 80) stated that the Chinese News Agency had reported that 47,000 babies are born every day in China (or 33 every minute).

100) Amalrik A. p. 37.

101) Ibid.

102) Yanov A. 1978 p. 8-9.

103) Ibid. p. 12.

problems and oppose decolonisation. The Marxist opposition led by Medvedev, claim that the USSR was formed on a voluntary basis and the 1920's were a time of prosperity for the non-Russian nations. Medvedev favours voluntary assimilation, especially of the Jews and other nationalities living outside their republic, such as, any Ukrainian living in the RSFSR. Medvedev a "practical and consistent man, . . . argues that no barriers be put against their quest of merging in the Russian sea".¹⁰⁴ Of course, Russians living outside their republic do not have to assimilate. Both Medvedev and Sakharov are against the registering of one's nationality in one's internal passport. Sakharov assumes that with democratization of the USSR demands for independence would not be very great. (Lenin also assumed that the non-Russians of the empire would not wish to secede from a Soviet Russia). The Democratic Movement would be in agreement with any demands for independence, but as we have seen democratic roots are not very strong amidst the Russians. It is clear though, that if the Russians were against a de-colonisation of the USSR then they could not have a democratic government, as "free institutions are next to impossible in a country of mixed nationalities". (J. S. Mill)¹⁰⁵ Obviously, Sakharov has not had an opportunity to read any of the works of Mill, the nineteenth century English political philosopher.

The ideologies that the regime would have to turn to in times of crisis and the ideologies that would replace the present ones if the regime collapsed are unlikely to be either Marxist or democratic but a mixture of nationalism, Stalinism and slavophilism. Amalrik sees about six varying ideologies that form this linked group. Neo-Stalinist nationalism (national bolshevism) has apparently a lot of support among the party and government apparatchiks "pulling in the direction of ever greater Russian nationalism with antique Muscovite notions of a powerful 'paternalistic' regime".¹⁰⁶ Neo-Stalinist Marxism is the common idea backed up by the conservative bureaucracy. Neo-Slavophilism is hostile to the official ideologies, although its right-wing is linked with neo-Stalinist nationalism by the idea of chauvinism. Its power base is the urban and rural semi-intelligentsia and the general public. It believes in the exclusivity of Russia, the need to revert to pre-Marxist and pre-Western traditions, the increased role for the Orthodox Church and is not tolerant of other ideologies. It has hailed General Skobelev as a Russian hero who conquered Central Asia in the nineteenth century. Some of them admire Czar Nicholas I and others think Sinyavsky and Daniel should have been shot. Some of them tend toward fascism. 'Social ethical ideology' is populist and believes in Russia's specific role and her mission to give the world a perfect and unique form of government and "answers certain deeply

104) Bilinsky Y. "Russian Dissenters and the Nationality Question". ed. Kamenetsky p. 77-91. p. 80.

105) Borys J. p. 38.

106) Amalrik A. "Ideologies in Soviet Society". Survey. 1976. 22. (2) 1-11 p. 6.

felt popular needs".¹⁰⁷ A good example of this line of thinking was the 'All Russian Social Christian Union for the Liberation of the People (Vserossiiskii Sotsialno Khristianskii Soiuz Osvobozhdeniia Naroda — VSKhSON). Mass nationalism is directly connected with neo-Slavophilism and social religious ideology and indirectly influenced by neo-Stalinist nationalism and the idea of a powerful regime. It has a common opposition to the intelligentsia as being hostile to the Narod, and a common opposition to the regime.

This latest ideology is probably best portrayed in the document entitled *A Nation Speaks* (Slovo Natsii), signed anonymously by 'The Russian Patriots'. It is anti-liberal and anti-intellectual, and asks the question, "What is the difference between the high-principled liberal and the mediocre philistine?"¹⁰⁸ In discussing the Soviet state it says, "only such a state satisfies popular demands and traditions; it has been, is, will and must be".¹⁰⁹ It too refuses to accept any guilt and claims that "Somehow there has arisen the version — which is being intensively propagated — that the Russians are a privileged people. In fact exactly the opposite is the case . . ." ¹¹⁰ They claim that the Russians play a disproportionately small role because they are the only ones who do not have a Communist Party of their own, and hence the Ukrainians play a disproportionately large role due to this. Byelorussian is merely a West Russian dialect. The borders of the Ukrainian Republic do not correspond with her ethnic boundaries and "there are whole regions of the Ukraine which might more correctly be annexed to Russia".¹¹¹ The transfer of the Crimea to Ukraine is seen as a crying injustice as the Russian population is having to learn Ukrainian. Ukraine would have to concede to Russia, if she wished to become independent, all her southern and eastern regions, and without an outlet to the sea and any industry, together with Polish claims to her western areas, would only result in the return of the "prodigal son". Any Ukrainian claims to the Kuban are also rejected. Bessarabia is 'our territory', Kazakhstan and Kirghizia have too large a Russian population to be allowed independence. At the same time Georgia and Armenia are too small to survive by themselves. These Russian "Patriots" ask the question, "Since when have we been foreigners on our own soil".¹¹² Their slogan is, "A Single and Indivisible Russia".¹¹³ They claim that all nations in this 'Russia' would have equal rights but at the same time the Russian would be the ruling nation — we have seen the similarity of this with present national policy. They are also against hybridization which surely would be best served in a purely ethnic Russia? In fact this appeal is of a very similar nature to the ideology of the Russian

107) Ibid.

108) *A Word to the Nation*. Survey. 1971. 17 (3). p. 191-199. p. 192.

109) Ibid. p. 193.

110) Ibid. p. 195.

111) Ibid. p. 196.

112) Ibid. p. 197.

113) Ibid.

fascist exile groups and the Black Hundreds, especially in their hatred of Jews, polluting Russia with Western 'cosmopolitanism'. Russian nationalists in the Bundesrepublik have put up posters at the Radio Liberty offices in Munich accusing the Russian section of being run by Jews on an anti-Russian bias.¹¹⁴ It is perhaps not too strange that the Soviet Embassy in Paris in its bulletin dated 22/9/1972 (p. 9) has an anti-Jewish text which apparently is the re-working of a text by Rossof, a member of the Black Hundreds, St. Petersburg, 1906 (p. 15).¹¹⁵ Two books published in the USSR itself are blantly anti-semitic, couched in marxist rhetoric '*Caution Zionism*' by Yurii Ivanov, a researcher of the Communist party saw the Jews as a cosmic power of evil bent on the destruction of Russia. '*Invasion without arms*' by V. Begun was an attack on World Zionism published by *Molodaya Gvardiia*, the publishing house of the Komsomol and a hotbed of Russian nationalism officially sanctioned, in a mass edition of 150,000 copies. Most observers agree that "in any turmoil a more 'down-to-earth' nationalist radical... group like the 'Russian Patriots' is more likely to have a mass following than an intellectualizing moderate 'democratic' movement"¹¹⁶ Two members of the Slavophiles grouped around the samizdat (samvydav) journal 'Veche', M. Antonov, and A. Fetisov have seen the Jews in a very similar light, as being at the head of chaos for 2000 years until the orderly spirit of the Germans and Slavs came along as personified in Hitler and Stalin. The programme they outline for Russia is a de-urbanization and de-industrialization of European Russia and the transfer of industry to Siberia, with European Russia settled on the basis of a communal, patriarchal and rural system. It was these same people who thought Sinyavsky and Daniel should have been shot; this view is also held by the well-known Russian writer Mikhail Sholokhov.

This time span, interestingly enough, between the end of the Napoleonic Wars and the appearance of the Slavophile-Westernizer controversy in Czarist Russia is roughly the same as the time span between the end of the Second World War and the re-emergence of Slavophilism in the USSR today. Both periods witnessed the return of troops from the West to Russia, after seeing the plentiful life there, and finding back home only empty and wornout government ideologies. The secret speech by Khrushchev in 1956 came as a great shock to many Russians as the idea of "Their Leader" being guilty of any crimes was alien to the mentality of many Russians, who look upon their leaders as being somehow infallible, hence the inability to understand the impeachment of President Nixon. The ideological vacuum created by Khrushchev's de-stalinization campaign led to a growing assertiveness among the non-Russian nationalities, seen in the re-writing of the role of Russians in their own histories and the rise of non-Russians in the ranks of power. This led to a situation which eventually provided the fertile

114) Yanov A. 1978. Appendix four.

115) Yanov A. 1978. Appendix six.

116) Pospelovsky D. "*The Resurgence of Russian Nationalism in Samizdat*". Survey. 1973. 19. (I) 51-74. p. 63.

ground for the re-emergence of Russian nationalism, where "its central features are an interest in Russianness, a belief in the messianic role of Russia and an extreme scorn and hostility towards everything non-Russian".¹¹⁷ In the words of the leader of the Veche group, Osipov, "Russia is the greatest sufferer, slandered, and crucified. Russia will be resurrected contrary to everything and all".¹¹⁸ In the *First Circle* by Solzhenitsyn the character, Dmitri Sologdin insists on the use of "plain speech", which to him means the exclusion of non-Russian words. Whenever he uses a foreign word he gives himself "penalty marks". (Solzhenitsyn's writings themselves are difficult to translate because he refuses to use any words of a non-Russian origin) Consequently the question has been put: "Did not the revolution throughout its early years have some of the characteristics of a foreign invasion?"¹¹⁹ In Solzhenitsyn's *Lenin in Zurich* Lenin is depicted as only a quarter Russian by blood and a hater of Russia. He is called a wandering Jew and allies himself to Izrail Lazarevich Parvus (Gel'ford), a Russian Jew wandering Europe with the aim of destroying her, the Satan and Anti-Christ which has emerged from the depths of Russia, prophesied by Konstantin Leont'ev. Of the two different groups of Russian nationalists, the ones who believe in an empire are "far more numerous", whilst those who wish only an ethnic Russia are a "distinct minority".¹²⁰ Examples of "good Leaders" are General Skobelev (conqueror of Southern Turkestan), Ermak (conqueror of Siberia), Dezhnev the explorer of Kamchatka, Erofei Khabarov (one of the first to fight the Chinese) and of course last, but not least, Joseph Stalin.

The Soviet regime has accommodated the rise in Russian nationalism by permitting a limited (so far at least) rehabilitation of Stalin with the discussion of his positive qualities as a leader of the 'Nation' in wartime. It has encouraged the touring of places where monuments of Russian history are to be found and has re-emphasised its tolerance of the Russian Orthodox Church (though not the Ukrainian Churches). The regime has underwritten patriotic extravagances, such as the victory of the Russians over the Germans, with Stalin's famous addition that it was the Russians, out of all the Soviet nationalities, who played a "leading role" in the "great patriotic war". This return to Russian nationalism under Brezhnev has helped to allay the fears of the Russian colonies in Ukraine and Central Asia who were becoming increasingly afraid of the rise in antagonism towards them. Russian nationalists have been particularly active in the publishing houses — *Molodaya Gvardiya* and *Sovetskaya Rossiya* and in magazines such as *Ogonek*, *Moskva*, *Neva*, *Don*, *Volga*, and *Molodaya Gvardiya* and in the daily

117) Amalrik A. 1971 p. 36-7.

118) Pospelovsky D. p. 68.

119) Solzhenitsyn A. "Repentance and Self-Limitation in the Life of Nations". ed. Solzhenitsyn A. *From under the Rubble*. p. 105-143. p. 126.

120) Wimbush S. E. "The Great Russians and the Soviet State: Dilemmas of Ethnic Dominance". ed. Azrael J. R. *Soviet Nationality Policies and Practices*. New York. Praeger Publishers, 1978. p. 349-360. p. 354-55.

Sovetskaya Rossiya. In the words of Medvedev¹²¹ “the Russian nationalists have up to now been openly supported in such influential bodies as the Political Department of the army and the Central Committee of the Komsomol, where their ideas are used for the purpose of ‘patriotic education’ . . . in other more veiled forms, the Russite movement continues to develop and receive highly influential support”. This has been accompanied by demands for more military and patriotic education and the introduction of corporal punishment with barrack drill in schools. Calls have been made for the suppression of any ‘debilitating intellectuals’ and the sterilization of women who give themselves to foreigners. In fact “Neo-Nationalist elements . . . are observable in the Komsomol, the armed forces, the KGB and surely must exist in the higher echelons of the party as well”.¹²² Alexander Shelepin is known to have been a strong supporter of this movement and held strong views on ‘Russia first’ in economic and cultural matters. He attempted “to structure the institutions that they directed to promote these goals and to elevate those underlings who shared their views on Russia’s national rights and priorities”.¹²³ This is the same Shelepin who as chairman of the KGB received the assassin of the Ukrainian Leaders, Bandera and Rebet, in Munich, Stashinsky, at the KGB headquarters in December 1959 where the latter received the Order of the Red Banner for conducting “an important government commission”.¹²⁴

The decline of the Russian proportion of the Soviet population in recent years has also been a strong stimulant for the revival of Russian nationalism. The very low birthrate in European Russia, as compared to that of the Central Asians and Azerbaijani’s (Muslims), means that the Russian will soon be less than fifty percent of the population. This has aroused fears, echoed by Soloviev in the nineteenth century, of the Russians being overrun by Eastern peoples. Solzhenitsyn in his letter to the Soviet leaders quotes Stolypin on the need to develop the North and Siberia, because, “if we remain plunged in our lethargic sleep, these lands will be running with foreign sap, and when we wake up they will be Russian only in name”.¹²⁵ He also thinks development of this area will be the best means of defence against a Chinese attack (like the construction of the Amur-Baikal railway at the moment). In the ‘*World to the Nation*’ by the ‘Russian Patriots’ they see the threat to the white race from biological degeneration and suggest that, “if we do not take timely measures we may live to see ourselves playing the part of pawns or at best passive observers in the battle between the

121) Extract from book on *Socialist Democracy* p. 88-9. Dunlop J. B. “*The Faces of Contemporary Russian Nationalism*”. *Survey*. 1979. 24 (3) 18-35. p. 27.

122) *Ibid.* p. 34.

123) Wimbush S. E. “*The Russian Nationalist Backlash*”. *Survey*. 1979. 24 (3) 36-50. p. 43-44.

124) Barron J. *The Secret Work of Soviet Secret Agents*. London. Hodder and Stoughton. 175 p. 315-16.

125) Solzhenitsyn A. *Letter*, p. 28.

black and yellow races for world supremacy".¹²⁶ Mixed marriages in the USSR average at fifteen percent, but they vary between nearly zero percent among the Muslims to the highest for the Latvians (31%), Ukrainians (29.8%), Moldavians (25.4%) and for the Byelorussians 22.8%.¹²⁷ The nationalities who lose most through mixed marriages are the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Jews and Poles, and the group that wins out are the Russians. A Doctor of History L. N. Gumilev, published from 1965-1973 many articles in Soviet natural science journals on the issue of mixed marriages which in his view led "to the destruction of ethnic traditions as the mother teaches the child one set of values (including language) and the father another set. A mixed gene-pool is created which leaves a viable progeny in a few cases, but in many a worthless progeny that is able to maintain its standard of living only by using the riches accumulated by its ancestors and that finally erodes interethnic barriers, with the result that ethnic groups are deformed and sometimes assimilated by each other. But most importantly, political states and other social institutions created by oxogamous ethnic groups are short-lived".¹²⁸ This would mean that the mixing of nationalities in the USSR in order to create a new "Soviet Man" is harmful. Another Soviet author has called Gumilev's views those "adapted by the most reactionary political parties, including the Nazis".¹²⁹

Most observers of the Soviet economic scene see the time ahead as being particularly difficult for the USSR with growth in the eighties coming down to perhaps zero percent, particularly if she must continue her already high military spending in order to match America, face the growing threat of China as well as keep her empire intact. This in effect, means that investment resources are going to become very scarce and different regions are going to have to compete against each other. These "economic issues are likely to give an additional boost to Russian nationalism",¹³⁰ as calls are increasingly being made not to invest resources in non-Russian areas at the expense of Russian ones. The problem is twofold and if we assume (as we indeed do) that "the conservative nationalists are already so strong that when the present ruling gerontocracy leaves the scene they may well be in the driving seat"¹³¹ the whole realm of economics will have a powerful nationalist undercurrent. The question to be answered is do we take the factories to the workers or

126) *A Word to the Nation*. p. 198.

127) Karklins R. "A note on 'nationality' and 'naive tongue' as Census Categories in 1979". *Soviet Studies*. 1980 XXXII (3) p. 415-22.

128) Kozlov V. I. "On the Biological-Geographical Conception of Ethnic History". *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press* XXVII (20) 1-5. p. 3.

Amalrik sees Grishin as a representative of 'neo-Stalinist nationalism' (p. 6 of his article) and some proponents of Grishin's views claim that there is no separate Ukrainian and Bielorrussian nationality because of their 'original ties' which have remained in their biological make-ups as akin to the Russians.

129) *Ibid.* p. 1 Kozlov.

130) Article by S. E. Wimbush in *Survey*. p. 44.

131) *Ibid.* Wimbush.

do we take the workers to the factories? Labour surpluses are to be found in Central Asia (and this will be increasingly so) but the Central Asians are not known for their high mobility, and find Russian a difficult language to learn. If the factories were therefore brought to Central Asia the Russian nationalists would be angered and they already dominate many institutions calling for investment in 'Mother Russia'. If, as is more likely, investment goes into the RSFSR the surplus workers would have to be brought to the factories, a return to Stalinism. This is also not likely to please many Russians, "who despite all the official propaganda to the contrary are not known for their tolerance of darker skinned people in general and of those who speak Russian only haltingly in particular".¹³³ These Central Asian migrants on the edges of Russian towns, in a worse position than Gastarbeiter, would inevitably lead to racial conflict which the authorities would find extremely difficult to control, since by the end of the century the Red Army is likely to be approximately sixty percent non-Slav, and those of Central Asian stock are unlikely to shoot on their own kinsmen (as have seen in Afghanistan). Demographic policy, at this very moment is being discussed and policy formulated as to whether or not to have differing attitudes to different ethnic groups. Russians are being encouraged to have more children, and those who only have one child are labelled as being un-patriotic, whilst at the same time Central Asian women are being encouraged to go out to work, and thereby have fewer babies. The redrawing of Soviet frontiers as a part of some broader policy of economic reforms to tackle these varied problems have been proposed¹³³ and it is likely that if these proposals were put into effect in the future those countries such as Ukraine, Byelorussia and Kazakhstan would lose out, since each has large concentrations of Russians in areas adjacent to the RSFSR (Kazakhstan has more Russians than Kazakhs). The author claims that the border between Ukraine and the RSFSR, for example, is losing its meaning (p. 60) and 'therefore, as stated in the Programme of the CPSU, national boundaries within the confines of the USSR are increasingly losing nearly all their significance'.¹³⁴ There is consequentially a very real threat that the present boundaries between republics may be altered in the future and the inclusion of the industrial areas of Eastern Ukraine within the Russian republic, to appease Russian nationalists, as the economic crisis gets worse, is a possibility one simply cannot discount.

During Krushchev's period of office there was a large anti-religious drive that led to a revived interest in the church, its buildings, music and books. This helped to fill the ideological vacuum (Weltanschauung) created by the de-Stalinization campaign among the youth. In 1964 with the rise to power of Brezhnev, Muscovite students formed the Rodina (Motherland) Club, which could not have functioned without active support from the Komsomol,

133) Kistanov V. "*Leninskaya Natsionalnaya Politika i Ekonomicheskoe Rayonirovaniye v SSSR*". (The Leninist Nationalities Policy and Economic Regionalization in the USSR) *Voprosy Ekonomiki*. 1972. no. 2. p. 56-65.

134) *Ibid.* p. 65.

and indeed the Government. In 1965 the 'All Russian Society for the Protection of Historical Monuments' was formed with official backing and by 1977 had a membership of 12½ million. It has called for the re-opening of the Kyiv Pecherska Lavra as the hearth (ochag) of "Russian sanctity" and "Russian church" in time for the celebration of a thousand years of 'Russian Christianity'. They have called for the need to purge Russia of all alien influences and are very anti-Western, which they lump together with Cosmopolitanism (i.e. Jewry). The interest in old Russian church music is a part of the general belief that Muscovy, prior to Peter the Great, had a spiritual strength and unity lacking in the USSR. The only living connection between old Russia and the present is to be found in the countryside. This can be seen in the rise of the Ruralists in poetry (Derevenshchiki) who glorify the countryside and lament the decaying of the peasant and village community, where the real inspiration for a Russian spiritual revival is supposed to be awaiting discovery. In the literary field there has been a growing number of architectural books and guides, books on iconography and folk art and handicrafts plus an increase in the historical study of medieval Russia. Russian religious journals have been allowed more freedom, especially the *'Zhurnal Moskovskoi Patriarkhii'* (Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate). Attendance in Russian Churches has increased and a fashion has developed for young people to wear crosses and collect icons and folk craft. A colleague of Medvedev (Kopelev) in his critique of Solzhenitsyn's letter thinks the Society for the Preservation of Monuments "has become in essence a legal association of new Black Hundreds".¹³⁵ It is clear that, "if the campaign to preserve historical monuments is the bright side of the culturalist movement, groups such as Rodina and Rossiia, whose views are ultra-conservative and include thinly veiled anti-Semitism, are the darker side".¹³⁶

The publishing house and journal of the Russian Komsomol, *Molodaya Gvardiya* (Young Guard) we have already observed, has become one of the centres of the revival of Russian nationalism and it, "quickly became identified with the extreme position in the movement to revive 'Holy Russia', a position that sought to cultivate a Great Russian patriotism".¹³⁷ In 1968 at the time of the Prague Spring whose effects spread into Ukraine via the Ukrainian minority in Slovakia and was one of the main causes of the Russian invasion, the journal *Molodaya Gvardiya* began the rise in the present wave of official Russian nationalism. An article by M. Lobanov (April) claimed that true culture only came from the "soil of the people" and from "natural sources", whereas corrupters of this national spirit all seem to have Jewish surnames and are associated with the 'bourgeoisisation' of Russia. This Americanization of the spirit can only be combatted by Russification of the

135) Dunlop J. B. p. 27.

136) Bird T. E. "New Interest in Old Russian Things: Literary, Religious Perspectives, and National Self-Assertion". *Slavic Review*. 1973. 32 (1) p. 17-28. p. 20.

137) Haney J. V. "The Revival of Interest in the Russian Past in the Soviet Union". *Slavic Review*. 1973. 32 (1) 1-16. p. 8.

spirit.¹³⁸ In order not to go the way of the West, there is a need to go and find a particularly Russian path, which requires that the regime be Russified and its official strategy should become more Russian (something Solzhenitsyn has called for in his letter to meet the twin enemies of Western influence and the Chinese threat). In issue nine an article by V. Chalmaev entitled "Inevitability" saw the October Revolution as merely another stage in the maturing of the Russian spirit which will end in a more majestic Stalingrad where the Russian spirit will triumph over the evil of "Americanism". The blatant Russian nationalism of this journal was backed up by the Orthodox-Stalinist magazines such as *Moskva*, *Ogonek*, and *Oktiabr*. *Novy Mir* the liberal magazine replied to this rise in Russian nationalism, as seen in the article by Chalmaev, that he "speaks of Russian and the West more nearly in the language of Slavophile messianism than in the language of our contemporaries... it is but one step... to the idea of national exclusiveness and the superiority of the Russian nation over all others..."¹³⁹ Perhaps by seeing who won this argument we can have a reasonable idea of who holds the reins of power in the USSR — Russian nationalists or Marxists. *Novy Mir* came out the underdog and Tvardovsky the liberal editor fell in 1970, "it fell (what irony!) not for Solzhenitsyn, not for Siniavsky (Tertz), but for an Orthodox Marxist article defending the purity of the ideological vestments of the party".¹⁴⁰ In its attack on the establishment right it touched on the most sensitive point of the regime. *Novy Mir* was accused of "Cosmopolitanism" (a euphemism for the West and Jewry) and the two factions of the establishment right came together, the Old Guard Stalinists (Shelepin and Polianskii) and the Young in the Komsomol. The Right has strong backing in the army and the KGB (where Shelepin used to be in charge and presumably still as associates). Another interesting case is that of A. Yakovlev former head of the Central Committee's Propaganda Department, who in attempting to expose the 'heresies' of *Molodaya Gvardiya* had to wait a whole year prior to having his article published in *Literaturnaia Gazeta* (15 11. 1972) and was promptly removed from his post and 'exiled' to Canada as ambassador. The Samizdat journal *Veche* in a critique of Yakovlev claimed, "In 1918, the Soviet Republic was reduced to the dimensions of the Muscovite kingdom during the time of Ivan III. The persecutor of the Russophiles (i.e. Yakovlev) dreams of this".¹⁴¹ In other words he was removed from his post for relying on Lenin in his arguments, which the journal *Veche* claims would lead one to give the right of independence to republics (as written down in the constitution) which the journal claimed, in a roundabout way, was anti-Soviet and in effect suicide for the state. The unofficial Russian nationalists supported the establishment nationalists in the suppression of him and implicitly both groups agreed on the need to keep the empire intact.

138) See *Molodaya Gvardiya* (MG) no. 4. 1968.

139) See *Novy Mir*. no. 4. 1969.

140) Yanov A. 1978. p. 50.

141) *Ibid*. p. 59.

The unofficial Russian nationalists (VSKhSON) began their existence at approximately the same time that the Establishment Right did, in 1967-68. The VSKhSON group believed that since communism was the main threat to Christian Civilization and the heart of Communism lay in Russia then salvation can therefore, only come from Russia. The future of mankind will consequentially be determined in Russia. Like most Russians the misfortunes of Russia are seen to be the work of Jews and so forth, and they reject any self-determination of the non-Russians. They seem to be inspired by N. Berdayev who rejected parliaments and thought fascism to be the best alternative for Russia, with its corporate state and militarization of society.¹⁴² The Russian group around the journal *Veche* headed by Osipov, believed that the rest of the world could not be saved, but what must be saved is Russia as a 'historical nation' destined to implement its 'idea'. Its ideology is based on that of Danilevskii and his "*Russia and Europe*" of the 1850's (which we have already mentioned). The threat of Turkey has now been replaced by that of China, who threatens to prevent Russia from undertaking her 'mission'. The West had to be prevented from stopping Russia's destruction of China. Osipov promised loyalty towards the existing system and to support it in the face of external enemies. The country ought to be closed off and isolated and all alien influence within it to be eliminated. could trust its people if it accepted this programme because of certain characteristics of the Russian person, such as, "his ability and habit of being obedient, his respect for and trust in the government, his lack of ambition, and his distaste for interfering in matters where he does not consider himself competent"¹⁴³.

Perhaps *Veche's* views on nationality problems are of even greater interest transform¹⁴⁴ In '*Vol'noe Slovo*' they claimed that the USSR like all previous Russian regimes, was formed on a free unification of the nationalities and therefore, the Russian empire was not a prison of peoples, but a fraternal union of nations that were attracted by Russia's willingness to protect them from 'external enemies' and neighbours:

*"If it can be said that the Russian Empire maintained by bayonets, this was true only in the sense that Russian bayonets defended the outlands from the claims of cruel neighbours"*¹⁴⁵

Can one not detect the teaching of Soviet history in these lines, the use of Soviet historiography for political ends to put over the myth of 'friendship of peoples' and thereby disclaim any need for the decolonisation of this

142) They are therefore, in the same ideological groups as the Russian emigre fascists discussed in the book by John J. Stephan.

143) Yanov A. 1978. p. 71.

144) Smith H. p. 562-63. When Hedrick Smith first met Solzhenitsyn in Moscow he presented him with a pre-made statement, exactly like the Soviet regime did itself, rather than be subjected to embarrassing questions in an interview, and show how much Solzhenitsyn was a product of the system.

145) Ibid. Yanov A. 1978 p. 71.

empire, because everyone is living in such joyful bliss? The dominance of the Russians in history is based on the moral supremacy of its character, and the outlands feel an attraction to the Russians as to an historical centre and the source of higher values. Imperialism has to be gauged in meta-physical smoke-screens to ensure the continuation of the empire, whether under any Russian government. According to *Veche* everything that is bad in the USSR is due to the KGB not exercising enough surveillance over agents of "Zionism and Satanism" which is supposedly because the KGB does not have the church as a faithful ally and bulwark. Therefore one requires the practical convergence of church and state. Orthodoxy and Leninism. Clearly, the only partial union of the Russian church (which was enough to liquidate the Ukrainian Churches) with the State is inadequate. Yet, in 1946 Archbishop A. Marchenko said, "Moscow continues to be a world embracing idea, namely that of Union which forms a counter-balance to the Paacy with its autocratic tendencies and insane dreams of ruling the world. Moscow is the Third Rome — and a fourth there shall not be, as our fathers declared in Ivan III's time".¹⁴⁶ This was apparently backed by the Russian Patriarch Alexius during the 1948 Orthodox Conference in Moscow.

These developments in the USSR have obviously not gone unnoticed among Russian emigres in the Free World. In the USA in 1977 there was formed "The Preparatory Committee for the One Thousandth Anniversary of the Batism of Russia" which hosts an annual conference and publishes the journal '*Russian Renaissance*' (Russkoe Vozrozhdenie). In Europe the Russian National Union (Rossiiskoe Natsionalnoe Obedinenie) was formed with similar aims. In 1978 in the Bundesrepublik, the Congress Council of the Russian emigre organisation, NTS, Peoples Labour Alliance, (Narodnyi Trudovoi Soiuz) passed a resolution entitled 'The Concordance of efforts in the Struggle for the Liberation and Preservation of Russia' (*Novoe Russkoe Slovo* 16. 3. 1978). It states that, "in the ruling strata (of the USSR) there are constructive forces... which should confront the dominating party apparatus in an effort to achieve reforms and a decisive change in the regime".¹⁴⁷ What the NTS is attempting to do is to align the Rightist forces in the USSR on the eve of the 'post-Brezhnev' period, especially as the NTS has in mind the goal of the 'preservation of Russia' and is therefore, in sympathy with both the Establishment Right and the unofficial Russian nationalists. This alignment of Russian emigres with the Soviet regime is nothing new (as we showed in respect of the opinions of the Russian fascists of the 1940's to Stalin and his regime) and we consequently know that in the event of a collapse of the Soviet Russian empire all Russians will rally to the imperial cause, whether Red, White or any other colour — the events of 1917-21, when both Red and White Russian armies coveted Ukrainian and

¹⁴⁶ *Zhurnal Moskovskoi Patriarkhii*. 1946 and 1948 v. IV and VI. See the Council of Florence", Church History 1955 v. 24. p. 291-323.

¹⁴⁷ Yanov A. 1978, p. 60.

other non-Russian lands, would invariably lead to a repeat of Russian imperialism. Of this we can be sure, and must conduct our policies with the knowledge of this in mind.

The Russian nationalities are therefore, very influential and have friends in most institutions in the USSR and could clearly take over the reins of power once Brezhnev has departed from the scene, especially now that Marxism-Leninism is not taken seriously as a rallying ideology for young people and that in the event of a war with China or serious internal disorder among the non-Russian nationalities (or both) the regime will have to turn to Russian nationalism to appeal to the Russians, which "makes no such demands upon the imagination, being well integrated with the national Russian tradition and acceptable to patriots of all classes".¹⁴⁸ If the regime does turn to some form of nationalism it seems that the following tenants will probably comprise its ideological underpinnings:

1. No political opposition would be allowed.
2. Russian orthodoxy would be the unique and universal instrument for the salvation of the world.
3. The salvation of the world will come out of Russia.
4. A presumption of national innocence.
5. A rejection of "western influences" in Russia, and the removal of the "european intelligentsia" as the main social agent of them (i.e. the Democratic Movement).
6. The stronghold of secular mankind is the West.
7. A move from nationalisms A to B to C.
8. Jews are the chosen people of Satan, whilst the Russians are the 'chosen people' of God.
9. Nostalgia for strong leadership.
10. National re-birth and grandeur will save Russia from the influence of the degenerating West and the menace of China, so that a new 'ascetic' civilization will be formed.
11. Hostility towards the de-colonisation of the USSR.

If the regime did turn towards some form of Stalinism and Russian nationalism in the near future it would do so with the knowledge that this would be bound to raise non-Russian demands for independence and would eventually signal the collapse of the last remaining empire in the world. It would be the attempts of a regime to save itself on its last legs, in the same way that the move of the Czarist regime to narrow Russian nationalism in the early twentieth century was merely an attempt at preventing the inevitable, which came in 1917 and is likely to come again in the 1990's?

¹⁴⁸) Leichtheim G. *Imperialism*. Harmondsworth. Penguin Books Limited 1974. p. 14.

News from Ukraine

RUDENKO ON HUNGER STRIKE

Word has reached the West (January) that Mykola Rudenko, the leader and founding member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Accord Monitoring Group, declared an indefinite hunger strike, starting December 19, in protest against being forced by prison camp authorities to work despite the rule that invalids should not have to work.

Rudenko was sentenced in June 1977 to seven years' imprisonment to be followed by five years' internal exile. He is at present in a labour camp in Mordovia.

Rudenko and nine other Ukrainian patriots formed the monitoring group on November 9, 1976. It became the most active of the monitoring groups which sprang up in various Russian-occupied republics following the Helsinki Conference on European Security and Cooperation which included the famous "Basket Three" declarations on human rights.

He was sentenced at the same trial which saw another member of the group, *Oleksa Tykhy*, receive a barbaric 10-year sentence, followed by five years' internal exile.

Rudenko is protesting that the camp authorities use even a prisoner's illness as a means of repression.

NEW REPRESSIONS IN UKRAINE

Doctor Stepan Khmara was sentenced on December 24, 1980, in Lviv to seven years' imprisonment and five years internal exile for anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. Dr. Khmara arrested in March 1980 and charged with helping to produce samvydav underground literature, specifically the Ukrainian Herald.

Also charged with the same "crime" was *Vitaliy Schevchenko*. He received seven years' imprisonment to be followed by four years' internal exile. Schevchenko, a journalist graduate, had been hounded out of his press agency job in Kyiv after being accused of nationalism.

The KGB raided his home in March, 1980 and he was arrested on April 14 following KGB interrogation.

Oleksander Schevchenko was another person arrested in connection with distributing the samvydav. He received five years' imprisonment to be followed by three years' internal exile. He was charged under article 181-1 of the Criminal Codex of the Ukrainian SSR, which deals with distributing slanders detrimental to the Soviet state.

In Odessa, the trial of *Anna Mychajlenko* has finished and she has been sentenced to "treatment" in a Kharkiv psychiatric institute.

Anna Mychajlenko, a 45-year-old teacher, was arrested on February 20, 1980 after a search at her home. The KGB accused her of slandering the Soviet state.

The same day the KGB raided the home of veteran Ukrainian activist *Oksana Meshko* in Kyiv. The KGB said the raid was connected with the Mychajlenko case.

Oksana Meshko (the final art of whose memoirs are published in this issue) spent 10 years in Stalin's concentration camps. She became the head of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group following the arrest of Mykola Rudenko. On June 12, 1980, she was incarcerated in the Kyiv psychiatric institute but in November of last year she was transferred to a KGB interrogation facility in Kyiv.

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THE FRONTIERS OF CULTURE

(Part five)

National culture reduced to a provincial level

The Russian occupier is striving to reduce our classic culture — particularly that of the XIX century and of the present century — to a peripheral, regional provincial level. It does this by enforcing falsely fast tempos, through a system of mass terror and prohibitions. After destroying millions of people, the occupier strove (and strives) to destroy our national culture. Little effort was required to retain culture at a very base level during the 1940's and 1950's as the majority of cultural activists were liquidated during the 1930's — and those activists who were not removed in the purges, were taken by the war. Only in Halychyna, Volyn, Bukovina — the West — are there any signs of opposition. However, the system of mass terror is such, that it could well succeed in reducing the national cultural character of Halychyna to a general all-Ukrainian level. The effect of this terror is that it is accepted as a norm. Thus it has become a norm for writers and acts as a measure of the value of all publications — whether they be propagandistic leaflets, novels or academic studies.

The psychology of fear dictates what this be done “sincerely” — but how memorable the pre-war wars are! Skrypnyk, Kurbas, Zerov, Dray-Khmara, Khvylovy were destroyed. Dovzhenko was brutally abused. Ostap Vyshnya suffered the physical and moral deprivations of concentration camps. Kotsyubynsky lost his life in prison. This same fate greeted thousands more Skrypnyks, Zerovs and the best of our cultural activists and also greeted millions of ordinary Ukrainians. The memory of fear is especially long lived in people's psychology — and today that memory imbues every cell of the artist, teacher, academic and thus affects every cell of the national organism. It affects every school, every educational establishment, every newspaper and magazine, every publisher, each scientific and artistic organisation, and thus paralyzes national dignity, and thus any work along national lines. Even before a single line is written by an author, he is affected by fear: his work is then subjected to censorship and either his work will be published or “arrested” in its original draft form. Should the author's work suffer the latter fate, he can only expect victimisation, or inevitable punishment: he will lose his job; his name will be struck from publishers' lists and he will thus be deprived of his livelihood or he will lose the mass of privileges guaranteed by party membership and will be forced to languish in

a concentration camp for many long years. Finally, he will be so paralyzed with fear that he will succumb and will produce that which is required of him by the party — for not only will he be freed of repressions; not only will he achieve peace in his life and human happiness; he will also gain fame, albeit of dubious value, but still fame brings its own success and material rewards. The fear that is inspired by the occupier and the instinct of self-preservation dictate the so-called “artist’s sincerity” and takes precedence before even human and national dignity. The maintenance of this subservient position helps ensure the life of the empire. And this is the reason why the occupier continuously attempts to reduce the intelligentsia (and particularly the cultural intelligentsia) to a conformist, collaborating body, and why the teacher, the artist, the social scientist are allocated the worst functions in life. However, recognising the deep patriotism of the absolute majority of this section of the intelligentsia, the occupier deliberately makes them an accomplice to its own evil acts, and thus lays blame on them, which makes this intelligentsia feel guilt before our nation, and gives them an inferiority complex. Moreover, the occupier continually reminds this intelligentsia of its role as “accomplice”. Thus the intelligentsia compromises itself before our nation and depreciates the value of its work for our national culture and devalues its own authority in playing a leading role as an opposition and as a true national element.

The falsification of history

However, the first priority is the falsification of history, beginning from the earliest times — from the cultural of Kyivan-Rus', and ending with our modern liberation struggles against the Russian yoke. Each tragic event in the history of the Ukrainian nation, and in particular those events which led to its present captive states — such as the annexation of Ukrainian lands, the liquidation of autonomy, the ruin of the Zaporizhian Sich, the pogroms, assimilation, the resettlements of Ukrainians beyond Ukrainian territory, the aggression towards the Ukrainian National Republic, the re-occupation of Ukraine, the colonial economic policies, the destructive effect of the genocide of the 1930's, the destruction of national relics and so on and so on — is described as part of Ukraine's “liberation” or as the “brotherly aid of the Soviets”. And this is the interpretation that modern historians, cultural activists and others are forced to give “sincerely”. This, while all national aspirations, all attempts to achieve national liberation and sovereignty are decried as “criminal” acts, as a “betrayal” of the construction of the (Soviet) fatherland. Similarly all our great political and national activists — Ivan Mazepa, Symon Petlyura, Mykola Hrushevsky, Andriy Sheptytsky, Yevhen Konovalets, Stepan Bandera, Yaroslav Stetsko, V. Vynnychenko, M. Khvylovy, U. Samchuk and many many others who dedicated

their lives to the cause of Ukraine — are accused of being “traitors of their nation”.

Further the Ukrainian national spirit is compared to the Russian nation in all branches of social science and creative work and thus the very essence of Ukrainian culture is falsified. Priority is given to secondary events and to secondary activists of Ukrainian culture, while the spirit of our classical heritage is reduced to something commonplace and is thus mutilated. The most vital elements of our history are contested and discredited: the inviolable and inalienable right of self-determination is denied even now. However, this denial of our history and our historical role comprises only one aspect of this question.

Captive peoples are forbidden the knowledge of history

The reality is much more complex than has been outlined above. We shall briefly outline only one more element from the myth of the “blossoming” of Ukrainian culture. The unrestricted attempt to achieve the destruction of the Ukrainian nation — only one part of Moscow’s global plan — shows no interest in the vast values bequeathed by our cultural heritage — created in relatively free periods by our talented artists, academics, political and cultural activists both in the past and in the present, and both in Ukraine and abroad. However, the words “the coloniser is not interested” do not nearly reflect the reality, in as much that the occupier does not limit this “lack of interest” to purely passive methods. In order to safeguard the existence of the empire its captive nations are deprived of the knowledge and memory of their past. This is why the classical heritages are subjected to especially severe imperial censorship, and not only are ordinary people not allowed access to their history, but also the intelligentsia is forbidden access to this knowledge. Thousands of authors are banned; thousands of books are removed from public, academic and private libraries and collections and are simply destroyed. Only a very small number are retained, but then these are subjected to severe publication limits as are for example is the work “The History of Rus”, while the historical works of Kostamarov, Kulish, the academic works of Maksymovych and Sreznevsky, Markovych, Bantysh-Kamensky, Yavornytsky. Drahomanov, Podolykovsky, Ziber, Pavlyk are banned. One is simply not allowed to mention Antonovych, Yefremov, Hrushevsky, Doroshenko, Mikhnovskiy, Dontsov, Ohiyenko, Yurkovych, Shelukhin, Lypa, Chyzhevsky, Malanyuk, Pasternak, Small-Stotsky, Mirchuk. Nothing is heard of the works of Konysky, Chuzhbynsky, Hrinchenko. Vynnychenko, Lepky, Samchuk and thousands of other cultural activists’ works are prohibited. And they are not only banned, but a knowledge of their works could deprive a Ukrainian of his freedom and he could find himself languishing in a concentration camp for many years.

It is a crime to silence these aspects of our existence. We, as a

nation who are threatened with extinction, must find the courage to voice these facts outloud to he whole world. We must bring the Ukrainian problem to the front of the international arena as an actual political problem that demands immediate attention and resolution, and that demands to be brought as a matter of priority to international forums. In order that this be accomplished the questions that have been raised here demand to be developed more fully and comprehensively. However, in the meantime we can only present the pressing reality of Russification and political and cultural repression being conducted in our land now.

The press and periodicals

The state of the Ukrainian press and periodicals also demands attention. For example, the newspaper "Literaturna Ukraina" exists to discuss the present literary process but is reduced to the level of a backwater. For over ten years discussions have been proceeding concerning its size. However, how can its size be discussed when there is not even enough literary material to fill four pages (that is an indication of how poor literary life is at present) and while the editors (hired by the KGB) fill the columns with materials not even connected with literary or artistic matters, not to mention national problems. Since the beginning of the 1970's not one article has appeared that merits any attention, or is worthy of literary criticism. Similarly every "central" Kyivan paper has a provincial appearance. Deprived of the right of having their own foreign correspondents and their own press services, they can only obtain their information from one source — the centralised imperial agency. And further, they receive strict instructions concerning the publication of materials concerned with national issues that trouble the Ukrainian community. The editorial boards are determined by the party and the KGB and thus are composed of planted, faithful and experienced ideological functionaries.

An analogous situation is found in the editorial boards of magazines and publishing bodies. The majority of publications are of low artistic and academic value, although they are impregnated with communist ideals. On the other hand, items of high artistic value but imbued with the Ukrainian national spirit are arrested by censorship and transferred to the relevant bodies, which are the starting point for the harassment and repression of the artist concerned. This is one reason for the generally low standard of our literature. Even the official authority — L. Novychenko, a well-known critic well acquainted with the present literary process, was forced to admit to the low artistic level in current Ukrainian literature in one of his recent works. However, Novychenko is encouraged to ignore the better elements that can be found in Ukrainian works, and is unable to explain the objective reasons and the regularity of this phenomenon,

— this must be the task of the opposition forces. However, facts cannot be disputed. We shall not dwell on many dramatic statistics and thus facts that speak for themselves. We shall merely tell the reader that 50 million Ukrainians are forced to be content with five thick art periodicals printed in very small numbers, while 120 million Russians have ten times more this number and which are not subjected to any printing limits. Indeed most Russian periodicals are printed in numbers of over 100,000 and one third in numbers of 300,000 to 2.5 million. Thus, for example, "Novy Myr" which is printed in numbers as high as 250,000 has a higher circulation than all Ukrainian periodicals together. Moreover, recently the turnover of Ukrainian periodicals was reduced even more by the replacement (so-called) of most Ukrainian historical periodicals by the revival of an organ of an academic institution — the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. This is a further illustration of the attack against Ukrainian social life by the imperial forces, which was renewed at the beginning of the 1970's with mass arrests and repressions conducted against the Ukrainian intelligentsia and by the removal of the moderate P. Yu. Shelest from his party post. It has to be noted that the organ of the Institute of History, that repalced so many periodicals, ignores the very essence of their original purpose and merely acts as a parody, a joke of the occupier at the expense of Ukraine's history.

These are the conditions which destroy our artists, social scientists, cultural activists — among whom there are talents that deserve universal recognition. But deprived of creative freedom and forced to work in an atmosphere of constant national, moral and physical pressure, they, understandably, are unable to develop their talents to the full. As a result of this the standard of our present literature, drama, theatre, cinema, social sciences, social thought — culture as a whole — is lower than it could potentially be, and indeed — is on the verge of complete decline. The true picture of the state of our culture will become even fuller, when completed with the statistics of the numbers of talented people who have been forced to leave Ukraine. At present there are thousands of such men and women in exile. It is impossible to return them all to Kyiv, but it should be possible for them to contribute to Ukrainian culture and to be the spokesmen of our nation in various international forums, and to become the organisers of an open opposition force.

THE SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL INTELLIGENTSIA: THE MAINSTAY OF THE OPPOSITION

The scientific-technical intelligentsia is taking an ever more active role in the activities of the opposition movement, and represents a reliable source of help to the above mentioned groups, of which it could well become the

leading power. The present level of urbanisation, the level of the development of science, technology, economy — all dictate that the totalitarian regime either decentralise these spheres of human activities, and thus allow substantially more freedom for the scientific-technical intelligentsia: otherwise totalitarianism shall hinder the further development of science and economics, which would lead to increasing stagnation, with the Soviet Union lagging far behind the West in key branches of economics — which has become notably obvious within the last decade, and thus serve to increase the dissatisfaction felt by the intelligentsia.

It should be noted that, among other things, the effort to find a way out of the progressive stagnation has become one of the most significant reasons for the so-called arrest. The regime can become either more liberal or more repressive. The captive nations will benefit from either alternative. The first will stimulate the development of the opposition movement, and the second will stimulate wide dissatisfaction — which again will activate the opposition movement. Dissatisfaction and opposition is not only directed at the regime, but already the Russian technical intelligentsia — a powerful driving force — is gradually pushing out the party bureaucracy from governing the empire — at least in the area of economics. The failures that were caused by increasing centralisation led to the growth and development of many scientific and exemplary centres within the boundaries of various economic regions run on Western principles, which has in turn led to the updating of economic theories which place less emphasis on Marxist dogma. On the basis of this modernisation, economic relations and calculations have borrowed structures and models from the West — and are proof of the centrifugal forces of Russian economic leaders and the scientific elite desiring to free themselves from the control of the party caste: proof of their desire for freedom of action — and it is finally proof that it shall be impossible for the party bureaucracy to fully control the development of science, technology and economics in the future. This development can also be seen in the sphere of politics, where the Russians are desperately trying to enforce their superiority — however, this is simply the devaluation and the erosion of communism as an ideology, which serves to highlight the growth of a Russian opposition.

Advice for the younger generation

We would advise the younger generation that is gradually joining our movement to rely on the Russian opposition movements as an ally with great caution. For example it has come to light that some people who had implicitly trusted their contacts within the Russian opposition had passed them Ukrainian underground documents intended for publication abroad. However, these documents were never transmitted and were in fact destroyed.

However, we shall continue with our previous line of thought having given this warning. Moscow, having realised the extent of revolutionary change that could be achieved by the activation of the technical intelligentsia is

trying to suppress not only them but also the activities of the cultural intelligentsia. For this reason we are witnessing the (forced) mass emigration of our national intellectuals and talented people, and also the forced emigration of potential oppositionists to the imperial regime from the Ukrainian homeland, from the Ukrainian atmosphere — from all those factors that could potentially stimulate their involvement in the movement.

The territory of the Soviet Union and the dynamics of the economic process are conducive to this: hundreds and thousands of Ukrainian scientists, economists, technologists are forced to work outside Ukraine, where they are separated, isolated, forced to mix with many other nationalities and as such they no longer present any threat. On the contrary they are completely ready for assimilation — and once they have been “re-educated”, they become trojan horses on the territories of the other captive nations — i.e., they act as assimilators.

A million-strong opposition

The absolute complement of the regime — realised through the party, administrative and economic bureaucracy and maintained by the KGB, the militia, the army, the fifth column — by the 15 million strong Russian population — represents the strategic position and also the support of the regime. For the effective realisation of its colonial politics and for the denationalisation of the Ukrainian population on its motherland, the occupier employs a complete arsenal of different tactical methods. And while our artistic creativity, art, social sciences are oppressed through the falsification of history, through the mutilation of the nation spirit, the discrediting of our task, the denial of our right for sovereignty, a denial of our heritage, through a strict control over all our publications, the sphere of scientific-technical work is flooded by millions of Russians who occupy all the key positions in the towns and whose language dominates. 90% of scientific works, technical monographs, text books — in a word all technical publications are printed in Russian. But language is one of the most important components of a culture. And in enforcing the Russian language in the technical sphere it effectively destroys the development of a Ukrainian technical language, and this forms just one basis for the assimilation of the colonial nations of the Soviet Union, which as each year passes, lag further and further behind in their development. And the talented members of these nations, and in particular of the Ukrainian nation, are forced to work beyond the frontiers of their motherlands. Their places are taken by Russian chauvinists — who will only print their works in Russian which acts only to enrich the Russian culture and language, thus acting to speed the process of Russification in Ukraine. Those Ukrainians who do remain in their motherland and work there, find themselves deprived of the possibility and opportunity to work for the good of the nation, because of the lack of any material printed in their mother tongue.

The state of the publishing houses is even more oppressive. They are forced (in accordance with the state plans) to print all Russian literature first, and the fact that once a work is in printed form means that it can reach international forums, encourages writers to write in Russian. In this way the process of Russification reaches out and embraces all branches of science, technology and is transmitted from the elite down to the masses, and as a boomerang, is returned from the masses back to the elite.

The economic system of Ukraine is also developing according to the plans of the colonisers in Moscow. The major industries in Ukraine are such that they will soon starve Ukraine of her natural resources, and as all branches of the economy are mutually dependent on other branches in the empire, this acts to deprive Ukraine of her economic independence.

Although Ukrainian science seemingly has a broad horizon, it is, as a whole, peripheral. Exemplary fields exist but these are adapted to suit the local character and are not independently selected and are limited in their resources. As such Ukrainian academics are considered to be of a lower calibre and its students and teachers, researchers and professors are not allowed to have any independent contact with their fellows abroad. The status of their academic and scientific institutions does not allow them to send autonomous delegations to take part in international forums of any sort; normally, as an unspoken rule, this honour is bestowed on Russians, thus lowering the standing of Ukrainians even further in the field of science. Indeed the candidates themselves are especially selected in Moscow and the criteria for participating in either international or domestic conferences is not talent, but loyalty to the regime and nationality. Thus the status of both Ukrainian scientists and science is worse than colonial: Ukraine does not have an independent science nor does she have enough cadres to work in this field of human activity.

The unitary phenomenon of the Ukrainian soul

If the activation of the opposition movement in Ukraine, and in particular the activation of the technical intelligentsia, is still in its early stages, then the same cannot be said of the world of the soul: great devaluation of communist values is taking place, there is great disillusionment with the practical matters in which every day life is conducted. This is particularly felt by youth and leaves a great vacuum in everyone's lives, which desperately needs to be filled. Thus there is a great desire to learn of other philosophical and social systems, of other values to fill the vacuum and to give fulfilment of the soul. Thus at present there is a rebirth of religion, of belief in God, a rebirth of Ukrainian traditions and customs.

When talking of Ukraine this phenomenon of a renaissance has become recognised as a norm and is proof of the unitary Ukrainian soul, of its need for God and of its unique psychology. It is also proof of the indestructibility of the Ukrainian national soul and of Ukrainian individualism. It also

represents a form of protest, which is on the one hand a conscious matter and on the other a protest against the regime's prohibition of worship of God, and its control over spirituality. Thus the faithful — regardless of the creed of their faith — represent another faithful ally in our opposition. God and the nation are inseparable concepts, and have been such for our nation for thousands of years, and form part of the Ukrainian national character, and it is the sacred duty of the opposition to defend the two great Ukrainian churches — the Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox — from destruction.

Traitors and collaborators

The total implementation of propaganda, the skilful utilisation of local people prepared to compromise themselves in order to strengthen their own positions, the consolidation of the imperial regime, the camouflaging of the politics of colonialism, Russification and of deceit, the attempt to appease the masses with the aid of gangs of collaborators of all types — all these factors enable the Moscow regime to give its full attention to national problems. With this as an aim, a large, and efficient system of propaganda has been constructed. In the history of the struggle of the Ukrainian nation for her independence, neither the betrayal of national ideals nor collaboration have had any place in our relations with the occupier (although similar examples can be found in the critical moments of other nations). It is only in the recent bolshevik period of our history that traitors of our nation have emerged from the ranks of our national intelligentsia and who infiltrate the liberation movement, the cultural movement, our history faculties (in an attempt to falsify our annals), the Church and party and attempt to disfigure the aims and ideals of the Opposition Movement; to disparage the activists of the national-liberation movement. These factors now are more or less, an ordinary feature of our society.

Betrayal occurred as an exception once in the past: with Halan being the "founder" of this "school" of shame and its most typical representative. This Ukrainian Judas left in the Ukrainian field a poisonous family of degenerates — "microhalans", various Melnychuks, Tsokhs, Kychs, Myhal and so on. Similarly, Myhal was a typical representative of a repulsive gang. This degenerate, alcoholic collaborator was, at the beginning of the 1960's, entrusted, with others such as he, with 'cultivating' Ukrainian political prisoners in one of the Mordovian concentration camps and obtaining their "recantations". This is a testimony to his degenerate activity. When, on an improvised stage set up in the dining hall, a group of our political prisoners appeared, Myhal, thinking that he was about to be punished for his betrayal was so scared that he began to lament: "Brothers — I'm with you, I'm with you. It was the Russians, the communists who brought me here and forced me to act against Ukraine, against you". But when he was sure that he was not going to be subjected to physical punishment, he

reverted to his former self — a prostrate traitor. The behaviour of these base beings could be disregarded if it were not for the fact that they are encouraged by the party centres and by the KGB and if their activities did not lead to the repression of members of the Opposition Movement. However, the fact that these degenerates have been encouraged to climb out of their holes, testifies to the fact that the national-liberation struggle is now activated, that the Opposition Movement has become much stronger, but most importantly, it testifies to the silent support and concern of wide masses of the population for our national problems.

In the last ten years, as a result of many factors, already noted here, the ferment of the population and the government actions to quell this ferment has taken on an ever more dynamic appearance, which has been influenced by the need for objective information about world affairs, and thus the role of Western sources of information, and in particular “Radio Liberty”, have played a vital part within the confines of the empire and within Ukraine especially. They have filled the vacuum created by communist ideology and the mistrust felt towards government information and propaganda. The regime, in an attempt to prevent the vacuum being filled by the samvydav (and thus its growth, the stimulation that it provides and its development) and by the transmissions of Western radio broadcasts mobilises Ukrainian collaborators. Their word carries more “authority” in this struggle where the coloniser’s primary target is to prevent any activity on the part of the Opposition Movement (in as much that any information that it manages to print on the national question, can only serve to stimulate further interest in this matter, and the strength of its attraction is incredibly powerful). With the intention of silencing the Movement, to prevent any activity within the ranks of the liberation process, the repressive apparatus of the regime recruits numerous members to the Movement. This practice has increased considerably in the last few years.

In these conditions of massive hypocrisy, the value of the official word is devalued to its least possible level. However this does not present a threat to the Opposition Movement as regards its beliefs nor can it quell our national patriotism or change our views in favour of the occupier, as the absolute majority of the literate population that is concerned with these problems is able to distinguish and judge where right lies, and to take an objective internal stance. This is why the publication of the works of, for example, Yevdokymenko, Rymarenko, Cherednychenko, Danylenko and so on, although in principle are less damaging than the press or other written propaganda, are unable to “fill” the existing vacuum they are of a poor quality, pseudo-educational and completely false. The treachery of collaborators such as Halan and his “heirs” — all sorts of Melnychuks, Myhalivs, Kychkivs, Tsokhs, (who do not even deserve to be mentioned by their Christian names), Dmytrukivs and so on, can merely await a relentless vengeance to be taken by us in thunderous words, because such betrayals and such disparagement of Ukrainian patriots cannot be left unanswered and demands to be exposed.

In the second place, because the exposure and distribution of such literature and material as the samvydav and also the materials translated by the editorial of "Radio Liberty" (it is rare to find a family in Ukraine, and in particular those from educated backgrounds, who do not listen to these broadcasts) help create a wider interest in the national-liberation movement, and especially important, many of these people, from all classes of society, will then actually take an active role in this movement.

Thirdly because this exposure (one of the methods of work used by the Opposition Movement) either produces an even stronger reaction from the imperial propagandistic apparatus and its collaborators, and thus serves to awaken the masses, to overcome their inertness and stimulates their engagement in matters of national interest. It encourages the polarisation of different groups, and thus such exposure will act as one of the catalysts in the development of an active opposition movement; or otherwise, the imperial administration shall continue its present practice of silencing burning national questions and eliminating the existing Opposition Movement. This is the reason why the initiative for action lies with an active opposition which has to dominate and disperse itself and its works within the nation, as happened with Dziuba's popular book "Internationalism or Russification"? and the materials printed in the samvydav. If this course of action is not taken, the existing vacuum shall become reinforced. It is thus the duty of the Opposition Movement to fill this vacuum with its own information, with broadcasts from "Radio Liberty" and other mediums which will in the long run have analogous or even greater results. These, are then, the nuances of the given question.

The frequent publication of the problems that Ukrainians supposedly cause for the Russians and the empire speaks for itself. Indeed this provides — convincing proof of the vigour and strength of the Ukrainian Opposition and is, simultaneously, proof that Moscow treats the Opposition very seriously by planning an offensive strategy in its very centre. It is also evidence of an attempt to set the Russian inhabitants against Ukrainians, as was done with the Jews. It is also proof of the fact that the Ukrainian question is once again assuming international importance and is again becoming an actual international problem. The imperial regime does not entirely trust any of its collaborators, regardless of their status or specialisation. Neither Ukrainian "writers", "journalists", "publishers", nor "historians" are allowed access to important documentary sources, archives or investigative matters that bear any relation to the Ukrainian question or the national-liberation movement. As this was true in the past, so it is true for today. And the "back entrance" — where the very methodology of the struggle of the Movement is to be found, is completely prohibited ground. Thus the appearance of K. Dmytruk as an author discredits our efforts to gain independence and to restore the Church to its rightful place. His appearance in the publishing world (with others of his ilk) merely reflects the mistrust felt towards local cadres, their "errors" (maybe committed completely consciously) in this "complex and important" work. This also

explains why these cadres are ever diminishing in size. Thus the transfer of Dziuba's allegiance to that gang — in exchange for his freedom — represented a considerable victory for the occupier. A. K. Dmytruk — who used pseudonym to cover his true role as a KGB operative, a colonel of the imperial secret service — is not even a Ukrainian by origin. However, Klym Halaskyj, claims himself to be a “specialist” on the Ukrainian question — (alias A. K. Dmytruk), but who has in fact long conducted and operated the so-called prohyllactic battle against the underground (the author of these notes has had the “honour” of speaking with him on many occasions, to have been arrested by him and to have withstood his questioning as a prisoner) has the fate of hundreds of lives on his conscience and in particular of thousands of our most active Ukrainian patriots and Church activists. Thus his books are merely an extension of his work and activity and need no further refutations. It is enough to know “who is who” as the author of a publication.

Transmigration and intermixing of the population

The migration, the assimilation of the elites, the loss of talents, the abduction of intellects, the predominance of the Russian element in Ukrainian towns, the mass and accompanying compulsory Russification of Ukrainians beginning at school level and ending at institutions of higher education, industries, administrative institutions have been noted as being one of the most important strategic aims of the colonial politics of Moscow on the territory of Ukraine and which aim to destroy the Ukrainian nation and her culture. One of the other branches of the imperial politics of ethnocide and bloodless killing is the policy of forced transmigration and the assimilation of many millions of peoples of different nationalities on alien territories. Deportation and forced migration are but two methods used by the imperialists to try and quell the captive nations. They are also a means of gaining control of new lands. This practice is one that has been long in use, but its totalitarian form has only been realised in the XX century, and has only been implemented by totalitarian regimes; by the Russian communist and German fascist regimes. While the practices of the Nazi regime have been widely publicised and received their due condemnation from mankind, the murders committed the Russian imperial regime, which began in the 1930's and continue to this day — instead of being condemned by sovereign nations; instead of them isolating the Russian empire, boycotting the regime and defending the expiring nations — instead of this they conduct business with it as an “honourable partner”; they hold meetings on international forums, support diplomatic relations, sign treaties, which for Moscow only hold the meaning of a “scrap of paper”, (as seen in the way that Moscow fulfils those obligations that she undertaken. It is the same with internal, state law — merely something that has been declared on a scrap of paper. It is dishonourable for us to be serfs: but it is not also dishonourable for the world — that one its nations — the Ukrainian nation, a nation of 50

million people with a territory the size of France (even when taking into account half the lands annexed by the occupier), that has the capacity for a creative and independent economic existence, with an equally great and equivalent (in terms of age, development and capacity) cultural life — is it not shameful that this great and ancient nation has seemingly been placed on the level of a small African tribe in the pyramid of international relations, national freedom, the right for sovereignty and the right to life, and is being destroyed as such life could only be destroyed in the middle ages. There exists a strange passivity, (even though there exist analogous situations), even though the same fate awaits other sovereign nations of Europe. This is why it is incredible that the leaders of the West — of the USA, France, England, West Germany, the EEC and the United Nations — resort to passive resistance instead of following a course of dynamic, instigative pressure, one aspect of which should be the inclusion of the Ukrainian question in the sphere of international relations and in the resolutions of international forums, and which should be in particular, on the daily agenda of the UN General Assembly.

The historical forced exiling of Ukrainians from their mother land began with the perfidious devastation of the Zaporizhian Sich and with the liquidation of our autonomy. Then utilising our common religions, the similarity of our languages, the higher level of our culture, education and our already developed economy, the subordinate status of our national relations (i.e. between the Ukrainian and Russian nations) and our colonial status, Moscow artists, cultural activists and learned men, the middle link of the state and administrative apparatus both within the metropolis and also within the newly conquered territories: Ukraine is being re-shaped as a supplier of colonisers in order to absorb these new lands. Then, during the latter part of the XIX century and at the turn of the XX century the czarist regime gave a further intensity to mass resettlements: in that very decade the policy of mass resettlements were begun and also at that time the role and meaning of ethnocide were realised, and their role in strengthening the position of the empire by destroying the roots of the nation, and by assimilating it. Thus since that period — a period of intensive development of the economy of the Russian nation — the national masses have been the target of mass assimilation. And even though in the last years of the czarist regime the migrations from Ukraine did not really affect the life of the nation in as much as the numbers of emigrees were relatively very small and infrequent, and because rapid demographic growth concealed the losses. Apart from the above, the place of the emigrating masses was not then filled by colonising Russians, whose number in Ukraine at that time was in comparison to today, very small. The question of agricultural upheavals, the stabilisation of the regime in the period of so-called collectivisation, industrialisation and five year plans at the end of 1920's and at the beginning of the 1930's resulted in great changes in the structure of the population, and had a threatening, pogromatic character. In the last period, and particularly during

the last decade, the practice of mass intermixing has produced one of the most outstanding problems for the state politics of Moscow.

After the falsely created famine, as a result of which between 6 to 10 million Ukrainians died, the million-fold deportation of Ukrainians was introduced: nearly the whole of the Ukrainian population was banished from Kuban, followed by the attempt to eliminate the so-called kulaks, who formed between 10-20% of the population of Ukrainian villages. The deliberate unification of the policies of genocide, mass repression and mass resettlement of Ukrainians beyond the boundaries of Ukraine have become the norm for the behaviour of the totalitarian regime. For the present generations, for the majority of us — genocide, repression, deportation are words with little meaning: they present only abstract concepts, but they form the basis for millions upon millions of human tragedies; they are responsible for creating millions of orphans and, also, for creating aggressive janissaries. Together they form Ukraine's tragedy, her crucifixion. Mankind is well aware of the horror of Hitler's concentration camps, of the Nazi terror, the conditions of forced labour. But the Russian totalitarian regime destroyed at least 10 million more people in the 1930's and 1940's. And only the unbelievable secrecy of the terror machine, only the merciless repressions — including death by firing squad, only the attempt to conceal all crimes, only the concealment and deceptive propaganda machine are able to deflect the attention of new generations from the true nature of the bolshevik dictatorship. Rather, the fear of the older generation permits the totalitarian regime to erase traces of past crimes and thus enables it to commit new ones, all with the sole intention of destroying our nation.

The concentration camps of the 1930's and 1940's brought mass deaths caused by dystrophy and exhaustion from forced labour. It is impossible to measure how many tragedies the words Bilomorka, Magadan, Kolyma, Norylsk, Komsomolsk-na-Amuri, Vorkuta, Tayshent hold. And there are thousands more such Russian "buchenwalds". And even more thousands of Ukrainian villages that bear the stamp of death — with black signs on their houses. Thousands of village belfries have rung out the death of those millions who died from the famine, falsely created in order to punish those who refused to join the collectives. And there are still more thousands of towns and hamlets which bear the weight of thousands of tortured sacrifices: tens of thousands of people were murdered in Vinnitsia between 1937-39; more than 5,000 prisoners were tortured in Lviv between May-June 1941 and more than 1100 in Sambir; several hundred prisoners were buried alive in pits in Dobromyl; more than a 1000 people were murdered in Drohobych, about 2000 in Kovel, approximately 350 in Berezhan, 750 in Zolochiv and even in the tiny place of Komarn 25 men were murdered. Apart from this, in June 1941 the NKVD murdered either all or at least the majority of the prisoners held in Ternopil, Chortkiv, Berdychiv, Uman, Lutsk, Stanislav, Stryi and in other towns of Ukraine.

And in every town, men, women, villagers, the intelligentsia, and priests were tortured. Nearly all these had their nails torn out, their tongues cut

out, their noses cut off, their ears, their sexual organs cut-off, while wives of priests had long Russian bayonets rammed through their breasts. Men and women alike had their arms and legs tied together with barbed wire, they had petrol poured over them and were lit as living torches. This was while they were fleeing from Germans. To fight against such an invader without the aid of any allies was impossible. Moscow did not hope to ever return again and that is why she destroyed everything that was Ukrainian, and in the first place, destroyed that which was the most vital to our nation — Ukrainian patriots. Thus all took place before and through the war. Even following the war, even as a victor, when Ukraine did not present any direct threat, the coloniser renewed an equally horrifying terror campaign in the Western regions of Ukraine. But today, our youth knows practically nothing about the famine, genocide, repressions, terror and deportation of millions of Ukrainians from Ukraine. The revelation of these facts of Ukrainian history is decried as anti-Soviet propaganda by the imperial regime, as nationalistic lies, as slander of the national policies of the party and so on and so on. Without doubt, from their present position of power, the regime can present these facts as being the fabrications of Ukrainian nationalists, as their calumny against the communist regime. But this was a well thought out strategy of Moscow's as was the murder of millions of the most educated, talented and active people from all levels of Ukrainian society. The policy, which aimed to suffocate all national strength and to prevent any further development of Ukrainian culture, has been carefully nurtured and implemented.

Thus Moscow, in order to strengthen her colonial yoke, to increase her economic exploitation of both human and natural resources, has, in order to gain the optimal variant, implemented the policy of denationalising the captive nations, which, with its ever increasing tempo, brings closer her goal of world domination. Thus, with the aim of russifying all peoples, Moscow continues her policy of mass resettlements, develops the as yet undeveloped regions of the empire, intending to populate these areas with non-Russians.

The Ukrainian area of the empire is flooded with Russian schools, where the language of education is that of the ruling nation, where Russian rules reign, where there is no tolerance for national manifestations of Ukrainian patriotism and our way of life. This results in the total assimilation of our characteristics. This represents a loss of the realistic rights of returning to Ukraine as a result of the loss of the right to make a living, the place of work, of town visas, a loss of place in society, social relations and so on. A demographic vacuum is thus created on the ethnic territories of the captive nations, which are first filled with the chauvinistic elements of the Russian population and then with the emigrees of other nations, and then mainly with those most foreign in national characteristics, culture, spirit, i.e. those who are completely unable to adopt a Ukrainian way of life. In this way a system is formed whereby Ukrainians become the russifiers of the Kazakhs, of the Uzbeks, the Azerbaijanians or the Baltic nationalities, and

where in turn, the Latvians, the Tadjeks, the Chuvashs or the Mordovians become the russifiers of the Ukrainians. And above all this, the Russian chauvinist takes precedence.

The enforced realisation of the politics of ethnocide have placed our nations in a catastrophic position. This is the reason why the number of Ukrainians today remains almost the same as at the turn of the century. However, during the same time span, the number of Russians in analogous "equal" (i.e. with the same conditions of collectivisation, the repression of the 1930's, equal participation in the war effort and so on) conditions, has almost doubled. There are numerous statistics that present proof of our national ethnocide. According to official statistics, there are almost 10 million internal migrations per annum. Let us imagine that this figure has not in fact been reduced and that it in fact reflects the true state of affairs. Thus, taking these figures, and taking the fifth that relates to the proportion of the Ukrainian population, the figure is then 2 million emigrees. But when only a fifth is taken from this figure of 2 million people who emigrate from Ukraine, then this means that 400,000 — almost half a million, people emigrate annually. Is this not a tragic figure for the development of the Ukrainian nation and for the development of her culture?

However, the people who compose the mass of the internal emigrees — including the half million Ukrainians — are not, after having completed their education, even allowed to leave their mark on their mother land. Secret instructions to the so-called "organised conscriptions", the "komsomol homes" are in effect a completion of military training — and only Ukrainian unassimilated youth, nationally conscious people are directed to settle beyond Ukraine after completion of their education. Thus girls and boys from 17 to 25-30 years of age — the very flower of our nation, the very foundations of our nation, the very people who carry our creative potential, who are able to rebuild our nation — these are the ones who are resettled beyond our national boundaries, and who are forever lost to Ukraine without trace.

The tragic implications of the above can be verified by a long list of varying factors. Due to a lack of space, we are able to merely present several of these. Using official statistics, and therefore facts for political considerations, reduced to their absolute minimum the number of Russians on the territory of Ukraine, in the space of a single decade, increases by 200,000 per annum. The majority of these have settled in towns and cities, and as a rule, they are our colonisers as they fill all party and administrative posts, all high posts in the fields of education and technology, in industry, i.e. they occupy all positions related to earning a livelihood. In addition to this they have privileged housing, and thus, this combination gives them a dominant position within Ukrainian life. This matter has one other major aspect which ought to be mentioned: the Russian population of Ukraine consciously demonstrates its national superiority through the administrative system, its privileges, its material superiority — and acts as a russifier of

our towns and cities, and practically implements in everyday life the secret directives of the Russian imperial hierarchy, and while this is, admittedly, a bloodless process, it is bringing about the destruction of our national life and the erosion of our culture.

In the face of these official statistics and factors the demographic renewal of the Ukrainian population is faced with a regeneration of barely above zero. Further, when one takes into account the 400,000 Ukrainians that emigrate annually from Ukraine to other regions of the empire, then the official statistics should reflect the decline of the actual Ukrainian population on the territory of Ukraine. Even though the ever smaller number of Ukrainians actually living in their ethnic land is an undeniable fact, it is not accurately reflected in official statistics. That the figures are juggled with cannot be denied and it is even understandable, as if accurate figures were presented, they would present a dramatic picture of the results of the policies of ethnocide, assimilation, decline and would provide proof of the regression found not only in the natural rejuvenation of Ukrainians, but also would show their startling decline as a whole. The growth of the population is shown by including the continuous stream of Russian settlers in Ukraine in statistics. Although there is an attempt to conceal these figures, it is not done with enough care. Demographers confirm that the general population of Ukraine increases by 4 million per decade, but this figure does not account for the 300-400 thousand Ukrainians deported per annum. Thus the 4 million increase in the population is not an increase of 4 million Ukrainians, but of foreigners, and primarily of Russians. The 1959 census showed that there were 7 million Russians in Ukraine. In 1970 there were already over 9 million, and the ensuing census will show that there are now more than 11 million. And this is only according to the statistics issued in Moscow. The true number of Russians in Ukraine is much higher — at least between 15-16 million.

Thus, aside from the direct implications of these figures, i.e. showing the destruction of a nation, the total genocide committed during the 1930's, the genocide committed through resettlement and assimilation of Ukrainians today (the most lethal methods which can be implemented in the process of destroying a nation) — these factors have become a reality in our lives and are realised by Moscow's total control and brutality. Further, the means of colonising Ukraine by Russians created the "judicial" foundations (such precedents have already been seen) for Russian control of the whole nation in the event of a critical moment in our history. Thus, in its time, the prior annexation and in due course the falsified census and the mass resettlements of Ukrainians became the "judicial justification" for the segregation of Kuban from Ukraine. In a similar manner Voronizh, Kurshchyna and Bilohoradshchyna were separated and annexed from Ukraine. The whole of Ukraine is being encroached upon in such a way today. It is policies such as the deportation of Ukrainians and their dispersal beyond the boundaries of Ukraine that Moscow is implementing with the sole aim of destroying our nation.

(To be continued)

THE KANDYBA DECLARATION

The following document is the first part of an important and comprehensive indictment of the manner in which "Soviet justice" is cynically manipulated by the Russian occupation regime in Ukraine to persecute those who defend national and human rights.

It was written by a Ukrainian lawyer, Ivan Kandyba.

D E C L A R A T I O N

IVAN OLEKSIYOVYCH KANDYBA, attorney, member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group from its inception (Lviv Oblast, village of Pustomyty, 28 Shevchenko Street)

to

CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF
THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS,

Copies to:

1. Leaders of nations-members of the Helsinki Conference;
2. United Nations Commission on Human Rights;
3. The international organization "Amnesty International";
4. International Association of Jurists-Democrats;
5. Committee of French Attorneys to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords;
6. World Federation on Human Rights;
7. Leaders of Socialist, Labour and Communist Parties.

* * *

Together with six others, on January 20, 1961, I was arrested by the KGB of Lviv Oblast, for our intent to present the question concerning the secession of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, pursuant to the guarantee of Article 72 of the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (page 17 of the Constitution of 1936), which states, in part, that "*Each Soviet Republic has a right of free secession from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*".

KGB investigative organs and Lviv Oblast prosecuting magistracy conducted the inquest in our cases completely unobjectively, with prejudice, interjection and falsification of evidentiary materials. In this manner, the inquest was conducted to deliberately find our action to constitute the most horrendous crimes and by the same token making us dangerous political criminals. As a result, our actions were qualified under Article 56, No. 1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R., which deals with responsibility for treason to our country, although actually we were innocent of this or any other crime. Lack of any crime whatsoever on our part is proven by Article 56, No. 1 of the Criminal Code of Ukrainian S.S.R., which states:

“Treason to our country, namely deliberate acts by a citizen of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics harmful to our country’s independence, territorial inviolability or military might of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, to the enemy side, espionage, revelation of state or military secrets to other countries, escape from or refusal to return to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, aid to another country in its conduct of enemy action against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as well as conspiracy with aim of seizure of power, — (sanction of the above is punishable by imprisonment of between ten and fifteen years, confiscation of property and five years exile, or without the latter; or by death penalty and confiscation of property)”.

Therefore, we did not violate not only by our actions but even by our intentions any clause of the above Article and, consequently, should not have been tried in accordance therewith. Accordingly, our accusal under said Article is completely groundless and unlawful.

Our appeals and protests, based on the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, concerning the groundlessness of the accusation against us, were answered by KGB prosecutors that said Constitution was enacted for the world and for idiots, certainly not to be taken seriously. At first, we were sceptical as to the seriousness of such statements by the KGB prosecutors, but the proceedings proved to us that they were telling the truth. We paid very dearly for our faith in the genuineness of the Soviet Constitution.

Simultaneously, the KGB prosecutors acknowledged the fact that life in such a Ukraine as we were envisioning would be much better than in the Ukraine presently existing. However, according to their statements, such a Ukraine would be contrary to international solidarity. By this declaration of solidarity, they understood that Ukraine, as the richest republic in the Soviet Union, was obligated to give away its surplus productivity to other republics, of course, without any reimbursement whatsoever.

In such a manner, a most formidable case has been fabricated against us by KGB investigative organs and Lviv Oblast prosecuting magistracy and transferred to the jurisdiction of Lviv Oblast Court.

Lviv Oblast Criminal Court conducted the trial proceedings in our case similarly to the way the KGB prosecutors did beforehand, with clear disregard of any lawful conduct, completely unobjectively, with grave prejudice, and with undisguised intent to make short work of us. Instead of the trial proceedings taking place in a courtroom, the Court conducted our trial in the KGB isolation ward, the same cell where we were held under guard and where the previous inquest took place, neglecting to mention this in the trial transcript in accordance with Article 250 of the Code of Criminal Proceedings of the Ukrainian S.S.R. In addition, the trial was conducted in secret, which fact constituted unlawful conduct of the proceedings pursuant to Article 20 of the Code of Criminal Proceedings of the Ukrainian S.S.R., which states, in part :

"All trial proceedings in all courts are to be conducted open to the public, with the exception of the ones which might affect national security".

As far as national security is concerned, our case had absolutely nothing to do with it. therefore, the trial proceedings of our case should have been conducted open to the public. Further, the above mentioned Article 20 states:

"All judicial verdicts in all court cases are to be made in public".

Even this portion of Article 20 was violated by the Court, since during the announcement of the verdict, no one was allowed in the courtroom, not even members of our families, who demanded admittance. It should be noted that the general public was kept completely in the dark by the KGB not only concerning the progress of our case, but also as to the existence itself of such a case.

The secrecy with which the KGB conducted our case can be exemplified by the fact that even four or five years later, the general public was completely ignorant of this matter. Only, in an article entitled "Concerning the Trial of Pohruzhal'skyj" was there a very general mention of our trial, however false, stating that a group of attorneys (names were not given) was tried and shot.

The end result of the trial proceedings conducted by the Lviv Oblast Criminal Court was that it unanimously upheld, "rubber stamped", the findings of the KGB investigative organs and Lviv Oblast prosecuting magistracy inquest, and on May 20, 1961, reached a clearly unjust, therefore completely unlawful, verdict, finding all of us guilty of treason to our fatherland and sentencing us to between ten and fifteen years of imprisonment and condemning Lev Lukyanenko to death, with confiscation of all of our property.

The objectivity of the trial proceedings could easily be judged on the basis of a section of our verdict, quoted below:

"Lukyanenko, Kandyba and others organized a nationalistic, anti-Soviet 'Ukrainian Workers and Peasants Union', aiming toward a struggle against the Soviet state and social order of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Marxist-Leninist ideology, and struggle for the break-off of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic from the Soviet Socialist Republics and creation of a so-called Independent Ukraine".

From the above passage, it is evident that our criticism of the Soviet Union, its policies in economy, culture and national issues, was substituted by the words "struggle against", and our formulation of questions concerning the secession of Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, through peaceful means of a national referendum, in accordance with the Constitution of the Soviet Union, was also substituted by the word "break-off", the purpose of which was to indicate the violent intent of our future actions. For such hypothetical future violent intent we were given the severest sentences.

There are numerous examples to be found of such "objectivity" or "impartiality" throughout our trial proceedings. These trial proceedings could only be considered a farce, the purpose of which was vengeance upon us for the "uncomfortable" questions we were voicing.

Reviewing our case in the normal course of appeals, the Criminal Section of the Supreme Court of Ukrainian S.S.R. saw the evident unlawfulness of the verdict of the Lviv Oblast Criminal Court, headed by S. Rudyk, in connection with qualifications of our actions. Therefore, it decided to amend our verdict, namely reverse the finding of treason to our fatherland. By the said action, it decided to reject the accusations under Article 56, No. 1 of the Criminal Code of Ukrainian S.S.R., and proceed instead with the accusation under Article 62, No. 1 of the Criminal Code of Ukrainian S.S.R., namely "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda".

The leadership of Lviv KGB did everything to prevent this from materialising. It delivered to the Central Committee of Communist Party of Ukrainian S.S.R. some kind of tape recording, whereupon the Central Committee "recommended" to the Supreme Court of Ukrainian S.S.R. not to amend the verdict in connection with qualification of our actions.

About the above occurrence I found out from Lviv KGB employee Marusenko upon my arrival in concentration camp No. 11 (Yavas) in 1965. He said that the KGB was against the amendment or modification of the description of our actions, because it would have caused our sentences to be reduced by more than one-half — in my case from fifteen to seven years.

And so, as a result of gross interference, the Supreme Court of Ukrainian S.S.R. also gravely violated the law and, by its verdict of July 26, 1961, modified Lukyanenko's sentence from death to fifteen years imprisonment, and added some other immaterial, cosmetic amendments, thereby, in fact, upholding the case fabricated against us and the resulting verdict.

However, the law was on our side. Article 367 of the Code of Criminal Proceedings of Ukrainian S.S.R. states:

"The bases for rejection or modification of a verdict in review on appeal are: Unilateralness or incompleteness . . . of previous or court proceedings; when facts of the case do not correspond to conclusions of the court presented in its verdict; substantive violation of the law of criminal proceedings; improper use of criminal law . . ."

Article 371 of this Code states:

"Improper use of criminal law, resulting in revocation or modification of the verdict, consists of:

- 1) *Neglect of the relevant statutes of the criminal law by the court in its conclusion;*
- 2) *Use of irrelevant statutes of the criminal law by the court in its conclusion"*.

In accordance with Paragraph 9, Article 370 of this Code :

“In any event the verdict should be revoked . . . if the court violated the requisites of the Articles of this Code that declare: All phases of trial proceedings are to be open to the public . . .”.

Therefore, it is evident from the above, that the Supreme Court of Ukrainian S.S.R. had the right to not only modify the verdict of the Lviv Oblast Criminal Court in our case, but to revoke it. However, as we already know, this did not happen. Power conquered law. In this way, our case was decided not on the basis of the power of the law, but on the basis of the law of power.

Our numerous complaints to the highest judicial, prosecuting, state and party organs of the Soviet Union did not aid the law in conquering power. Our complaints were answered by uniform, stereotype, prepared in advance statements, namely, “everything was correct — everything was lawful”. Once I received from the Prosecutor of the Soviet Union this answer: “Qualification of the crime was proper and the punishment contained considerations of all mitigating circumstances”. It seems, that I should have been grateful for the fact that I was not sentenced to death and shot, but imprisoned for only a “miserly” fifteen years, which, as a matter of fact, is the maximum penalty, with the exception of the death penalty.

And so, I had to serve in full this unlawful sentence in the harsh conditions of Mordovian and Ural concentration camps and the Volodymyr prison.

If all of this took place during the period of the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, then one could manage to reconcile oneself, there would have been somebody to blame. But, how can one reconcile oneself, when such took place (and continues to occur with reference to me) in a period following the time when the cult of Stalin, with its practice of lawlessness and high-handedness, was severely condemned by the authorities? It is impossible to reconcile oneself with such situation or to remain silent about it.

Considering how slowly and how hard my years of imprisonment passed, even then time did not stand still, the remainder of my sentence was diminishing and getting closer to its completion. It seemed that soon I would be free and my life would improve. However, it only seemed that way, or I was wishing it so, because this did not materialize. As a matter of fact, while still interned behind barbed wire, I understood that even after release, I would not be able to enjoy life in freedom.

During the last months of my imprisonment, a representative of Kyiv KGB, Captain Utyra, informed me that during the first six months after my release, I would be under administrative surveillance. However, in practice, it is much worse — I remain under administrative surveillance for already the fifth six-month period, and no end to it seems in sight.

Approximately during the time of my conversation with Captain Utyra, I was called out by a representative of the concentration camp administration and asked to prepare a declaration as to where I would like to live after my release. I prepared such a declaration, stating that I would like to reside in Lviv, in my old residence at 57 Decembrist Street, Apartment 37, together with my seventy-four-year-old father who was living there.

A month later, I was informed by the concentration camp administration that I was not permitted to reside in Lviv after my release and suggested that I supply it with a different desirous locality. My answer to this prohibition was that, since I was not allowed to live in my homeland with my seventy-four-year-old ill father, I was requesting permission to leave the Soviet Union for the west where, I was sure, I would be allowed to live any place I chose. I was told that such a request was unrealistic and again advised to choose a place of residence, with the exception of Lviv or the west, and, if I did not cooperate, they would choose for me. Ignoring this threat, I refused to supply them with another desirous place of residence and stood by my previous choices.

The day before my release, a representative of the concentration camp administration informed me that I was assigned as my permanent place of residence after release a village called Pustomyty. Lviv Oblast, approximately 20 kilometres from Lviv: all my documents having been already prepared for said village. I did not have any family or acquaintances in the village of Pustomyty, and have never even visited there. So, without any judicial or administrative proceedings, the powers that be have assigned me to a place of exile, of course, under administrative surveillance. Here was the long-awaited freedom!

Finally, the day of January 20, 1976 arrived — the day of completion of my fifteen year sentence. On that day, all my belongings were carefully searched, including my books and manuscripts. My chess set and board, a precious gift from political prisoner Victor Orlovych, who carved them, were confiscated. All my manuscripts were confiscated. In reality, they were transcripts from different books by Soviet and other writers. Those same transcripts were many times before reviewed by KGB Captain Utyra and returned to me as containing nothing anti-Soviet. It seems that said transcripts were allowed in concentration camps, but not so in “freedom”. All post cards with greetings from my friends — political prisoners, and the text of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights of December 10, 1948 were confiscated. (The Declaration of Human Rights was constantly confiscated in all places of internment, whenever it was found. From me personally, it was taken twice, once on December 6, 1966 in Mordovian concentration camp No. 11 at Yavas, and the second time on November 2, 1973 in Ural concentration camp No. 35).

After this careful search, I was led outside the concentration camp gates to an automobile which took me to Chusov railway station, from where the same day I took a train for Moscow.

In Moscow I remained for eight days. There I realized that even after

completion of my term of imprisonment, I was still considered highly dangerous by the Soviet authorities. Everywhere I went or travelled, I was constantly followed. Twice I was stopped by militiamen. The first time, they stopped me in the metro, checked my papers, telephoned someplace, and let me go. The second time, they took me to the 65th Militia Precinct, checked my documents, interrogated me, and took my statement about leaving Moscow.

From Moscow, I went to Kyiv, where I stayed for nine days, under constant surveillance. From Kyiv, I went to Chernihiv, where I visited for two days with Lev Lukyanenko.

En route to Lviv, I stopped in Rivne, where the surveillance was very strict, particularly at a nearby village of Kvasyliv (9 kilometers from Rivne), where I went to visit my aunt. There, her house was surrounded by automobiles, as were other homes where I stopped by. In addition, after my departure, militiamen and "civilian" individuals visited some of the people upon whom I have called, reproached them from welcoming me, and warned them not to receive my visits ever again . . . Similar occurrences took place in the village of Ostrozhec, Mlyniv Region, Rivne Oblast, where I went to see my family.

In addition, I visited the town of Luck. There, February 13, 1976, at the main post office, I was stopped by militiamen, taken to Militia Headquarters, where I was searched. Thereafter, I was interrogated for two hours, and at the end, ordered to sign a statement about my departure from Luck.

On February 14, 1976, I arrived in Lviv, at my father's residence. Here also I was constantly under surveillance. Twice I was stopped by militiamen (February 28 and March 8). Each time I was ordered to sign a statement regarding my departure from Lviv. In addition, information about me was transmitted to the Soviet authorities of Shevchenko and Zaliznychny District Executive Committees of Lviv. Several times I was directed to appear at meetings of so-called surveillance commissions of the two District Executive Committees, at which, my immediate departure from Lviv was demanded, such demands strengthened by threats of punishment through judicial proceedings.

It seems, I was in real danger of being tried under Article 196 of the Criminal Code of Ukrainian S.S.R., covering passport laws, violation of which is punishable by up to two years of imprisonment, if I were caught in Lviv for the third time. Therefore, on March 11, 1976, I departed Lviv for my assigned permanent place of residence — the village of Pustomyty.

But even in the village of Pustomyty, regardless of my official assignment there, I was treated with animosity and even hostility. The village authorities tried to get rid of me as soon as possible, by refusing to supply me with, and attempting to interfere with my obtaining, a residence visa. Director of the Passport Bureau Captain Pavluk was particularly hostile to me. He publicly insulted me, using his position of devotion to Soviet power, and my Ukrainian nationality. In addition, he tried to frighten and convince my

prospective landlords into not renting to me, which resulted in the fact that Catherine Bulohan, who had rooms to rent, refused me the rental. He also tried to frighten my actual landlord, Maria Shafrayev, but to no avail. This lasted until March 31. Finally, I obtained lodgings in an old house.

Simultaneously with receiving my passport and residence visa, Pustomyty District Militia, by its decision of April 1, 1976, placed me under administrative surveillance for a period of six months, in accordance with the "Statute encompassing administrative surveillance", by the militia of persons freed from internments, ratified by Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. of July 26, 1966.

The administrative surveillance was based on the allegations that I, during my period of imprisonment, showed myself hostile to the system, systematically violated prison regime, took part in organized anti-regime acts and demands, and possessed a hostile outlook toward state and social order of the Soviet Union.

Numerous times during the term of my imprisonment I was placed in strict regime wards. In October 1962, I was placed in a strict regime isolation ward in the concentration camp for six months and immediately part of the concentration camp, I was taken before a tribunal which sentenced me to a one year strict regime internment. On March 27, 1967, the tribunal sentenced me for the second time to a three year period of strict regime internment. Both periods of these strict regime internments, I served at the infamous Vladimir prison. In addition, I was deprived of the right to receive any parcels (said right consisted of an allowance to receive, after the completion of one-half of the term of internment, one 5 kilogram parcel per year) or visits from my family.

Therefore, not only did I serve my full fifteen year sentence pursuant to an unlawful verdict, but, in addition, I paid up all my debts to the concentration camp administration for my so-called "violations" of the prison regime, clearing up my slate as far as any claims against me of prosecuting authorities were concerned. However, pursuant to statements of the militia, as far as my hostile outlook toward state and social order of the Soviet Union is concerned, even if true, then I had an absolute right to my beliefs and views as a human being and as a citizen. Every human being has rights to his or her own beliefs including me, pursuant to the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights of December 10, 1948, which was signed by the Soviet Union, the Pact covering the socio-political rights of 1966, and the Helsinki Accords of August 1, 1975, which the Soviet Union even co-authored... Therefore, any and all prosecution and surveillance for my views and beliefs are groundless and unlawful

Also, punishing me for my actions in the concentration camp, for which I have already paid my debts, is groundless and unlawful.

In addition, placing me, who served his sentence for political motives, under administrative surveillance meant for criminals, is inappropriate and constitutes a violation of all international, judicial norms concerning human rights.

To prove that the "Statute encompassing administrative surveillance" was meant for the criminal element only, I quote from Article 1 of said Statute:

"Administrative surveillance is to be established for the purpose of overseeing the actions of persons, freed from imprisonments, preventing crimes on their part, and directing the necessary instructional influence upon them".

(Translated from Ukrainian by Zena Matla-Rychtycka)
(to be continued)

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George KULCHYCKY

**THE ANTAES, RUS' AND BYZANTIUM:
A STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY ON THE BLACK SEA
FROM THE III TO XI CENTURIES**

INTRODUCTION

This paper is a study of Byzantine-Rus' relations from the third century to the death of Jaroslav the Wise or mid-eleventh century. Covered in this short work will be the attempt of Rus' to gain access to the world markets by way of the Black Sea. In its drive toward the sea Rus', from the earliest times, was confronted with other problems that tended to weaken this drive. The problem of nomadic people travelling through its territories not only brought destruction to the land, and thus prevented a quick consolidation of it by the Rus' princes, but also served as a weapon for Byzantium which, as a means of survival, used these peoples and incited them against Kyiv. Another problem that confronted the Kyivan princes was the attempt of Byzantium to monopolize all the trade in the Black Sea area. It is inevitable that a country as interested in trade as Rus', would not allow another power to cut its lifeline.

The result of this, Byzantine policy brought into play diplomatic, military, and commercial forces which left a deep impression on both states in the centuries to come.

**SLAV EXPANSION AND COLONIZATION OF THE BLACK
SEA COAST**

Archaeology, although a relatively young science, has unravelled for us some of the questions that have pursued conscientious historians for hundreds of years. In spite of this, many questions of historical nature remain unanswered and historians and archaeologists are still seeking the pieces that will fit into the overall mosaic of history.

Questions relating to the origin of the Slavs have brought into existence many hypothesis, theories, and their defenders. Little substantiation for explanations which attempt to place the origin of the Slavs in the Baltic or Danubian areas has been found. It is already an established fact that the Slavs were deeply settled in the Danubian area between the fifth and sixth centuries. F. Niderle maintains that the Slavs were situated in this area as early as the first and second centuries of our era. To substantiate this conclusion are the "Peytingerovy tables", or map, dating from the time of Emperor Augustus, which, along with a network of Roman roads, also includes a settlement of Venedians (Slavs) who are found between the Danube-Dniester Rivers, south of the Carpathian Mountains.¹

¹ M. F. Kotliar, "Rus' na Dunayi" *Ukrainskyi Istorychnyi Zhurnal* Vol. IX (September 1966), p. 12.

The Venedians were split into several groups. The Antae, the forerunners of Rus'-Ukraine, were perhaps the most active and highly civilized of the Slav tribes. By the third century they were present in the Crimea as indicated by a Table found in Kerch. Their presence between the Dnieper and the Danube Basins is also recorded on a Roman map of 360 A.D.² Their habitat, according to Procopius of Caesarea and Mauricius, also incorporated the areas east of the Dnieper into the steppes and the shores of the Black and Aziv Seas.³

The word "Antae" was first discovered by the historian Pogodin in a Greek work of the Ponticapeian period which most likely originated during the reign of the Bosphor Tzar Tayran in the third century. Further confirmation of the existence and activity of the Antaes exist in the writings of sixth century authors Jordan, Gethica, Procopius of Caesarea and others. Recent archaeological discoveries agree with these ancient writers that the Antaes were indeed settled in the areas that they ascribed to them.⁴ Lately several sites have been excavated in Ukraine which are known to be definitely Antae.⁵

From the little information that exists about the Antae, we can partially reconstruct the nature and administrative organization of these people. Procopius, writing in the second half of the VI century maintains that the Antae and Scлавени, their western neighbours, lived under a democratic form of government and not one man rule.⁶ Emperor Mauricius (582-601) wrote that:

"The Scлавени and Antae have a uniform mode of life and uniform characteristics".

Among the characteristics of "sturdiness" and "kindness to visitors" he also observed their quarrelsome nature:

Because they have many princes who quarrel among themselves it would benefit us to play one against the other whether through negotiation or through gifts, especially those who live in the border zone".⁷

This indeed was adopted as a policy of the already decaying Byzantine Empire. By bribery, blackmail and the policy of "divide and rule" Byzantium was able to prolong its existence.

In the IV century the Antaes united into a confederation which encompassed the areas from the Danube, Dnieper, and the Don Rivers along the Black Sea. While this union was being organized a parallel confederation of the Goths was also in the process of formation. Only the appearance of the

2) I. M. Hapusenko, *Borotba Shidnykh Sloviau za Vykhid do Chornoho Moria* (Kiev, 1966), p. 18.

3) Evhen Aletiano-Popivskyi, "Starodavni Rusychi na Kaspia" *Vyzvolnyi Sliakh* Vol. IV No. 5 (May 1959), p. 516.

4) Kotliar *op. cit.*, p. 13.

5) George Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia* Vol. I (New Haven, 1943), p. 158.

6) V. Sichynskyi, *Ukraine in Foreign Comments and Descriptions* (New York, 1953), p. 27.

7) *Ibid.*, p. 28.

Huns, who in 371 defeated the Alans, and in 373 clashed with the Goths killing their king Germanrich, was a new war many of which had been fought previously between the Antae and Goths averted. Subsequently both the Goths and the Antaes in some way became dependent on the Huns.⁸

The nominal subservience of the Goths and Antaes to the Huns brought a short respite to the two confederations which were now vying for control in what is present day Ukraine. Hostilities began when Amal Vinitar, the Gothic king, attacked the Antae tribes around 380 A.D. The first battle, according to Jordan, took place within the borders of the Antae state "in Antorum fines", and proved unsuccessful for Vinitar.⁹ The second attempt, also within the confine of the Antae borders, was successful for the Goths. The losses inflicted on the Goths by the Antaes caused Vinitar to crucify the Antae Tsar Bozh and seventy of the Antae chieftains and elders. This act of cruelty undoubtedly enraged Balamber, the leader of the Huns, who as suzerain of both the Goths and Antaes was looked to for justice. Gathering his forces he attacked Vinitar, defeated him, and pushed the Goths into Crimea, Panonia and Taman. During this engagement Vinitar lost his life.¹⁰

Meeting the higher culture of the Antaes the Huns, most likely were influenced, and had much to gain from the friendly attitude of the Antaes who at this time were settled in most of what is today ethnographic Ukraine. They provided soldiers for the Hunic army and in the middle of the sixth century took part in three joint campaigns against the Byzantine Empire.¹¹ At the end of the sixth century the Antae tribes reasserted their hegemony. The remnants of the Goths and Huns were in due time assimilated and ceased to be a threat to them. The cultural influence exercised by the Antaes becomes more pronounced as the upper strata of the Hunic horde adopted the ways of the Antaes. A good illustration of this is Atilla's burial rites during which a "tryzna" was constructed and "strava" was served.¹² After Atilla's death the Hunic empire fell apart and remnants of the horde were either, as was pointed out previously, assimilated or destroyed.

Antae hostility toward Byzantium could be underlined by the enclosure within which it found itself. In the third century Romans conquered Dacia and thus severed the Slavs from the Danubian area and the Black Sea. With this the Slavs together with non Slavic tribes initiated a series of naval attacks against Greece, reconquered Dacia, attacked Trabesond, Pityunt, Khalkedon, Nikodemia, Nicea, Kuis Anamea, Prusa and other Byzantine outposts. Though able to throw back the "barbarians" the Greeks were not strong enough to reconquer lost territories. During these early anti-Byzantine

8) Hapusenko, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

9) Kotliar, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

10) Hapusenko, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

11) *Ibid.*, p. 28.

12) Kotliar, *op. cit.*, p. 20. "Tryzna" is a wake and "strava" is a meal.

campaigns such Slavic names as Veduko, Turo, and Varo were honoured as leaders. The names are typically Slav.¹³

The Antae State or Confederation by the sixth century appears to have been an embryo of what later became the state of Rus'-Ukraine. From Byzantine sources we find that the Antaes had a strong political organization and were capable of putting large armies into the field. Some of the names of the Antae kings and diplomats have come down to us and include Bozh, Musokiy, Mezhamyr, Kelahast and Tdaryi.¹⁴ The Antae according to ancient sources as well as archaeology did not live in present day Russia or Byelorussia. In the V-VI centuries their territories included Ukrainian lands from Polissia to the Black Sea and from the Carpathian Mountains to the Don River. The Antae, therefore, were first and foremost the forerunners of the Ukrainian and only the Ukrainian nation. Their forerunners were the creators of the Trypillian culture found in the area of the Dnieper River. This view is also shared by famous Russian archaeologist P. Tretiakov.¹⁵

Until 558 and the appearance of the Avars, the Antaes vigorously colonized the areas from the Danube to the Dnieper Rivers. This colonization is extensively documented in the writings of Pordan and Procopius of Caesarea. Moving southward the Antae were in continuous cultural and economic intercourse with the Greeks and their colonies. On this base as well as on the base of its own culture emerged the Kyivan-Rus' State. According to B. Rybakov the Kyivan Princes spoke the same language as the Antaes of the sixth century, believed in the same gods, and sailed in the same type of boats along the same waterways.¹⁶ This view conforms to similar views of Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian archaeologists, such as Hiderle, Spicyn, Grekov and others who maintain that the Antaes controlled much of the present ethnic territory of Ukraine. Tretiakov for his part maintains that:

*"The right bank tribes in the region of the Dnieper River, in reality the Antae, became the dynamic and active force that created Rus', but although the most important it was not the only force, because Rus', her economy, culture and politics was created in union with all the eastern, south-western, north-eastern and northern tribes"*¹⁷

By the sixth century the previous character of Slav warfare against Byzantium changed. Now they began initiating independent campaigns and to push into the Balkans. So successful were they against the Greeks that Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus wrote that the Balkans "became

13) Hapusenko, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

14) M. Y. Braychevskiy, *Koly tiak Vnyk Kyiv*, (Kiev, 1963) p. 132.

15) Mykola Chubaty, *Kniazha Rus'-Ukraina ta Vyneknennia Triokh Skhidnoslovianskykh Natsii* (New York, 1964), p. 33.

16) *Ibid.*, p. 34.

17) *Ibid.*, p. 35. Evident in this statement is the controversy about the existence of the Great Russian tribes.

barbaric" and "slavinized".¹⁸ During the reign of Justinian I the Danubian borders were incessantly harassed and penetrated. It is sometimes during this period (527-565) that a Slav Prince had an audience with the Byzantine Emperor and his court.¹⁹ This Prince is thought to be Khalibud of the Antaes whom B. Rybakov regards as Kyi, the founder of the city of Kyiv.²⁰

20) Chubatyi, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

At this time Khalibud (or Kyi) seems to have been an ally of the Byzantines. In 534 Justinian attempted to obtain the Slavs as allies against the Huns. As payment, besides money, they received the city of Turrus near the river Istra. The Slavs agreed to fight on the condition that Khalibud be appointed their commander.

This short cooperation between the Slavs and Byzantium was followed by another wave of Slav attacks. Around 550-551, for the first time, the Slavs stayed the winter in Byzantine territory. To keep the Slavs out Justinian constructed great walls along the border. This, however, had little influence on the expansion of the Slavs who during the second half of the VI century twice approached the Byzantine capital and proceeded to settle around the right bank of the Danube.²¹ In this manner the slavinization of the Byzantine Empire began, at the same time, in the areas of Bessarabia and Ukraine, the first Slavic state, that of the Antaes, was also being organized. This development was halted in 558 with the invasion of a new barbaric group the Avars.

According to Menander the Avars were enticed by Byzantium to attack the Antaes on the left bank of the Danube and thus prevent the growing Slavic expansion.²² A treaty was concluded between the Avars and the Byzantines which allowed them to settle in Byzantine territories in exchange for Avar military service to the Empire. The Avars thus served the purpose of stemming the Slavic tide but at same time became a threat to the Byzantine Empire. In 568 they settled in Panonia and established their Kaganate which plundered both the Slavs and Byzantines for over the next 250 years.

The V to VI centuries were tragic times for the Antaes. The group of Antaes that suffered the most at the hands of the Avars were the Duliby who were the western branch of the Antaes and had created a union of tribes known as the "Volynian Confederation" with their capital at Plisnesk.²³

In 582 Sirmium fell to the Avars. Shortly the Slav tribes, the Bulgarians, and Avars attacked Salonica. This realignment of alliances and changing of sides was not unusual. It was a tactic that was used by the Greeks to deter the barbarians attention from themselves and sometimes, as in this case, it also worked against the Greeks. Byzantine victories were usually bought from the barbarians. In 600 A.D. the Greeks and Avars made peace.

18) Hapusenko, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

19) Braichevskiy, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

21) Kotliar, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

22) *Ibid.*, p. 14.

23) Chubatyi, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

Probably a separate treaty was signed by the Greeks and the Antaes who in the year 602 appear to be Byzantium's ally.

The Avars cognizant of the Antae-Greek alliance attacked the former when Greek armies launched a campaign against them from the south in 602. Since the Antaes were the aliens of Byzantium, the Avar Gagan ordered Aspiikha, his general, to attack the Antae confederation. Whether the Antaes received any aid from the Byzantines is unknown. They, from all indications, were defeated after a long devastating war. After 602 little is heard about the Antaes and it is assumed that a new association of tribes was formed from this Antae base which were eventually gathered and merged into the powerful Rus' state. The Antae state remained for three centuries and achieved a high form of centralized organization.²⁴ Their relations with Byzantium are indicative of the power that they wielded. The Avar victory over the Antaes did not destroy the tribes that made up this union. Unlike other peoples in the Black Sea area at this time, the Antaes were mainly agriculturists and remained in the areas that they had settled. From this it can be concluded that the Antaes who were settled throughout most of present day Ukraine were the predecessors of Rus'.

After the defeat of the Antaes the Slavic tribes continued to resist the Avars. The years 623-624 saw a large uprising under Samo. Two years later however, a rapprochement seems to have taken place and they joined the Avars in an attack against Byzantium. Being good sailors the Antaes used their fleet during this campaign. At this time the Antae fleet was not successful against the Byzantines. The Avar Gagan punished the remaining Antaes by ordering the execution of the survivors. When this occurred the other Antae forces abandoned the Avars and thus contributed to their ultimate defeat.

The brief supremacy of the Avars had brought a reign of terror to the Balkan Peninsula and Antae territories. The Slavs continued to resist the Avars. When at the end of the VIII century Charlemagne defeated the Avars the Slavs were very instrumental.²⁵ The land that they had occupied became known as "Solitudiness Avarorum" (the Avar Desert). Their disappearance gave birth to an old Rus'-Ukrainian saying "pochyvosha aky obry" (disappeared like the Avars) which is found in the *Hypatian Chronicle* and reads:

"and they all died out, and there was not left one Obryn (Avar); and there is saying in Rus' even to this day: disappeared like the Obry, neither tribe nor person remains".²⁶

But the disappearance of the Avars brought new barbaric hordes to the Antae territory. South Ukraine became the route of nations. A part of the Antaes moved closer to the sea and there were isolated from the main body. The larger segment of the Antae nation moved away from the sea into the

24) Ivan Kholmskyi, *Istoria Ukrainy* (Munich, 1949), . 17.

25) Kotliar, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

26) *Ibid.*, p. 14.

areas of Podolia, Kyiv, Chernihiv and the north.²⁷ The result of this was that when the Kyivan-Rus' state did emerge, many of their Slav kin were cut off from the Kyivan matrix and developed their own form of life which was not different from that of the Kyivan group.

One of the tribes that deserve mention are the Roxoliany from whose name, it is conjectured, the name Rus' emerged. The Roxoliany settled near the Black and Azov Seas and are known to historians from the II and I centuries B.C. Greek historians Jordan Gethica calls the Roxoliany Antae.²⁸ They were undoubtedly related to them since their customs and language were similar as it will later be pointed out. The Roxoliany are a mixture of Slavs and Alans.²⁹ Their territory lay between the Dnieper and Don rivers. Around 250 A.D. the Goths came to Crimea and subjugated them. During the Antae-Gothic rivalry the Roxoliany or Antae took an active part against the Goths and, according to Jordan, made an attempt on Germanrich's life who as a result died shortly thereafter. The Roxoliany, or Antae of the east, were also agriculturists and good sailors. They survived the Hun onslaught by hiding in the mountains of Crimea.

That the Roxoliany and Antae were of the same stock is evident from archaeological findings in that vicinity. Undoubtedly the Antaes in these areas co-existed with non Antae tribes. B. Rybakov maintains that they lived also in Tmutorakan on the Island of Taman along with another group called the Utyhury.³⁰ It is to these people, long before the arrival of the Varangians, that the name Rus' is first applied. Pseudo Zacharius of Militen applies this name to the people living in the southern steppes and beyond the "Meotian Swamps". More specifically, he calls them hrus (hros).³¹ A Tabir, an Arab historian, and others also refer to the area west of the Khazars as Rus'

EARLY ACTIVITY OF RUS' ON THE BLACK SEA

There is a saying that the "Greek civilization grew up on Ukrainian Bread". How true this statement is few can say but from times immemorial Greek established colonies on the Crimean coast engaged in a lively trade with the people of that country. Greek cities of Olbia, Theodosia, Khersonos, Bosphorus and Surozh served as the market place for Ukrainian and Greek goods as well as strategic areas for the Byzantine Empire. Greek control of these areas therefore, with the lapse of time, became a braking factor to the expanding trade of the Antaes and later Rus'-Ukraine.

Contrary to the Norman theory which seems to dominate western scholarly thought Kyiv Tmutorakan, and other Rus' areas, were well organized and growing long before the coming of the Varangians. Between the VI-VIII centuries Kyiv was already a strong commercial center where the famous

27) Kholmskyi, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

28) V. Sichynskyi, *Krym Istorychny Narys* (New York, 1954), p. 10.

30) Hapusenko, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

31) *Ibid.*, p. 41.

trading routes converged. The name Kyiv could not have emerged before the end of the sixth century. This is not to say that the city, although under another name, did not exist long before our era. Kyiv undoubtedly gets its name from Kyi the leader of the Poliany, a tribe which emerged from the Antae base, who constructed the fortifications for that city. The fortifications, according to archaeologists, were constructed during the end of the VI and the beginning of the VII centuries. Because of this and favourable trade factors, Kyiv grew very rapidly. Its location on what was later known as the trail "from the Varangians to the Greeks", and the "Zalozhny" trade route, which led from Kyiv to the Carpathian Mountains, and on the border of the forest-steppe lands were just a few of the contributing factors to Kyiv's prosperity and greatness. But what made it important were also the preconditions that existed in the Kyivan area. Kyiv quite early underwent the "division of labour" stage and became known for its diversified manufactures. At the time in question it manufactured ceramics, steel and iron goods, wood articles and products. Its merchants travelled to Byzantium, Arabia, Khazaria and much of the then civilized world. The exports that were most popular in the west and were most demanded from Kyiv were wax, furs, honey, and agricultural products. The extent of this trade can be substantiated by the archaeological discoveries of coins in Kyiv and its vicinity. There were about 40 different discoveries of Roman coins dated from the first to the fifth centuries that numbered about 6,000 coins. About 30 discoveries of Byzantine and Arab coins dated from the seventh to the tenth centuries totaled about 11,000 coins.³² The largest single discovery, and perhaps most significant, was made in 1874. This find included over 4,000 coins and medallions dated to be from the second to the fourth centuries.³³ The medallions were of the type given to a "federate", which indicates that the Antae were active in Roman politics and were in many cases rewarded by them.

Kyiv according to tradition became the capital of the Poliany tribe and it is around this tribe that Rus' was eventually organized. The name Rus' as was already indicated was used by the people inhabiting present day Ukraine as early as the eighth century. That is long before the arrival of the Varangians.³⁴ Due to the lively trade of the Kyivan and Tmutorokan merchants on the Black and Aziv Seas, the Arab and other historians referred to the former as the "Rus' Sea".³⁵ The Rus' that the Varangians found upon their arrival was already economically and culturally developed. Setting foot in Rus', the Varangians named it "Gardarike" or "the state of fortresses". By the tenth century according to A. Charnecky's archaeological findings there were about 15,000 fortresses.³⁶ Kyiv alone had the remains of 400 of them.³⁷

32) Braichevskiyi, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

33) *Ibid.*, p. 37.

34) Sichynskiyi, *Nazva Ukrainy*, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

35) Hapusenko, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

36) Braichevskiyi, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

37) Kholm'skiy, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

To say that Kyiv was the "only" Rus' would be to simplify matters. In the ninth century on the Island of Taman near the "Meotian Swamps", was Tmutorakan which also referred to itself as Rus'. The movement of the Huns and Avars caused the Antaes to move west, north and south into the Kuban region. Here the last group laid the foundation for the state of Tmutorakan which expanded over parts of Crimea, North Caucasus and the left bank of Ukraine.³⁸ G. Vernadsky agrees that Tmutorakan evolved from the Antae group but developed independently of Kyivan Rus'³⁹ The Tmutorakan Kahanat, as it called itself, because its ruler took the title Kahan, was also known by the name Rus' in early Greek and Arab sources. Here again, long before the arrival of the Varangians. It must be emphasized, however, that while the two Rus'es were territorially separated, their culture and even their political activities were related. It is exactly the union of Kyivan-Rus' and Rus' on Taman that the Khazars and Byzantine tried to keep divided. But from all indications they were not successful as will be shown by the concerted efforts of both Rus'es in an attack against Byzantium.

Being the close neighbour of both the Khazars, who were a merchant nation, and the Byzantine colonies in the Crimea, it is unlikely that the Rus' Kahan of Taman was not also interested in trade and its growth. The *Bertyn Annals* mention that in 839 the Byzantine court was visited by an envoy of the "Rus' king known as Hakon".⁴⁰ It is probable that at this time some kind of trade agreement was signed between Rus' and the Greeks. Such an agreement was obviously desired by both sides. The Rus' needed it to eliminate some of the Byzantine duties on its trade while the Greeks sought it in order to prevent the attacks of Rus' against its colonies and Empire.

Prior to this visit of the Rus' envoys to Byzantium several Rus' attacks were initiated against the Greek colonies. Around 800 Duke Bravlin of Novhorod, according to the *Zhytia Stefania Surozhskoho*, attacked Crimea and took the Greek cities of Korsun, Kerch and Surozh.⁴¹ Another attack, as documented in *Zhytia Prepodobnohi Afanasiia*, took place against the Island of Ehina in 813.⁴² In the *Zhytia Patriarcha Ihnatia* we find that two attacks were launched by Rus' against the Island of Terebinth in the Sea of Marmara.⁴³ Around 840 Rus', according to the *Zhytia Georgia Amastridskoho*, attacked the Greek territory of Amastris in Asia Minor.⁴⁴

Shortly thereafter the area of Kyiv and the tribes of Eastern Rus' fell to Khazar mercenaries and for a short time were obliged to pay tribute to them. This subjugation was very brief and Rus' resumed its trade activity on the Black Sea.

As it is indicated earlier the Roxolians together with the Alans had at an earlier period of our era moved to the Crimea. The result of this was

38) Popivskyi, *op. cit.*, p. 516.

39) George Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia* Vol. II (New Haven, 1948), p. 176.

40) Mykhailo Hrushevskyi, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, Vol. I (New York, 1954), p. 404.

41) Sichynskyi, *Krym*, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

42) Hapusenko, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

43) *Ibid.*, p. 49.

44) Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, *op. cit.*, p. 343.

that the rising Rus' state had influence in that vicinity. To stop Rus' expansion, which was a threat to both Byzantium and Khazaria, the two powers attempted to keep Kyivan and Taman Rus' from merging on the Aziv Sea. With this in mind the Khazars together with Byzantine engineers constructed a wall on the lower Don River and a fortress called Sarkell.⁴⁵ From this juncture they expanded toward Kyiv and for a very brief time gained control over that area.

Sometime around the late 850s hostility between Byzantium and Rus' began in earnest. This antipathy more than likely emanated from the breaking of the trade treaty which was signed with the Byzantines in 840. This probably brought on the campaign of Rus' against Constantinople in 860. The attack against Constantinople was more than likely a joint venture of both Kyivan and Taman Rus'. The attack of 200 to 300 Rus' vessels surprised the Greek Emperor Michael, who was then preoccupied with a war against the Arabs, and demonstrated the might of a united Rus' to the Greeks. This unity is emphasized in the works of Constantinople's defender Patriarch Photius who exclaimed and "Rus' arose against Byzantium". Writing of Constantinople and the attack of Rus' he stated:

"and what a city a city adorned with trophies from many nations, yet look at the people who would capture you!"

Constantinople did not fall because the Rus' warriors were busy looting the city outside of the fortification. When they finally left it was not due to a miracle as many historians maintain and confuse with the attack of the Avars in 626.⁴⁶ In the year 860 the Rus' were bought off with gifts.

The leaders of the expedition were, according to the *Primary Chronicle*, Askold and Dyr, the rulers of Kyiv. According to B. Rybakov and Dlugosh, both of these leaders were Slav and of the Kyi Dynasty and not Varangian as heretofore believed. The Arabs knew Dyr as "first among Slav kings — king Al Dyr".⁴⁷ He and Askold after the 860 campaign received Byzantine envoys in Kyiv where a treaty of peace, the contents of which are unknown, was signed.

To weaken Rus' the Byzantines made an attempt to Christianize it. Byzantine form of Christianization meant also political subjugation in that the Byzantine Emperor played an important role in the Church. The Greek missionaries under Patriarch Photius intensified their missionary activity in Tmutarakan and were partially successful in that that area accepted Christianity much earlier than Kyivan Rus'.

In spite of Khazar and Byzantine attempts to keep the Kyivan and Tmutarakan Rus' separated they were not successful. The coming years saw the destruction of Khazaria by the Kyivan Rus' rulers. Tmutarakan was joined to Kyivan-Rus' by Grand Prince Sviatoslav and was later ruled by the Rurikite Mstyslav son of Volodymyr the Great. What happened to it after the 12th century with the advent of new barbaric hordes which once again cut off Kyivan-Rus' from the sea and Taman is unknown.

⁴⁵ Chubatyi, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

⁴⁷ Kholmnyi, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

⁴⁶ Hrushevskiy, *op. cit.*, p. 402.

Newsbrief

SOVIET UNION FACES BREAK-UP

General Sir John Hackett, former commander of the British Army of the Rhine and one of the authors of the best selling *The Third World War*, said in a speech in England that he believes Russia's grip over her subject states and satellites would begin to collapse by the end of the 1980s.

Sir John pointed to the events in Poland which have led to free trade union and said Russia's occupied territories were increasingly dissatisfied with their subordination to Russia and her requirements of them to feed her huge military machine.

He said in the USSR, the Baltic states, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, subjugated by Russia during the last war, were quietly biding their time.

Ukraine and Byelorussia had a history of hostility to Russia and could be "uneasy constituents" of the USSR, he said. He also pointed out that the birthrate among Muslims meant that if the USSR survived until the turn of the century the majority of the population of the USSR would be Muslim also the ethnic attractions of the eastern republics will present increasingly more serious problems.

"UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS AND THE FREE TRADE UNIONS"

A Polish army general produced in the Polish parliament evidence of alleged Ukrainian Nationalist involvement in the legitimate fight of the Polish workers for free trade unions.

The highly distraught general waved in deputies' faces leaflets purporting to be from Ukrainian nationalists supporting the workers' struggle.

BAD LOSERS

The much unread Quisling propaganda rag, *News From Ukraine*, devoted much of its much unread space last autumn to a hysterical attack on the deputy editor of this magazine following his trip to Afghanistan.

Askold Krushelnysky travelled around Russian-occupied Afghanistan last August with a group of guerillas fighting for the freedom of their country. In a number of articles published in the Western press he told of the universal animosity of the people of Afghanistan to their Russian occupiers and the tiny minority of self-seeking collaborators who murder their own people.

Askold Krushelnysky, and at this juncture for the sake of journalistic integrity etc. I must confess that it is he who is writing, also witnessed a

guerilla attack on the nominally occupied city of Jalaabad in southern Afghanistan. The nominally occupied Afghani fighters mounted one of their regular attacks on the enemy and destroyed an armoured personnel carrier, part of a convoy (see last issue of *Ukrainian Review*). The communist forces shot at the guerillas and the author (armed only with a Nikon and a press card) but did not pursue us because they know that half a mile from the centre of the city the only way they could enforce their barbaric occupation was by way of cowardly helicopter and MIG attack on Afgani villages. The main casualties here of-course are women, children, the old and livestock.

If I may be allowed to use the first person, I will say that the carnage of that night left me with mixed feelings. I had never experienced a planned attack to deprive people of their lives. As a journalist I deal with people who have lost their loved ones because of a variety of tragic reasons. One's job is to extract information from these people but if for a moment one ceases to feel any of their pain one ceases to be a journalist and qualifies for the sort of trade that suits employees of the *News From Ukraine*.

Statistically, I suppose one in four of the Red Army (if they were Soviet forces and not reluctant members of the dwindling collaborationist army) who died that night were Ukrainian, but I also feel sorry for the young Russians who died, they were just as much victims of the perverted Kremlin fascism which sent them there as the Ukrainians.

And so back to the *News From Ukraine* article. It put the author in the same elevated category as British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher (the beloved "Iron Maiden" of Tass) and former U.S. foreign secretary Bryzinsky. The *NFU* 'journalist', who seemed to be suffering from the after-effects of some diabolical hysterectomy operation or possibly terminal sycophancy, betrayed the fact that the Russian Empire most fears those people who UNDERSTAND the nature of the Russian chauvinistic dictatorship and thus are best able to combat it.

It is not for me here to criticise the contents of the *NFU* article because that would endow the "newspaper" with a credibility it patently does not deserve. But I would like to congratulate the liars and moral cowards who constitute its staff for inadvertently and despite themselves doing a small service for Ukraine.

The fact is that I have on occasion shown the English version of *News From Ukraine* to certain people with a misguided sympathy for the USSR. When they saw the distorted and sycophantic tracts there on display even the most doubtful agreed that a system which needs to produce such matter has a lot it wants to hide.

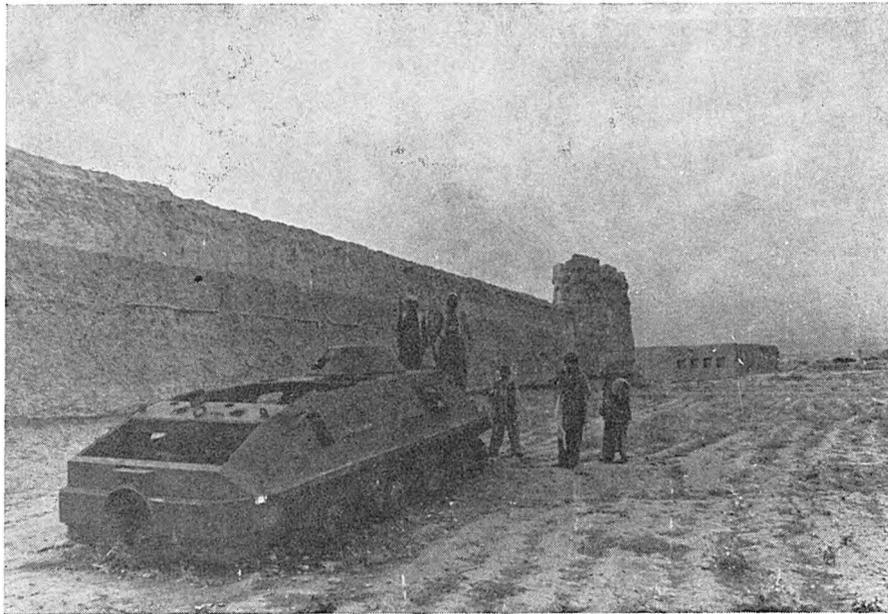
For myself, I find the *NFU*, with its obvious lies and jumped-up pomposity, provides light relief in quantities to rival humorous publications produced with the *intention* of raising a laugh.

THE WAR IN AFGHANISTAN

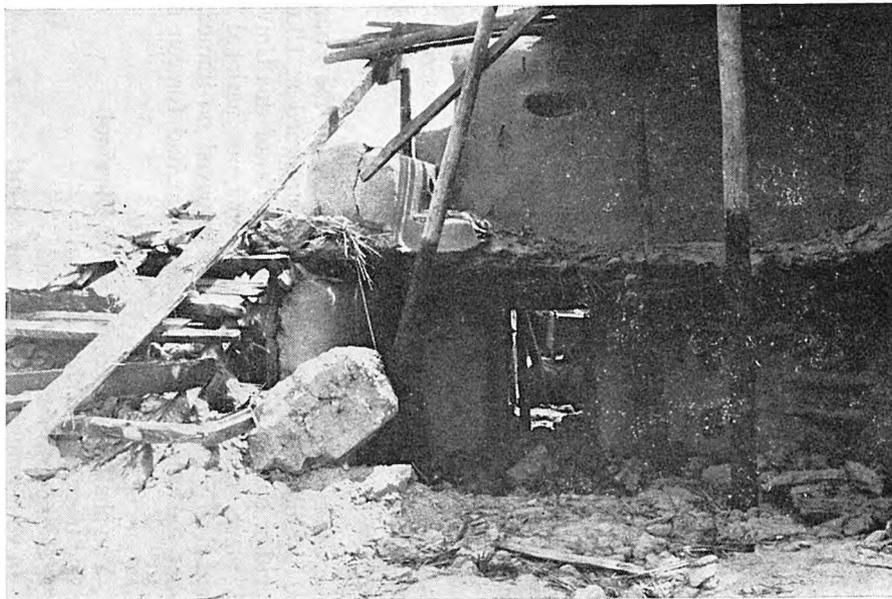
(Pictures by Askold Krushelnycky)



Guerillas in a camp near Jalalabad preparing a meal before a raid on the Russians.



Guerillas with a destroyed Russian armoured personnel carrier.



The after-effect of a Russian air attack. The main victims are children, the old, and livestock.

Volodymyr YANIV

ASPECTS OF THE FOURTH UNIVERSAL

The date the 22nd January — in its synthetic context and in brief summary — encompasses, particularly in the perspective of the last sixty years, sharp contrasts, vivid contradictions, discrepancies and improbabilities that border on the intangibility of a mystery — the mystery of a tragic nation at its crossroads. In the period immediately preceding this date and immediately following the March Revolution, there were as many hopes and expectations as bitter disappointments, as many failures and catastrophes as unexpected triumphs.

When, after the Twelve Stations of the Cross of our national Golgothas, our Day of Resurrection glorious arrived ahen joy embraced with disquiet, trepidation with despair — allowing seven valuable months to pass between the proclamation of the diffident First¹ and the triumphant concluding Fourth Universal, and ten months between the beginning of the Revolution and the proclamation of independence. Yevhen Malanyuk describes this period as “the dreadful waste of the spring months of 1917”² in his penetrating essay on “malorosiystvo”³.

As a consequence of the actual proclamation of the Fourth Universal, a powerful and formidable hostile army was stationed at Ukraine’s frontiers, and exactly within one week of the proclamation of this Universal, the Kruty tragedy took place, which in truth, preserved our national honour but for which we paid dearly and for which we achieved no immediate gains. This is exactly what the eternal Taras Shevchenko had forseen in his prophetic “Osia”⁴:

You shall be ruined, destroyed Ukraino!
No trace of you shall remain!
Yet once, you were so proud
In your magnificence and splendour!

The sa me Shevchenko had also forseen how :⁵

¹) The First Universal was proclaimed on the 23rd June, 1917.

²) Ye. Malanyuk: “Malorosiystvo” p. 31 (“Visnyk” OOChS, New York, 1959).

³) Literally “Little Russian”: derogatory term used to describe adoption and simulatjon of Russian national characteristics by Ukrainians.

⁴) Taras Shevchenko: *Osia Hlava XIVII “Kobzar”*, (M. Desniuk, Chicago 1959-63, ed. P. Zaytsev).

In splendid ranks
 Appeared the otamans,
 The sotniks with their lords
 And the hetmans — adorned in gold”.

However, he already knew that: “the awaited shall not return,

the hetmans shall not arise,
 they shall not cover Ukraine
 With their red cloaks”.⁶

About the 21st year — enriched with the bitter experience of life and suffering, he, on the eve of his own death, explained the cause of this hopelessness:

“There were wars and battles:
 Halahans and Kisils,
 Kochubeyi-Nohayi,
 There was plenty of good!
 Everything passed — but not lost —
 Grubs remained: gnawing,
 Gorging, devouring . . .”⁷

Vasyl Simovych,⁸ commenting about this, states that the term “grubs” should be interpreted as disbelievers or renegades, or simply as traitors. Ye. Chykalenko illustrates this by describing that in Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine, on the eve of the First World War and thus on the eve of the Liberation Struggle, those Ukrainians who used the Ukrainian language in everyday use could be counted on the fingers of one hand. What was worse, was that Ukrainians living in that period had no faith in, desire for, or even any concept of liberation.

Malanyuk, in describing those times, stated that the future historian would not be able to describe the development of our Ukrainian politics during the Liberation Struggle in any other way than as “the absence of the most elementary national instinct and the paralysis of political will”,⁹ with the populace serving and recognising “malorosiystvo”, which phenomenon Taras Shevchenko critically described in unsurpassable style, when he spoke of the worthlessness of those who serve foreign ideals saying: “the czar — is our God; the czar is our hope — he is the one who feeds and clothes the widow and her orphans”.¹⁰

The figure of the czar clouded the national memory about the hetmans.

⁵) Taras Shevchenko: “Hamaliya” in “Kobzar”, vol. 1 11. 130-133.

⁶) Ibid, *Do Osnovyanenka*”, 11 32, 35-37.

⁷) Ibid, “*Buvaly Voyny*”, vol. IV, 11. 1-6.

⁸) “*Narodni vydanya ‘Kobzarya’ v Ukrainskim Vydavnytstvi*” (Katerynoslav-Kamyanets, Leipzig, 1921), Commentary: p. 424.

⁹) Ye. Malanyuk: “*Malorosiystvo*” (“*Visnyk*” OOOChS, New York, 1959).

¹⁰) Taras Shevchenko: *Osia Hlava XIV* in “*Kobzar*” 11 59-61.

What a genial situation Ukraine found herself in — awoken to find herself plundered and in flames, and facing the encroaching tragedy.

However, despite this oppressive situation, Ukrainian regiments and soldiers from mixed divisions were active from the first days of the March Revolution — on the streets of a foreign capital city — the capital of a multilingual empire — and they transmitted the first signals heralding the rebuilding of the world based on the new foundations of truth and justice. How strange is the subconscious desire to fight for a rumoured new world to be constructed on the basis of truth and justice, and for the realisation of eternal ethical ideals. Although the news about the revolution in Petersburg arrived in Kyiv several days late, already on the 17th March, i.e. barely nine days after the first revolutionary waves, the Centralna Rada was established as the pre-parliament of the Ukrainian Republic that was formed later.¹¹ On the 31st March, the first Ukrainian gymnasium for boys and girls was opened¹² to which over one hundred candidates applied immediately — and this in a town where only several families spoke Ukrainian! “What beauty is found in the reawakening of the nation” — eulogised O. Oles. It is impossible to think of this development without a deep ecstatic spiritual uplifting!

The following passage is M. Shapoval’s description of these events:¹³ “March 1917: the honeymoon of the great revolution! Ukraine broke her silence. Cities, towns and villages hummed like busy bee-hives. The slogan “Free Ukraine” reverberated everywhere. Blue and yellow flags flooded every square, every street, they flew over the great Dnieper steppes drowning the internationalist colours. The apotheosis of the re-awakening of the nationalist element from its age-long sleep was the glorious demonstration held in Kyiv on the 1st March. A hundred thousand Ukrainians flooded the streets of our capital city to its limits. Hundreds of blue and yellow flags and banners waved over the crowds. The banners carried by the demonstrators bore the slogans: “Long live free Ukraine!” “Let the Kozaks live in Ukraine!”, “We shall give our souls and bodies for our freedom!”, “A free Ukraine in a free Russia!”, “Autonomy for Ukraine!”, “An autonomous Ukraine in a Federal Russia!”. There were three hundred such banners. Only the leaders of the workers’ contingents, the railway workers and the students had several banners bearing the slogan “Long live an Independent Ukraine!”.

A lengthy section from M. Shapoval’s article was cited, omitting “neither capital nor comma”, because it illustrates the afore-mentioned events in the best possible way: it illustrates the spontaneous re-awakening which no one had planned or prepared, and which was a sequel unexpected as the vacillations were painful — these at a time when the demand for full indepen-

¹¹) Ukrainian Encyclopedia p. 500a.

¹²) Prof. D. Doroshenko: “History of Ukraine, 1917-23”, vol. 1, p. 41 (New York 1954, 2nd ed.).

¹³) M. Shapoval: “Fragments”, printed in “Studentsky Shlakh”, no. 1-2 (3334) 1934, ed. Roman Paladiychuk, p. 24-25.

dence diffidently crouched behind the illusion that Ukraine could exist within the framework of the empire system — a system which had enslaved and exploited Ukraine for long centuries. In other words, a definitive opposition against this moral wrong, so characteristic of our national spirituality, clearly predominated over any clear programme intended to fulfill national aspirations. Or in still other words: a clear personal sense of enslavement decisively out-weighed any understanding of the sources of this enslavement, rooted in the statelessness of the nation and which manifested itself in the lack of any crystallised national aspirations. The initial enthusiasm, bordering on ecstasy, which manifested itself so clearly, was soon exhausted and drained by the large numerous congresses held — congresses that had no practical consequences, but were mere rhetoric.

O. Shulhyn, a witness and participant of these events, describing the mood of the time in his article for the Ukrainian Encyclopedia¹⁴ said: “At that time, the Ukrainian national movement had more of a romantic than realistic-practical character”. This is why resolutions were awaited and why Ukrainian political thinking only matured gradually, while other nationalities — the Poles, Czechs, Balts or Finns, were already mature and were merely waiting for the right moment.

Thus several thousands of delegates attended the military congresses (for example, at the III Congress held in Kyiv in November 1917, there were 3,000 delegates present)¹⁵ and represented millions of soldiers, but in the decisive moment, when the Fourth Universal had to be defended, there were barely several thousand which included a badly armed and trained student division. Even more intolerable was the indecisiveness and lack of understanding of the situation manifested by the leaders — including the President of the Centralna Rada, thus in reality the President of the Ukrainian State — Prof. Mykhaylo Hrushevsky, who, according to D. Doroshenko, after the proclamation of independence in Zhytomyr — where the Centralna Rada had retired from Kyiv before the first Bolshevik invasion — in an article entitled “Ukrainian Independence and its Historical Necessity”, considered that the “proclamation of independence was necessary in order to conclude the Peace”, necessary “for more decisive politics in the struggle against Russia’s attack on Ukraine” and finally that “full freedom was necessary to re-organise the social, economic and financial matters of Ukraine”. But independence is only one stage in the development of federalism and the federal tradition remains “the leading ideal of our national and political existence”.¹⁶

Commenting on this declaration, Doroshenko wrote: “It seems very

¹⁴) Ukrainian Encyclopedia, p. 500b.

¹⁵) Ist Ukrainian Military Congress was held on 18-25th May 1917. 700 delegates attended, representing 900,000 soldiers (D. Doroshenko — History of Ukraine, p. 79), the 11 Congress was held on the 18th June. 2000 delegates attended representing 1,390,000 soldiers (Ibid, p. 89) III All Ukrainian Military Congress was held 2. 12. 1917 (Ukrainian Encyclopedia, p. 506a).

¹⁶) D. Doroshenko: “History of Ukraine”, p. 263.

difficult to find an example of any other national leader in this period of history who appraised his nation's declaration of independence in such a manner". It is truly very difficult, and to be precise, it is impossible.

It must be noted here that this was the same Hrushevsky who continued in his capacity as chairman at a meeting of the Centralna Rada without flinching when he was informed that his home was on fire, where he had housed a priceless collection, representing years of work and intended to be the basis of his penultimate work. This was the same Hrushevsky who was able to fearlessly stare into the barrel of a gun and be the only one to dare disobey the order to raise his arms into the air at the time that the German occupying forces were dissolving the Centralna Rada. This is a strange combination of heroism, drawn from personal feelings of honour and languid indecisiveness, even of total resignation from national aspirations or actions. However, acts of heroism were not lacking when it came to defending the Act of the 22nd January — one only has to consider the defeat of the Bolshevik uprising in Kyiv in the midst of unsympathetic citizens — mostly Russified — by a division of the Sichovi Striltsi, or the battle of Kruty, when 600 Ukrainian student heroes attempted to defend Kyiv from the attack by 6,000 trained soldiers. The fall of Kyiv, delayed by several days by dedication and sacrifice, enabled the signing of the Brest-Litovsk Peace — on which Ukraine depended to obtain military aid from the Central Powers, and which secured the significance of the Act of Independence.

It seems even more tragic that this heroism was wasted by the previously described splintering of souls, which Malanyuk so drastically describes as:¹⁷

“And although my soul can be sometimes tempted,
My blood is my slave! My brain is my slave!”

In yet another place he describes this phenomenon as “an eternal disease from which it will take many decades to recover”.¹⁸ However a deeper analysis will show a somewhat more complicated origin of this phenomenon, which has its roots not only in the centuries long occupation of Ukraine, but also in the very first years of our history: to be exact, in the geo-political situation of the largest empire in Eastern Europe — an empire of almost 3 million square kms with a population of barely one million, situated on the threshold of the East and West, with undefended frontiers and in constant danger of invasion by numerous nomadic tribes, who brought punishment and terror to our lands.

In such conditions, where there was a scattered population, the defence of the country depended more on the individual princes of regions than on the centre and on the main prince in Kyiv. Thus defence was a matter more for individual princes and even of actual individuals, whose surest means of survival was to simply flee into the boundless countryside, into unpopulated lands. This undoubtedly demanded great initiative, courage and agility, and

¹⁷⁾ Ye. Malanyuk, “Malorosiystvo”, p. 28.

¹⁸⁾ Ibid, p. 10.

also absolute confidence. These conditions created a peculiar type of individual — one with a penchant for individual freedom who had no understanding of any need to conform to communal life.

This is the reason why a peculiar type of democracy evolved in the Ukrainian State — one of the oldest democracies of that time in Europe, where the prince was not an omnipotent sovereign supported by subordinate vassals, but who was the co-ordinator of military units and of their actions, and of the Council. He was a prince who could be re-elected by the will of the population. This tripartite division of the government between the prince, council and the population may no doubt seem attractive, but in its time, such a regime was a curse because it prevented the development and crystallisation of a centre and strong government which the conditions of life then required.

The Rev. A. Velykyj, a prominent modern historian¹⁹ has calculated that in the hundred years between 1146 and 1246 there were 47 princes who ruled Kyiv, of which 35 ruled for less than one year. How could the state become stable under such a system, especially at the time when the belligerency of the neighbouring tribes was at its peak. This is why the Suzdal king, Andrij Boholubskyj from Volodymyr-Klyczma in the north of Muscovy, having conquered Kyiv in 1169 did not even consider remaining there, although this was an honour bestowed on the victor between equal princes.

Accustomed to severe discipline, which became the law and the reason for the growth of Muscovy, he did not wish to live under the constant threat of his anarchic subjects, whose tradition it was to impose their own will on their rulers. Being content with the destruction of Kyiv, he returned to his own North. Children wept, being forcibly — according to ancient chronicles — separated from their mothers, churches were burnt — no one avoided punishment. The victorious despot left only his deputy in the proud city. Writing about these events, Polonska-Vasylenko concludes:²⁰ “Kyiv has never seen such disdain and ruin”. However, this humiliation did not lead the recalcitrant steppoviks to change their ways . . .”

This and the very character of the people, that had such a destructive effect on the existence of the Kyivan state, was later to become the salvation of the enslaved Ukrainian nation. “The wild field” throughout the centuries has provided a refuge for Ukrainian peasants living under Polish occupation, sheltering them in the latifundia. But the tribal invaders were not concerned with consolidating their rule, which merely resulted in the consolidation of centuries of compliance. As a result of this, individual freedom became an ideal, and the attempt to alter the fundamental principles governing this uncontrolled life resulted in an opposition in which both the enemy and those of our own people who wished to create a state were massacred. This was the tragedy that confronted the kozaks of the reknowned Khortytsia

¹⁹) Article “Religion and the Church” in the collection “Religion in the Life of the Ukrainian Nation”. Notes of NTSh, t. 181, p. 5, sect. 8.

²⁰) Ukrainian Encyclopedia, p. 442 a-b.

when their independent spirit became a threat to the Crimean Khan, the Turkish empire or the Polish magnates, and even to their own hetmans who could never predict the whimsical moods of the sichoviks. This is that apotheosis of individual freedom, which in reality raised individual honour on a pedestal, but which fears any form of subordination, and from which the custom of covering the newly elected koshoiv's (head of the kozaks) head with soil, showing him his dependence on the community's will. These and similar traditions led me to draw the conclusion, formulated in the guise of a tragic paradox that:

"We became enslaved because of our excessive love of freedom. While wanting equality and brotherhood, we were afraid of even our own despot and weakened ourselves with internecine (while not showing any external signs of activity) and allowing ourselves to become enslaved by foreigners".²¹

This ideal of individual freedom, coupled with "malorosiystvo" had a devastating effect on our Liberation Struggle: it automatically reduced the potential strength of any military formations and resulted in the formation of autonomous regions, the so-called republics, which through successive raids weakened the determination of the regular army, and even of the independent anarchist movement led by Nestor Makhno²² based in Hulyay-Pole. Makhno's groups sometimes even outnumbered the active army, and incredible though it may seem, more was known about Makhno in the West than about our Liberation Struggle. He was also well known in French political circles and was, no doubt, more positively assessed than Chief Otaman Symon Petlyura.

However, the geo-political situation had yet another effect on Ukrainian spirituality — and affected the attitude of Ukrainians to their immediate and further surroundings: being constantly under the threat of death and living on the brink between life and death, the Ukrainian, since early times has sought a deeper meaning of life, and when his earthly life became insecure and uncertain, he sought salvation in the other-world, in transcendentalism²³ and found it in God's omnipotence — reflected in the magnificent natural beauty of Ukraine. Faith in God became the foundation for firm ethical principles and love for the beauty of nature and earth — a mother providing food and protection — provided a source of love. The synthesis of good and beauty, i.e. of ethical and aesthetic values to deeply rooted in the souls of the Ukrainian weighed equally with personal misfortune and with the misfortune of the community. This has led Ukrainian historiographers to draw the conclusion, as described by the Rev. A. Velykyj, that our nation did not seek its fortune through political or military achievements and strength, or in economic aspirations, but through its search for truth and through the realisation of good in harmony with nature and with her aesthetic riches.

²¹) "The Ukrainian Character and our ideals" in "Pedagogical Problems, Ukrainian Free University Publication, no. 34, Munich, 1969, p. 6-7.

²²) This was especially obvious during the Paris students' uprisings in 1968, when Makhno's works were widely distributed.

²³) V. Yaniv: "The ethno-psychological aspect of Ukrainian Religion", pp. 181, 182.

This is why great creators, the spiritual giants of our history, served this ideal in full. These were people whose works became representative of the national soul, and who had a decisive influence on the development of new generations. Thus, for example, one of the most outstanding characteristics of one of our greatest artists²⁴ — Hryhoryj Skovoroda — is that he simply represents the whole Ukrainian nation, confirming the theory of Ukrainian historiographers that the Ukrainian nation seeks harmony, good and beauty and not power and riches. A quote from Yakyma Yarema's speech illustrates this perfectly:

"The Ukrainian nation, as Skovoroda, seems to be on the surface, a pauper with no craving for earthly goods and which is tied through obedience to poverty and to a secondary role in the theatre of life, with no pretensions of wanting power and international significance, and seems to be dedicated to its internal suffering rather than to external activity — with its thought directed to the ideals of moral beauty and joy in the world of eternity; an aesthete in his suffering, the judge, the enemy, the eternal revolutionary struggle against the strength of that harsh reality. Thus Skovoroda was the Ukrainian nation for long years".

The words "eternal revolutionary" automatically bring to mind another Ukrainian genius — Ivan Franko, the author of a revolutionary poem with this title, and to whom this characterisation applies completely. The same Franko who gave us "Zakhar Berkut" — a wondrous utopic vision of life with truth and beauty, of heroism and dedication, love of freedom — seemingly had no concept of the meaning and power of the co-ordinating centre. In this lies the key to understanding the Ukrainian soul, the source of our spiritual tenderness and honour, our tragedies as a community and nation. Disregarding reality, we became excessively concerned with deceptive illusions that should have realised those ideals dear to our hearts, forgetting that in this difficult life we are faced with more miseries than honour.

Thus Kostomarov in his famous "Knyhy Bytia" mercilessly condemned our historical enemies, their despotism, treachery, blood thirst but naively did not desire the downfall of the occupying regime, but the transfer of the centre of the "federation" of free and equal nations from Petersburg to Kyiv — the mother of Rus'. Time and again this naive belief in a form of historical justice was reiterated through deceptive slogans which our neighbours generously bestowed upon us and "blinded us", to once again use Shevchenko's prophetic words, and so that when the time comes, "we shall awake plundered" of our national ideals and the desire to create our own life according to our own will. Thus we subordinated ourselves to the slogans of slavophilism, international brotherhood, the community of the orthodox faith, humanity, the wisdom of serving "automatic progress", or to speak of the revolution in the period 1917- to 1918 — "the plundering of the plundered" — in order to bring peace to our homes as quickly as possible. When our refined and adroit neighbours used the slogan of internationalism to achieve

²⁴) "Ukrainian Spirituality in its Cultural-Spiritual Aspects" printed in the "First Ukrainian Pedagogical Congress, 1935", Lviv, 1938. p. 44.

our spiritual disarmament, we with our faith in this, placed our own heads into a foreign yoke.

This is why the Ukrainian peasant naively hurried to claim, what was in truth stolen, his own inherited lands for himself instead of defending the Ukrainian state — the lands of a sovereign nation. Then this land was taken from him by those who in the throes of revolution had urged him to claim it as his own. Yet this cost us millions of sacrifices, caused by so-called “capitalist exploitation”, or through the nationalisation of life through despised collectivisation. And now we are left with nothing.

However, the date the 22nd January, concealing its mysteries and surprises, was not futile: it signified a rebirth amid storms and flames. We receive our faith and strength from it. And if Kruty were the prologue, then the finale — the last act and sign-post, was Bazar, where the massacred drowned the salvos of the machine guns with the cry “Ukraine is not yet dead”²⁵

Whole generations of that time had the order written in fiery letters, never again to submit to dual patriotism, to “malorosiystvo”. This is the source of the fear of the generation that matured during the Revolution, the fear of being late, of missing opportunities, of repeating the errors committed by their predecessors. This is also the source of the nervous haste felt in issuing statements, descriptions, errors and blunders committed — always dictated by the best intentions and the reason why Ukraine emerged defeated but spiritually intact after the Liberation Struggle.

In the year of the Winter March that ended with the finale of Bazar, the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church emerged as the spiritual bastion of the Central Lands of Ukraine, which was followed by the renaissance of literature and education, but which resulted in the counter-reaction of the occupier labelled “the short rebirth”. This was akin to the phoenix arising from the flames. In West Ukraine, the non-party Ukrainian Army Organisation (UVO) was established and functioned as the direct heir of the regular national army, and on a spiritual level, the opposition crystallised in the high schools, in particular in Lviv and in exile centres, where the movement was led by the Ukrainian Free University — a unique institution at that time.²⁶

When Sovietism threatened the birth of modern “malorosiystvo” the leadership of the revolutionary struggle relied on ideology, and soon the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) was founded, which in its struggle against the enemy increasingly manifested maximum courage and dedication. It is vital that the prologue to a new struggle should not be Kruty, and that the epilogue is not Bazar, that there is never a lack of dedicated men to act whenever there exists the possibility to attack the ruling regime: this is the genesis of those deeds that took place in the Carpathian Ukraine and the Sich. However, nothing was able to shake the faith

²⁵) The Ukrainian national anthem.

²⁶) This was in 1921, when both in Ukraine and in exile such institutions were established, such as the Ukrainian Free University in Vienna and Prague, “Underground High Schools” in Poland.

of the generation, which it is true was sometimes disillusioned, but nevertheless went determinedly forward to fulfill its aims with "hope against hope". The prisons were once again filled, and this on the eve of the Second World War, but following the Polish catastrophe, the Ukrainian underground was in continual opposition to the new menace presented by the Russian-Soviet occupiers. During this constant march forward, military units were formed under the German *Vermacht* — "Rolyanda" or the "Nachtigal", which directed their strength against the treacherous allies when it proved that the military units were not to serve Ukraine but were to be the tool of foreign aims. At the same time as the advances of the regular divisions, there were attempts to create our own government, to be supported by semi-legal and in time, completely illegal military units. When the Act of the 30th June was negated by arrests and mass murders committed in Auschwitz, Sachsenhausen, this was followed by the physical destruction of the Ukrainian National Council in Kyiv.

This essay does not allow for a deep analysis of single acts, however their total impact shows clearly the fearless determination to achieve the chosen end. Individuals may be criticised, dates and facts may be disputed, but no one can question the purity of the movement and its desired end. Thus we recall this period with true pride, and with the same pride we remember the struggles of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), the Halychyna division — renamed the Division of the Ukrainian National Army as soon as possible. Also one must not forget the work of co-ordinating centres at the UHVR, the international ABN and International Freedom. The later attempts to renew the government in exile are to be remembered with the same pride.

All these events and facts have to be considered as the direct result of the date the 22nd January, and only in that light can we understand their significance and the significance of the Proclamation of the Fourth Universal now and for the future. But we must also ensure that date does not simply become a memory, if the sacrifices of the Liberation Struggle are not to be wasted and lost in the narrow interpretation of words, if we are to combat "malorosiystvo".

In exile, we too must take care not to repeat the errors of the past. The emigre community can also do much, as proved by the assassination of some of our best sons — Petlyura, Konovalets, Rebet, Bandera. Why should they have died if their actions were not a threat and had no significance?... Let us not ignore those sacrifices and forget our sole aim. We are called to action by our homeland, by those languishing — but not submitting — in prisons, isolation cells, psychiatric hospitals, concentration camps.

How much faith they have, how much endurance. However, prophecies will not fulfil themselves — they demand actions to be fulfilled, thus to fulfil the 22nd January — one of the greatest dates in Ukrainian history, we must sacrifices make and act in unity.

PROFESSOR WOŁODYMYR T. ŻYLA REVIEWS:

Jurij Bojko-Blochyn. *Gegen den Strom: Ausgewählte Beiträge zur Geschichte der slavischen Literaturen*. Heidelberg: Carl Universitätsverlag, 1979. 360 pages. DM 86.

It would be a pity if the provoking title of Jurij Bojko-Blochyn's book were not to attract the attention it deserves from readers interested in Slavic literary history, criticism, and theory. The title in itself reflects some controversial aspects that the author undertakes in his work. The book consists of a preface and twenty-two critical reviews and essays concerning the southern western and eastern Slavic literatures.

At the beginning, it should be pointed out that this publication, entitled *Gegen den Strom* (Against the Stream) represents a serious comprehensive study in German that is contrary to the obsolete approaches and interpretations of various Slavic cultural and literary achievements.

A loosely organized but coherent plan binds this set of reviews and essays. These works take their unity not so much from their individual subjects as from the author's *Weltanschauung* and his methodology. Bojko considers that "the Western world is in a state of spiritual crisis. We speak gladly about democratic convictions, but in practice, consciously or subconsciously, we betray democracy as well as liberalism and thereby human dignity, and at the same time scholarly objectivity. Our scholars often stress the need to cooperate with their colleagues of the East Block, but this cooperation in many cases is associated with obeisance to Marxism-Leninism" (p. 8). Bojko, who grew and matured in the Soviet Union, uses Socialist Realism as an example which, for a serious writer in the Soviet Union, is nothing but a straitjacket. Nevertheless, he says, the naive Western critics consider it as a literary style in the true sense of the word (p. 8).

The author is not happy with many works written in the West concerning Russian literature and language because they are not based on true scholarly research. He is indeed very unhappy with the lack of works concerning Ukrainian and Belorussian literatures. Bojko says: "The Ukrainian and the Belorussian heritage is almost unresearched" (p. 9). And he tries to explain the reasons. In his opinion, there is not always bad will in such criticism, and one cannot blame Western scholars for not doing research because they do not know the languages. Finally, he poses two serious questions: "But why do they not study these languages? Are there any objective academic reasons behind this negligence?" (p. 9). These two questions the author leaves unanswered in his preface; perhaps the reader will find some suggested answers in the twenty-two essays that follow the preface.

Here, I should say something about the author and his credentials. Bojko (born 1909) has some 220 titles of published works (1975) — 42 of them have

appeared in German, 19 in English, four in French, two in Italian, one in Russian, and the rest in Ukrainian. His essays are insightful and his literary judgment is all-absorbing and subordinated to his ability and his preparation. He argues for an intrinsic approach to literature though different from that of Wellek and Warren. In his work he has culled the best and the most useful material out of the literary life of Ukrainians and Belorussians to demonstrate his points. To this he has added a considerable awareness and occasional assimilation to some of the more vigorous literary trends in Europe, especially those in England and Germany. He is a knowledgeable critic and a skillful historian who knows the contextual significance of his concerns, both as they relate to the Slavic literary heritage, other than Russian, and to the Western reaction to Slavic literary achievements.

In his *Gegen den Strom*, Bojko positions himself carefully beyond any “-isms” with the only desideratum in mind that the research of a literary work must be, at the same time, analytical and emotional (p. 9). The work of a writer must be viewed as an emotional unity that provides a necessary base for objective scrutiny. His explorations into literary phenomena represent, in great part, new ways of coping with old problems. But he views them differently because he uses a very clear notion of what literature is when one distinguishes it from mere self-expression on the one hand and from propaganda for a cause on the other hand.

Thus he penetrates into the depth of each work and into the mind of each writer in order to secure something that the author desires for himself or for his society. Bojko is quite explicit on this point. While there is not time here to analyze each essay individually, it is interesting to see how, on the basis of selected ones, he applies his principles in his work.

In the essay, “Byrons Einfluss auf die russische, ukrainische and polnische Literatur” (The Impact of Byron on Russian, Ukrainian, and Polish Literature), Bojko, who is a knowledgeable Byronist, at first carefully depicts the importance of Byron on the European continent, including Russia. He says: “The whole of Europe had to speak about Byron before an interest for him was awakened in Russia” (p. 32). This interest was not finally profound because it was not organic in its growth. The obstacle was the Russian mentality, which could not accept Byron’s drive for freedom, and thus the country (Russia) was not prepared for organic assimilation of this great poet. Even Pushkin, a national poet of Russia, in his *Poltava* appeared as a great patriot of the Russian empire, and his thinking and feeling were contrary to what appeared in Byron’s works. In his work he said that Peter I was a carrier of progressive historical forces and a creator of a empire, while Mazepa was depicted with all of the negative characteristics that are detrimental to historical perspective. Thus, Pushkin took a contrary view to Byron and in his work set polemical elements above artistic ones. But neither Belinskij nor other Russian critics, including contemporary Soviets, have ever questioned this mistaken association or tried to correct it. On the contrary, they have wanted to keep it secret in order not to undermine Russian political prestige. Thus Byronism in Russia is a phenomenon

that has come and gone without ever having rooted itself in Russian spirituality. The case is contrary in Polish and Ukrainian literatures. Bojko says: "The Ukrainians always loved Byron" (p. 47). He was spiritually close to them, his works incorporated the necessary drive for freedom that they desired. Poland was also very receptive to Byronic ideas. Polish writers such as Mickiewicz, Słowacki, Małczewski and others viewed the Byronic style and techniques as a new force that was very necessary for Polish literature.

In this essay Bojko appears to be more than an analyst; he is a careful interpreter of ideas, not of isolated texts. He examines Byronism not only in its formal aspect but tends to examine its patterns which influence human mentality. He is well aware that Byron's works are inspirational to their readers.

Of course, there are some other models of historical awareness that Bojko presents to the reader. In the essay entitled "Belinskij und die ukrainische nationale Wiedergeburt" (Belinskij and the Ukrainian National Rebirth), he shows the true face of the Russian critic who was a racist and promotor of hatred among nations. He considered that among the Slavs, Russians were the only nation of importance — a race of world significance. He said: "Despite the fact that the Chinese now exist in great numbers, reportedly well over a hundred million, they belong as little to mankind as the millions of horned cattle belong to their numerous herds" (p. 108). Furthermore, according to Belinskij, "The content of history is the general fate of mankind. As the history of a nation is not a history of the millions of individuals that constitute a nation, but the history of some number of the individuals in whom the spirit and the fate of the nation are depicted — exactly the same way, mankind is not the assemblage of people of the entire globe, but of some nations who express in themselves the idea of mankind" (pp. 107-108). These two statements, carefully quoted and interpreted by Bojko clearly depict Belinskij's personality and his ideological views, views which are absolutely contrary to any justice in society.

Furthermore, commenting on the work of Mykola Markevych *Istorija Malorosiji* (History of Little-Russia [Ukraine]), Belinskij stressed that "Ukrainians have no right to history, because they were never a nation and therefore one should consider them as a tribe" (p. 110). He also denied that the Ukrainian language should be used as a literary language. In other words, he stood firmly for everything that is Russian and against the most elemental natural human rights of others.

This essay, despite its singular importance, is treated by Bojko with great dignity. The essay turns out to be literary criticism, not a political or historical pamphlet. The critic realizes the importance and the seriousness of the material, and he deals with it as a scholar. He sees the encounter of conflicting ideologies in history and literature in their right perspective, and in full rigor he takes a superior hand in dealing with them. Thus these conflicting opinions are skillfully used as arguments for discussion, not as a method of creating dissention. Instead, he seeks to build a new order.

Belinskij hated Shevchenko, Kulish (the name of Kulish was for him of "pig origin") and any other writer who wrote in Ukrainian in order to demonstrate the vitality of that language, its usefulness and its future importance. This essay is truly unique because it proves the author's thesis: "against the stream". Here Bojko sets all the facts in historical and literary perspective and shows to the Western reader that the founding father of Russian literary criticism was biased indeed. The reader may ask how it is possible that Soviet criticism has not discussed these ridiculous statements in order to reverse the historical pendulum and to put it in the right direction toward mutual enlightenment. Do the Soviets really agree with Belinskij's views?

Essays concerning Hryhorij Skovoroda, Ivan Kotljarev's'kyj, Taras Shevchenko, Ivan Franko, Lesja Ukrainka, Volodymyr Vynnychenko and Mykola Khvylovyj are interesting and comparative in their scope. To his interest in cultural patterns and in the basic psychology, Bojko brings a real zest for classification. In view of such interests and aptitudes, it is not surprising that much of his criticism deals with genres. He devoted a great deal of attention to such topics as Romanticism, Realism, Naturalism, Neoromanticism, etc. He is aware of both revolution and prophecy, of the need for ideology to reflect an encompassing context when he discusses the work of Mykola Kvylovyj or of Volodymyr Vynnychenko's drama *Mizh dvokh syl* (Between Two Forces).

The essay on Lesja Ukrainka's *Kaminnyi hospodar* (Stone Host) is richly packed with interesting material and is comparative in its nature. In view of the author's general interest in psychology and the recurrent psychological patterns that underlie that work, it is apparent that Bojko truly digested Lesja Ukrainka's work and expressed himself freely about her ideas.

Bojko also shows a great deal of understanding for Belorussian literature. He portrays how Bahdanovich tried to close the gap between Belorussian and world literature. But, as he concludes, Bahdanovich was not able to reach the necessary synthesis that he worked for.

Gegen den Strom, excellent work though it is, badly needs a comprehensive index to make it operative for use by serious scholars. Such an index would make it more unified because many topics and names recur in various essays. Some essays at the end carry a remark, e.g., "published in 1963", but there is no mention of where the publication appeared. The lack of full bibliographical information is a serious oversight.

Bojko's work as a whole is not a mere academic exercise; it confirms the great promise given in its title. It offers a stimulating perspective and the necessary conceptual tools that may be used for further exploration. In conclusion, it is a fine study, certainly one of the best in its field. It is the most stimulating book to give to students who want to find out, in German, what the Slavic literatures have to offer. An English translation of it is highly desirable.

Wolodymyr T. Zyla

Texas Tech University

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Editorial correspondence should be sent to:

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Subscriptions should be sent to:

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Overseas representatives:

USA: Organization for Defence of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc.
P.O. Box 304, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Canada: Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation.
140 Bathurst Street, Toronto, Ont., M5V 2R3.

Printed in Great Britain by the Ukrainian Publishers Limited
200 Liverpool Road, London, N1 1LF *Tel.: 01-607-6266/7*

THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

Vol. XXIX. No. 2

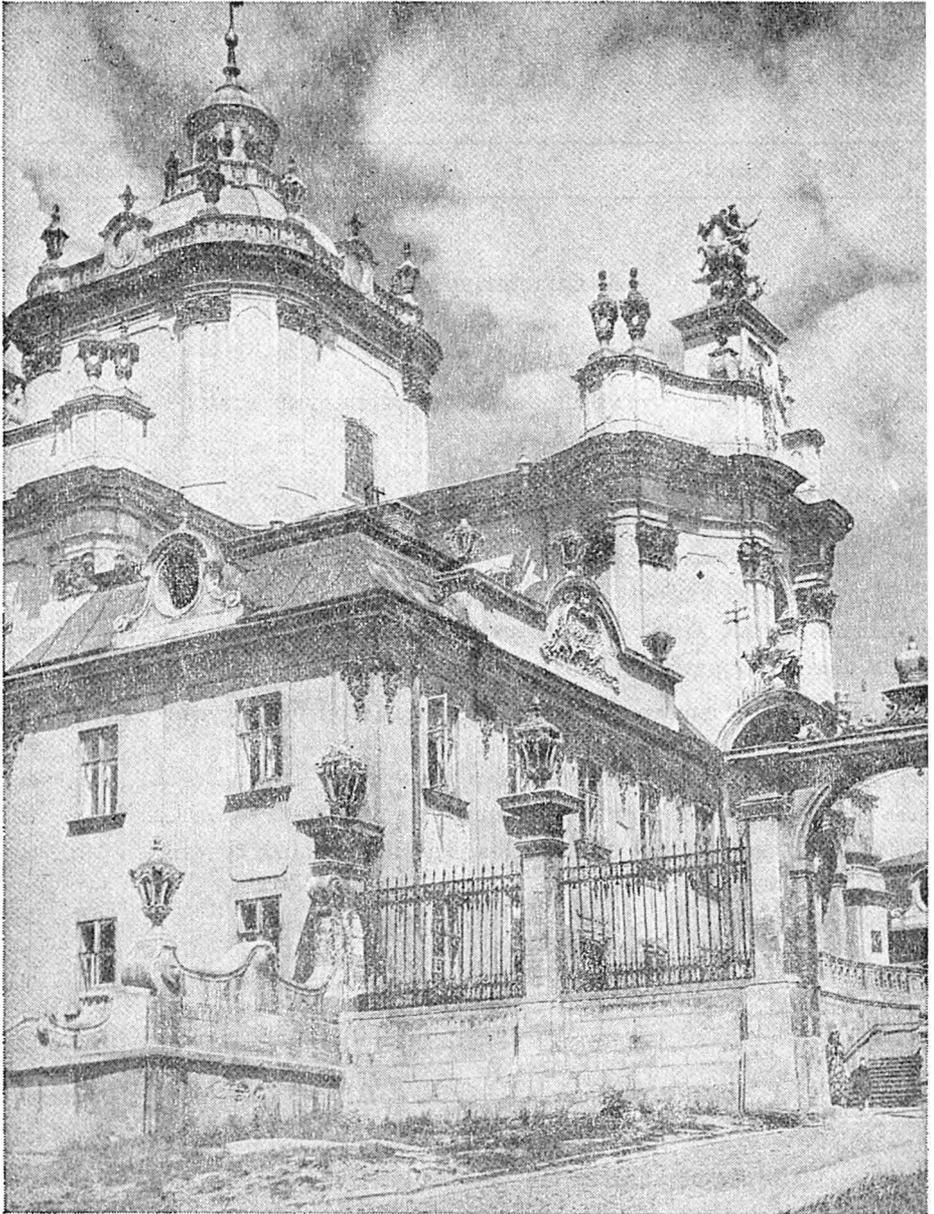
Summer, 1981

A Quarterly Magazine

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Published by
The Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain Ltd.
in cooperation with
Organization for Defence of Four Freedoms for Ukraine Inc. (U.S.A.)
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The Cathedral of St. Yuriy in Lviv, a city in W. Ukraine where on 30th June 1941 Ukrainian independence was proclaimed.

Olha ZAWERUCHA

THE 10-YEAR UKRAINIAN UNDERGROUND STATE

For centuries Russia has been the main adversary of Ukraine. After the unfortunate battle of Poltava in 1709, in which the head of the Ukrainian state, Hetman Ivan Mazepa, together with his ally King Charles XII of Sweden, was defeated by the Russian Tsar Peter I, Russia restricted the rights of the Ukrainian people to an ever-increasing extent until eventually even Ukrainian was prohibited as a written language. The Ukrainian struggle for liberation continued until in 1917/18 Ukraine succeeded in restoring its independence for three years. As a people of western orientation, the Ukrainian constantly hoped for the support of the Western powers in their resistance against the Russian expansion towards the West, all the more so since they were convinced that with the restoration of the Ukrainian state, with its present population of over 50 million, Russia's pressure on Europe would be neutralized.

The outbreak of the Soviet-German War on June 22, 1941, brought the Ukrainians a new chance in their century-old struggle for independence. Thus, on June 23, 1941, in preparation for the coming German occupation of Ukraine, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN — a revolutionary organization dedicated to the liberation of Ukraine) under the leadership of Stepan Bandera served the Nazis with a warning, stressing that a military occupation of Europe and a policy of violence and suppression of the national aspirations of the peoples of Eastern Europe would prove untenable.

UPRISING AND THE ACT OF PROCLAMATION

With the outbreak of hostilities between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, in many parts of Ukraine units of OUN insurgents stage armed uprisings against the Russian occupation forces whilst the population at large resorted to acts of self-defence. On their part, the Russian NKVD murdered thousands of Ukrainian political prisoners. In the City of Lviv alone (capital of Western Ukraine) 7,000 people were executed by the retreating Russians, including women and children.

Once the City of Lviv was cleared of the Russians, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) surprised the Germans with a fait accompli by seizing power in Lviv, convening a National Assembly, and proclaiming on June 30, 1941 the Restoration of a Ukrainian Independent State. The National Assembly ratified the Act of Proclamation and appointed Yaroslav Stetsko Prime Minister of the newly formed Ukrainian Provisional Government. Radio LVIV broadcast the news throughout the country.

ANTI-NAZI RESISTANCE

The Nazis responded to the Act of Proclamation with mass arrests and widespread terror. The Head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), Stepan Bandera and Prime Minister Yaroslav Stetsko were arrested on July 12, 1941, and after rejecting Hitler's repeated demands to revoke the Act of Proclamation, were dispatched on September 15 to the concentration camp in Sachsenhausen.

On November 25, 1941, the Nazis issued one of their many directives to their SS units on how to deal with Ukrainian nationalists:

“Service Command of the
Security Police and of
the Security Service C/5
Command Log-book No. 1232/41

Headquarters,
November 25, 1941

To the advanced posts of
Kyiv, Dnipropetrovsk,
Rivne, Mykolaiv,
Zhytomyr, Vinnitsia.

Subject. OUN (Bandera Movement)

It has been ascertained that the Bandera Movement is preparing a revolt in the Reichs Commissariat which has as its ultimate aim the establishment of an independent Ukraine. All functionaries of the Bandera Movement must be arrested at once and, after through interrogation, are to be liquidated secretly as marauders.

Records of such interrogations must be forwarded to the Service Command C/5.

Heads of commands must destroy these instructions on having made a due note of them.

(signature — illegible)
SS — Obersturmbannführer.”

Such events marked the beginning of Ukrainian Resistance to the Nazis. The Holocaust created by Nazi-Germany and Soviet Russia during World War II cost the lives of an estimated 5.5 to 6.7 million Ukrainians.

THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY (UPA)

By 1942 the numerous Ukrainian insurgent and popular self-defence groups, and other Ukrainian military personnel, merged with the paramilitary units of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists to form the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) under the command of General Roman Shukhevych, Vice-Minister of Defence in the Ukrainian Provisional Government, and Head of the OUN network in Ukraine. By 1944, the UPA grew into a fighting force over 200,000 strong. In the two-front struggle of the OUN-UPA against Germany and Russia numerous prominent Nazi and Soviet leaders lost their lives, such as the chief of the Nazi storm-troopers (“Sturmabteilung”) Gen. Victor Lutzer (1943), and Nikolai Vatutin, Marshal of the Soviet Army (1944). After the Nazi defeat the armed struggle of the

Ukrainians against Moscow and its satellite allies lasted well into the fifties. According to Khrushchev himself ("Khrushchev Remembers", p. 147) the Russians "lost thousands of men in a bitter struggle between the Ukrainian nationalists and the forces of Soviet Power . . . it took a large-scale military and police operation, with all the paraphernalia of tanks, aircraft, and heavy artillery, to break up the rebel forces . . .", while a German General, Ernst Koestring, reported that:

"Our conception that the West Ukraine (Galicia) was the birthplace of the Ukrainian nationalistic movement is proved by the fact that it was there that the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) was created, a political organization which succeeded in uniting all national parties of the Ukraine".

"The military organization known as the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), was also formed here aiming at establishment of an independent Ukraine controlled neither by Moscow, nor by Germany . . . When Galicia was recaptured by the Red Army the OUN and UPA called upon their followers to fight against the Bolsheviks and the Great Russian enemy. German officers who fought their way back to us in 1945 reported that the plight of the Red Army was similar to ours: it controlled only the towns and the main communication routes, while the country itself remained in the hands of the resistance movement". (World War II German Military Studies, Volume 19, pg. 21).

Thus, the OUN-UPA created and upheld politically, socially, and militarily what history has termed as the Ukrainian Underground State, which de facto existed for a whole decade (1941-1951).

LIBERATION POLICY AND THE WEST

Had this two-front war against Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia been supported by the Western Allies, then such strategic foresight would have been a decisive factor in simultaneously ridding the world of the two most ruthless totalitarian systems ever known in the history of mankind.

It is, therefore, crucial for the welfare of the Free World that it realize that in its confrontation with Moscow's aggression and imperialism, Ukraine with the other captive nations of Eastern Europe, constitutes a natural ally — a superpower which can tilt the strategic balance in favour of freedom and democracy throughout the world by hastening the demise of the Soviet empire. For this to happen, the West must assist openly and unequivocally the liberation effort of the captive nations. This seems to be the only feasible alternative to a nuclear collision between East and West. As General J. F. C. Fuller, an outstanding British Strategist once wrote, "The most explosive force in the world is not to be found in the hydrogen bomb, but in the hearts of the subjugated peoples . . ." (His essay "Russia is not Invincible").

WHAT UKRAINIAN EMIGRE NEWSPAPERS REPORTED ON THE EVENTS OF JUNE 30

THE TRIDENT, NEW YORK JULY-AUGUST 1941

“WESTERN UKRAINE DECLARES ITS INDEPENDENCE

The proclamation of independence was issued on June 30, the day the Nazis captured Lviv, at a large meeting at the headquarters of the Prosvita Enlightenment Society. It established a regional government under the presidency of Yaroslav Stetsko, described as the vice president of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. It further announced the creation “on Ukrainian territories” of a “Ukrainian National Revolutionary Army”. to continue the fight against occupation [presumably Russian] and for a sovereign independent Ukrainian State.

The proclamation said it was made “by the will of the Ukrainian people, by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists under the leadership of Stephen Bandera”. It was announced over the Konovaletz Radio Station at Lviv at 11 a.m. July 1.

On the same day the aged Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, who had been held under virtual arrest since the Russian occupation, issued a pastoral letter bestowing his blessing on the newly proclaimed Ukrainian State and calling upon the people to support it. He said:

“By your faith, solidarity and conscientious execution of duties, prove that you are worthy of an independent national existence”.

Archbishop Polikarp, head of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, granted similar recognition to the new government, according to the dispatch”.

SVOBODA, JERSEY CITY, AUGUST 1941

“WESTERN UKRAINIANS DECLARE THEIR INDEPENDENCE AND ESTABLISH GOVERNMENT

NAZIS ARREST AND THEN EXILE ITS LEADERS

A series of important developments in the Ukrainian situation have recently taken place in Western Ukraine, centering in Lviv, according to reports reaching the Ukrainian daily “Svoboda” and the Polish daily “Nowy Swiat” here in this country.

They include the proclamation of Ukrainian independence; establishment of a Ukrainian government; its recognition by Metropolitan Sheptytsky; the arrest of its leaders by the Nazis; and the incorporation by them of Ukrainian Galicia into the Polish Government General”.

Nina STROKATA

On the eve of the birthday of her friend political prisoner Yuriy Shukhevych, for her political prisoner Nina Strokata wrote these words.

I, Nina Strokata, former political prisoner of the USSR, testify to the following:

Forced to leave Ukraine in September 1971, I settled in the town of Nalchyk in Kabardyn-Balkar in northern Caucasus. Here at that time Yuriy Shukhevych, who had already spent 20 years in camps and prisons, was serving his term of exile. In Nalchyk, Yuriy Shukhevych married, had two children, and worked as an electrician in a local furniture factory. As god-mother to Yuriy's son Roman, I was in contact with the young Shukhevych family and know that from 1970 to 1971 Yuriy Shukhevych was periodically visited by KGB officials from Ukraine, among them KGB Major Lytvyn. From my talks with Yuriy I know the aim of those visits: It was proposed, again and again, to the son of the great UPA commander that he censure his father's actions in return for being allowed entrance to a university. As is known, Yuriy often heard such propositions during his 20-year imprisonment. As is also known, Yuriy never consented to such proposals during his imprisonment. He continued to do the same during his years of freedom (1968-71). In the summer of 1971 he tried to gain admittance to the university in the towns of Ordzhonokidze and Groznyy. During the entrance examinations he was given an unsatisfactory grade in the French language, a language which Yuriy knew perfectly, possibly even better than the examining Soviet professor. This failure during the entrance examination was the first sign of danger. A KGB co-worker quickly visited Yuriy at home and again began to talk about earlier KGB promises. Yuriy, as formerly, remained the son of his famous father. In December of 1971 I suggested to Yuriy that he and his family move into my apartment in Nalchyk, which was more comfortable than the unsatisfactory one in which Yuriy lived with his wife and two children. On December 2, 1971. Yuriy's daughter became ill, and Yuriy's wife Valya went with her to the hospital. Yuriy stayed at home with his son, although it was necessary to go to work every day. I also worked, and, in order to better take care of his son, Yuriy agreed to move into my apartment with his son and belongings. On the morning of December 6 the investigators from Kyiv and Odessa arrived with a warrant from the procurator of Ukraine authorizing a search of mine and Yuriy's apartments and belongings. During the search a student notebook was found in the pocket of Yuriy's suit; seven pages of the notebook consisted of Yuriy's writing under the title of "Thinking Aloud". In addition, among Yuriy's belongings was also found a *samvydav* collection of poems of the then repressed Ukrainian poet Mykola Kholodny. Also confiscated were such "criminal" possessions as a few pages torn out of a historical work, published in Poland in 1969 and dedicated to the events in Ukraine during the forties and fifties. Yuriy kept those pages because his father was mentioned in them. After the brutal search on December 6, 1971, I was arrested and later sentenced. Yuriy was "humanely" allowed to stay home that day with his son, the officials probably having

noted that there was no one with whom the young child could be left since, as I have said, Yuriy's wife was then in the hospital with a sick daughter. I repeat that Yuriy was not arrested on the day of the search because it was planned to pressure him again into condemning his father.

In the court proceedings against me there was added material from the search and materials from Yuriy's interrogation of December 1971 and from January to March 1972. This made it possible for me to know what was happening to Yuriy during this time. Then the materials from the previous proceedings in Yuriy's case were separated into yet another case. This meant that a third court proceeding was begun against Yuriy Shukhevych. This was the case of the seven pages of the unfinished notebook manuscript and of a few names from the Ukrainian *samvydav* and from some official Polish texts.

In June 1972 I was interrogated by the KGB prosecutor Karavan within the walls of the Odessa KGB. From his remarks I understood Yuriy to have been moved to Kyiv for investigation. From the prosecutor's remarks I also understood that the KGB was attempting to collect evidence to the effect that Yuriy and I had supposedly discussed what Ukrainians should do after the Czechoslovakian events of 1968. It is very possible that my conversations with Yuriy were spied upon when he and I took walks on the street so that his children could get some fresh air. The turn of the prosecutor's remarks make me believe that Yuriy was pressured not only by threats about his father's name but also by threats against his children and friends. Prosecutor Karavan did not receive the information he expected from me or from Yuriy Shukhevych. The KGB, not expecting to succeed in convincing Yuriy to provide the kind of information it needed, removed him to Nalchyk.

In 1972, after a series of provocative actions against Yuriy and his wife, the supreme court of Kabardyn-Balkaria sentenced him to 9 years of imprisonment and 5 years of exile. Furthermore, Yuriy was eventually incarcerated in the ill-famed Potma in Mordovia. He was held in a deportation prison longer than is usually the case. Then he was sent back and sentenced once again because a piece of cloth was found on his person on which there was some half-legible writing. It is known that the prosecutors judged this text to be anti-Soviet and as further evidence of guilt.

On the basis of this "new" material there was a review of the case and instead of 9 years, which Yuriy had received in 1972, he was given, in 1973, 10 years of imprisonment and 5 years of exile. It is known that Yuriy's lawyer in Nalchyk said that Yuriy Shukhevych received such punishment only because he conducted himself like a hero. It is also known that the head of the court who sentenced Yuriy was later disqualified because of his immoral actions in the past.

It is also known that during his present term of imprisonment, Yuriy has again been taken to Ukraine, as was done during his first and second periods of incarceration.

Yuriy Shukhevych's address:

422950 Chystopol

Tatar ASSR

uch. UZ — 148/st. 4

Address of Yuri's children:

Nalchyk
 Kabardino-Balkarska ASSR
 Sovetskaya 83 kv 13
 Trotsenko Valentyna Mykolaivna
 Children — Roman and Iryna

Yuriy is serving his term under the name of Berezhinsky-Shukhevych. His children were registered under the same name. It is not known whether they have kept this name upon entering school. The son Roman has extraordinary mathematical abilities. The boy was 2 years old when his father was arrested. In a period of 8 years he saw his father only once during a visiting period in 1978 to which the KGB "invited" Yuriy's wife and two children. I know that the meeting with his father, whom Roman had forgotten, made a deep impression on the child.

Yuriy suffers from stomach ulcers. He works and takes part in prisoner protest actions. He has won for himself a special authority and love among the prisoners.

— Nina Stokata, New York,
 On the eve of Yuriy's birthday.

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This enlarged Edition of the History of Ukraine in the English language ought to find its place in libraries and colleges as informative material for the enlightenment of all those interested in the history of Ukrainian people.

NEWS AND DOCUMENTS FROM UKRAINE**FOR THE RIGHT TO BE A UKRAINIAN**

This is the incomplete text of a document from Dnipropetrovsk, Ukr. S.S.R. written by Ivan Hryhorovych Sokolsky who is concerned with the communist Party's attempts to obliterate individuality.

I am not a politician (that is not my vocation) and I have no political program . . . I want only one thing — to realize myself as a person. A human being has to be destined for some other purpose in the world, besides the “one and only correct role” in the social programme, which prior to one's birth, has been assigned to each of us by the party and its bosses. Who has the right to take away from a human being his greatest purpose in life — his personal calling, his spiritualism, even in the name of the highest ideals? Who (it is beyond one's wildest imagination) can forbid me to be myself, to be an individual.

In a society where *everyone is under obligation* to be a spiritless appendage, even of a large goal, where every person is obligated from the time of his birth to adopt unquestioningly atheism (Godlessness) as a necessary prerequisite for further communist education, there is no (nor can there be) place for personality in the full sense of the word.

In a society where everyone, to the end of his days, is obliged to remain a cog in the wheel of the massive bureaucratic machine, a machine whose goal is not to serve mankind, but the reverse, man is a slave to that society's goal. In every instance there is moral desolation and demoralization, a terrifying spiritlessness in all areas while this is all called “healthy conformity”. In a society where being a human with a soul has long been in question — there can be no room for personality and individualism, assuming it could break through the bars of totalitarianism.

A society where all the forces of the political party apparatus are thrown at the individual. A bureaucracy whose sole purpose is the desolation of the individual, permitting an historical triumph, by totally crushing the infrequent shows of individualism (try speaking out against them). This ideological goal is seen as being more important than economic tasks. This social atmosphere can not permit me, as an individual, even the most elementary privilege — that of Being.

The first and most elementary condition for my existence, as a personality *is the right to be Ukrainian* with all its emerging consequences. All of my conscious and subconscious life testifies that this right, the right to a Ukraine, I did not and do not have. When after 25 years, I first started to peer through the bureaucratic thicket of my Russified surroundings, to my actual homeland (in which I felt the roots of my soul, and my individualism) I was automatically saddled with the title of a “Bourgeois Nationalist”. Thrown out of the university, I was later, as one would with a criminal, thrown into a Mordovian prison and then into the

Vladimir prison. Based on my own experience, I came to the conclusion that to be Ukrainian, even a triple Marxist Ukrainian, meant nothing more than prison or psychiatric hospitals.

I have no right to a private (intimate) life— every step I make, breath I take is monitored.

I have no right to keep a diary — it is always confiscated no matter what is written in it.

I have no right to permit my ideas to conflict with official Soviet doctrine. I must profess agreement to the one and only true philosophical system and doctrine — Marxism — otherwise I will be accused of working against the government.

I have no right to write creatively in any form (the question of having my works published has long been a dead issue). Any attempts at writing will be met with a strictly prepared statement filled with insinuation by Soviet authorities, that I am making false remarks about the Soviet way of life and its ideologies.

I have no right to a job based on my qualifications or my needs. One *should* have this in a contry which officially professes job freedom.

I have no right in the Russified city of Dniepropetrovsk to speak in my native Ukrainian language, it is not spoken on the streets nor in any places of business.

I have no right to be a father. How can one call himself a father, if he can not give his child the most basic and rudimentary of things — a homeland. When your child can not go to a Ukrainian kindergarten (there is no such things) and in time to a Ukrainian school (which in our territory is also non-existent) then, of course there can be no thoughts of higher education in Ukrainian.

A citizen of any Soviet Republic has only the right to propagate, and at that, to only produce people to add to the labour force rather than to produce any intellectuals. An anonymous bureaucrat trains, teaches, and looks at a child only as an object for social manipulation, and plans for these children to grow up to become members of the future totalitarian community. There should be nothing else in a person. All the principles of educating these children should be diametrically opposed to any training from their parents. When the attack on a person's spiritualism begins in childhood (in kindergarten), and continues non-stop to his dying day, then it comes as no surprise that one sees a deep moral downfall and primitiveness everywhere. This is especially noticeable in the elementary rights of humans, modelled after the new "constitution to build and expand communism". However, what can one truly expect from a constitution, in which triumphantly ingrained, is an anti-constitutional act — the pronouncement which states that the governing party, choosing itself, would be the governing party in perpetuity.

Consequently, based on this pronouncement, all citizens of the Soviet Union automatically became slaves of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. After all, the power or reign of the Communist Party over its people via the constitution, is insured forever. "Triple Boorishness", would be the

opinion of Ivan Franko about such a constitution.

“Finally! You have arrived”. one would like to say to these slave drivers of the 20 century. Where else is there to go?

“Our goal is communism!” forcible scream in my face, the signs and placards which are everywhere. They have even signed by name to some of them! But then who would bother to ask for the real ideas or thoughts of a slave, even if he had the nerve to have ideas of his own?

That’s how communism is built up. If it eventually conquered all — its triumph would mark an end to all things, and especially to people as spiritual thinking entities. There would be no need to go further.

This glorification of communism and its continual forced growth, I see, not in tall buildings, new machines or in new factories. I see this build up in the most vital area of life, one that is in the forefront — the effect on human beings. Human beings, who become more and more downtrodden by the constant increase of technology and bureaucracy, which are supported by the boundaries of ideological regimentation of orthodox sovietism (which is nothing other than modernized Stalinism). This ideology has so minimized the worth of the individual, that soon we can eliminate individuality in the name of this great goal. It is in this way, that the orthodox communist bureaucrat views the purpose of communism. All problems can be truly resolved once and for all when, without interruption, we can manipulate the masses just as we manipulate the marionettes of a puppet show . . . For the leaders of the communist party this is the ideal method of achieving absolute power.

For me, as an individualist, this type of society is like a knife pointing at the throat. To tell the truth, I cringe at this glorification of your Communism. I view it as a glorification of barbarism, a spiritless primitivism, an apocalyptic end. For me the communism we are currently offered and an apocalypse are one and the same.

One can remain silent on issues that do not apply to oneself, but when it comes to basics and fundamentals, to undermining our spirit, to be or not to be an individual — then silence on our part is betrayal to ourselves and cowardice on the field of battle!

There can be no further withdrawal! Further — I go alone!

Backing away from my rights as a citizen, I stop being myself and the only thing left to do is go backward, to become once again, the degraded cog in the wheel and to give up my one valuable — individualism. For regressing, I probably would be rewarded in some way (at least I would not be imprisoned). However, if in return for not being imprisoned, I must pay with my dignity and honour, by being a traitor to myself and to Ukraine, then I refuse this reward.

A part makes up a whole. Into individualism fit spiritualism, nationalism, and then all humanity. Therefore, in defence of my human rights, guaranteed by the Declaration of Human Rights (which was ratified even by the Soviet government), I knowingly, within the limits of my ability, would help my twice enslaved homeland because, a human being in addition to all other

things, is a social being. The gains of one become the gains of everyone, just as the degradation and demoralization of the self is reflected in the degradation of the community.

Due to this, I, as a citizen have no right to remain silent. I must speak in a loud voice, for all to hear, of the deep moral decay and spiritual repression which is currently enveloping my people.

Look Around! There is no place else to withdraw!

THE MASS MEDIA ABOUT THE OUN AND ABN ACTION IN MADRID

Pueblo (10. 11. 1980)

“(In Ukraine) there is neither individual nor national liberty. Religion is persecuted. The country is covered with a thick network of prisons and concentration camps . . . The country is subjugated to a relentless campaign of russification . . .

“The rulers of the Kremlin and their viceroys in Soviet Ukraine do not thing even remotely about fulfilling the Helsinki Accords. They propose disarmament, they propose dates and places for two new Conferences — one in Warsaw and the other in Bucharest — but do not wish to discuss the subject of human rights, which to them seem trivial and without any transcendence. For this reason several dozen Ukrainians have come to Madrid from Canada, the United States and England with the purpose of giving live testimony of what is happening in their homeland. The former Prime Minister of Ukraine and a former prisoner of the Germans, has also arrived [in Madrid] . . .”

19. 11. 1980

“On the occasion of the Madrid Conference, the Anti-bolshevik Bloc of Nations has made public a Memorandum in which the republics integrated into the Soviet Union are described as subjugated nations. They [ABN] demand that the Western nation defend the national rights of nations and press for the independence of Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Georgia, Armenia, and other republics of the USSR. The said organization urges to ‘support the armed struggle of the nations subjugated in the USSR for their self-determination, freedom and national independence’. Also, they ask that the provisions relevant to the ‘recognition of the status quo of the Russian conquests, the inviolability of the boundaries of the Russian-bolshevik empire, and the commitment of the free world to non-interference in the ‘internal affairs’ of the said empire be declared null and void’ ”.

“Yesterday, the Anti-bolshevik Bloc of Nations addressed a Memorandum to the Western nations represented at the CSCE in which it asks that those provisions which recognize the current borders of the Soviet Union be

annulled. In a long list of nations 'subjugated within [and outside] the Soviet Union' the said Bloc includes the following: Ukraine, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Georgia, Armenia, Turkestan, Byelorussia, [the region of] North Caucasus, Croatia, Czechia, Slovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and East Germany".

La vanguardia (11. 11. 1980)

"The most spectacular event of the protests held today was caused by Maris Kirsons of Latvian origin. He appeared before the Palace of Congresses and, in protest of the situation in his country oppressed by the USSR, cut two small veins in both of his arms and for about two minutes has been spilling blood on a Soviet flag he had paced on the ground . . .

"Finally, it should be added that about fifty Ukrainians, Latvians, Bulgarians, Rumanians [and others — ed.] have demonstrated at noon today through the streets near the Palace of Congresses and Exhibitions where the CSCE is being held.

"The demonstrators carried their national flags, and also placards with such inscriptions as "Long live Free Ukraine", "Down with Soviet tyranny",

"Independence for Slovakia", "Free Rudenko", and other similar phrases. They also carried photographs of the Polish union leader Valessa. According to the pamphlets that were distributed, the demonstrators ask for freedom for the countries under Soviet domination and freedom for the individual. Several of the participants have announced that in the next few hours they will begin a hunger strike to protest the situation in their countries".

11. 11. 1980 (Report on the ABN press conference)

"A press conference called by the ABN (Anti-bolshevik Bloc of Nations) took place yesterday in a Madrid hotel. The ABN is an organization which, since its foundation at the height of World War II, coordinates the resistance struggle of the nations occupied today by the USSR inside and outside of the boundaries of the Soviet State.

"This press conference, and the facilities which this organization has been enjoying in Spain, have been possible due to the support of the Alianza Popular.

"The press conference was presided by renown representatives of Ukraine, Bulgaria, Slovakia and Rumania. At the same time that a call for solidarity with the nations invaded and occupied by the Soviet armies was issued, it was announced in a press release that today at noon, in the square of Sagrados Corazones, a demonstration would take place followed by a hunger strike in which a group of Ukrainian patriots will participate.

"It was stressed at the said press conference that within the boundaries of the USSR alone, out of a total of 250 million of inhabitants 140 million are deprived of their national rights to sovereignty and independence.

“In answer to a question from a media person, an ABN spokesman stressed that although the absence of representatives of Russian groups of resistance is regrettable, Russian imperialism is the main enemy that must be vanquished. That is to say, the ABN promotes the withdrawal of the USSR to its natural, exclusively Russian borders.

“Finally, upon mentioning the coincidence of the [ABN — ed.] action with the official opening of the Madrid Conference, one of the assistants [of the organizers of the press conference — ed.] of Polish nationality pointed out that nothing positive can be expected from any treaty with the USSR, because — according to him — the Soviets systematically violate and breach those pacts from which no advantage can be derived for the Moscow Government.

“The ABN is composed of dissidents [i.e. representatives — ed.] of the Bulgaria, North Caucasus, Croatia, Czechia, Slovakia, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Idel-Ural, Latvia, Poland, Rumania, Serbia, Siberia, Slovenia, Turkestan, and Ukraine”.

El Diario (12. 11. 1980)

“Dissidents of all the nationalities that form the USSR and Warsaw Pact met yesterday in Madrid to take part in protest acts of all types, while many others like the Anti-bolshevik Bloc of Nations demanded that the West end détente between East and West.

“To counter the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, some forty Ukrainians, Latvians, Bugliarians, Slovenians and Rumanians demonstrated yesterday through the streets near the site of the Conference and demanded ‘independence for the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism’.

“Simultaneously with this demonstration a Latvian Pastor, Maris Kirsons, who lives in the American City of Philadelphia, cut his veins over a Soviet flag in protest against the russification of his homeland . . .

“The protest actions will continue today in the area of the Palace of Congresses and Exhibitions with a hunger strike by Ukrainians at the Square of Sagrados Corazones.

“Members of the Anti-bolshevik Bloc of Nations asked yesterday at a press conference held in Madrid that the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe proclaim a ‘Carta Magna of independence for the nations subjugated within the USSR and for its satellites’.

“The press conference, which was organized with the assistance of the Alianza Popular, was presided by the last Prime Minister of the free Ukrainian Government and President of the ABN, Yaroslav Stetsko. The press conference was attended by dissidents [representatives — ed.] of Ukraine, Bulgaria, Slovenia and Rumania, and also members of the Polish Government in exile.

“The representatives of ABN stated that the Helsinki Accords of 1975 ‘have not only failed to improve the situation of the oppressed nations, but have made it worse’. According to what they said, the non-communist

countries that have signed the Helsinki Accords 'have dealt a hard blow to the national liberation struggle of the peoples and nations enslaved by Russian imperialism and communism by adhering to the 'status quo' of the Russian territorial conquests'.

"They asked the non-communist countries to declare the Helsinki Accords void and to compel Russia to withdraw its occupational forced [from the oppressed nations — ed.], stop the mass deportations to Siberia, abolish the concentration camps and psycho-prisons, free all political and religious prisoners, and to put an end to the assassinations and persecutions of dissidents.

"Mr. Stetsko pointed out that the concept of the balance of power is already history. "The essential difference between the forces of the West and those of Russia — he said — is that the former strive for peace, and the latter for world conquest. It is impossible to speak about a balance of military power, because, in its technical aspect, Russian might is superior. For this reason, the policy of détente cannot last".

"He added that 'the alternative is a perfect coordination [of the struggle — ed.] of all the subjugated countries, which represent more than half of the population in the USSR.

"The ABN is composed of dissidents [representatives — ed.] of the following countries and regions: Armenia, Azerbaidzhan, (the Baltic States), Byelorussia, North Caucasus, Croatia, Czechia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Turkestan, and Ukraine [and others]"

El Alcazar (12. 11. 1980)

"Yesterday, on a street near the Palace of Congresses, a group of people said something that the Soviet Union stubbornly refuses to listen in the spacious halls of the Madrid Conference. Ukrainians, Estonians, Lithuanians, dissidents, exiles, and refugees . . . men and women who managed to escape the varied but implacable forms of Soviet Bloc terror took to the streets their placards, banners and flags, and their national symbols.

"The following were their demands: 'Long live Free Ukraine', 'Down with Soviet Tyranny', 'End Soviet subjugation of Bulgaria', 'Freedom for Slovakia', 'Free Ukrainian political prisoners' . . . A Latvian who resides in Philadelphia, after stepping on a flag of the USSR, cut his veins in protest for the Soviet occupation of his country. The police arrested eight people . . .

"Nevertheless, the fact that the USSR was not prepared to tolerate that its continuous outrages against human rights be subjected to a verdict of world public opinion at the Madrid Conference was constantly gaining in strength . . .

"While the clock remained quiet, static, on the brink of midnight, down on the street a group of people — people who had experienced on their own flesh Soviet domination — tried to say to the Madrid Conference and the 35 nations represented there what Moscow has refused to hear . . .

"The USSR has again turned a deaf ear. Will the rest of the world be an accomplice to its silence?"

Ya (12. 11. 1980)

“About fifty dissidents from Eastern countries have threatened with a hunger strike in front of the Palace of Congresses. The Soviet Union has failed to observe the commitments of the Helsinki Final Act signed by Brezhnev in his own handwriting. It is legitimate that the Madrid Conference ought to deal with the lack of freedom within the Soviet Union, and the danger to European and world security the invasion of Afghanistan has entailed”.

“A many-sided protest, and yet, uniform in its composition and objective denounce the USSR as a dictatorial regime set against the ideologies and nations which yearn for freedom. Ukrainians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Afghans demand to be free”. (From a photo caption depicting an ABN demonstration).

El Pais (12. 11. 1980)

“Shortly before 10 a.m. a 39 year old lutheran pastor, married, born in Latvia and residing in Philadelphia (US), positioned himself in front of the building where the Conference is taking place and, stepping on a Soviet flag, he introduced some hypodermic needles into his forearms in order to spill his blood in protest for the oppression that his country of origin suffers under the domination of the Soviet Union. The pastor was taken away by elements of the national police who took him to a hospital where he was treated and afterwards released . . .

“A group of some forty persons who belong to the Anti-bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) demonstrated from the Square of Sagrados Corazones to the Palace where the Conference on Security is taking place. Under the catchphrase of ‘Freedom for all nations, freedom for the individual’ the participants carried placards demanding freedom for Ukraine and the various East European countries. While demonstrating around the square, they also distributed leaflets demanding ‘liberation of the subjugated nations as the only political alternative to a nuclear war’.

“Another group of people of Latvian origin belonging to the World Federation of Free Latvians burned a Soviet flag in order to denounce Soviet violations of the provisions of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference in Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania. The demonstrators wanted to publicize the violation of human rights in their countries of origin and the non-recognition of the principle of self-determination for its inhabitants. A large sign alluding to this theme was put up on the second floor level of the main façade of the Real Madrid Stadium. Members of the national police took the sign down a while later.

“Several of the participants in the demonstrations who were born in East European countries declared their decision to stage a hunger strike for the same reasons”.

Le Devoir (12. 11. 1980) Montreal, Canada

“On their part, the World Federation of Free Latvians denounced the constant violation of human rights in Latvia — ‘colonized, exploited and pillaged by the Russians’. It demands the rights to self-determination for the Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian people.

“The Anti-bolshevik Bloc of Nations headed by the last Prime Minister of the free Ukrainian Government [June 30, 1941], Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, with the participation of Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Slovak, Armenian dissidents [representatives — ed.], and members of the Polish Government in exile, demanded from the delegates to the CSCE to declare their support for the independence of ‘the nations under the yoke of the USSR and [the independence] of its satellites”.

“According to Mr. Stetsko, the concept of the balance of power belongs to history now, because while the Western countries strive for peace, the USSR strive for world domination”.

The Times (12. 11. 1980) London, Great Britain

“While diplomats wrangled inside Madrid’s Palace of Congresses about the agenda for the European Security Conference today, a man lay in a pool of blood on the pavement outside.

“He was Mr. Maris Kirsons, a Latvian exile who chose the dramatic and dangerous expedient of slashing his wrists in order to call attention to his people’s demand for freedom. He was taken to hospital, where he was later reported to be out of danger . . .

“About 70 Latvians marched through the centre of Madrid at midday, calling for independence for their small Baltic country which has been a part of the Soviet Union since 1940. They set fire to the red hammer and sickle flag, sang songs in their own language and dispersed peacefully . . .

“In the afternoon, about a dozen Ukrainians began a two-day fast to call attention to their demand for Ukrainian independence . . .

“A spokesman for the Ukrainian nationalists said: ‘Human rights guarantees signed in Helsinki have meant little more than a cruel farce for defenders of national and human rights in the countries occupied by the Russians’”.

KANDYBA DECLARATION

(Part 2)

However, establishing a surveillance over a person based only upon the fact that said person has individual views and beliefs and directing "necessary instructional influence upon them", constitutes nothing less than forcing said person to renounce his or her views and beliefs, which are "uncomfortable" to the authorities. This proves grave violation and complete contradiction of such international judicial documents guaranteeing human rights as the above mentioned U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Pact covering the socio-political rights, and the Helsinki Accords.

This is also evident from Article 2 of said Statute, which talks about the individuals upon whom such administrative surveillance should be established, namely persons.

"... sentenced to imprisonment for serious crimes or imprisoned more than for whatever intentional crimes, if their conduct in their places of internment evidences their stubborn unwillingness to reform and rejoin the ranks of honest, hardworking society".

It is absolutely proper to demand reformation or to take appropriate steps to accomplish such aim in connection with violators of social order or persons who have proven to be inclined toward serious crimes.

However, as far as I am concerned, the militia formally, and KGB actually, having established administrative surveillance over me, considered my "... unwillingness to reform..." as nothing more than my refusal to change my ideological and political views and beliefs, which did not parrot the official ideology and politics of the U.S.S.R. In order to force me to change them, with the aid of administrative surveillance, they were directing upon me their reforming "instructional influence", which in practice consisted of deprivation of such or other rights, persecution, discrimination, blackmail, humiliation of my human dignity, etc.

The above again proves the complete disregard and violation of the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Pact covering the socio-political rights, and the Helsinki Accords. Therefore, the establishment of administrative surveillance over me is unlawful.

The establishment of administrative surveillance deprives one of various rights. In my case, said deprivation consisted of the following:

- 1) I was forbidden to travel outside of the boundaries of the village of Pustomyty. In practice, this meant that I was forbidden to visit my seventy-five year old ill father, who lived only 20 kilometer (approximately 15 miles) away, as well as any of my family and friends. In fact, I was deprived of the right to visit all cultural, artistic or theatrical establishments located in Lviv, none existing in Pustomyty, as well as the right to enjoy nature (forests, mountains, rivers), or the right to obtain health-resort medical treatment, etc.;

2) I was forbidden to leave my residence from 9:00 p.m. to 7:00 a.m., namely being under house arrest for ten out of every twenty-four hours;

3) I was forbidden to visit any establishments serving hard liquor. As a matter of fact, I use liquor very seldom and in minimal quantities, which fact was known to my "protectors" and "teachers" from the militia and the KGB;

4) Each Wednesday at 6:00 p.m., I was obligated to register at the militia in person. I consider that the aim of such obligation was nothing less than mockery and humiliation of my human dignity.

The militia has broad powers in connection with the establishment of administrative surveillance, which it can use for "instructional influence" on the one being the subject of the surveillance. Article 12 of the Statute states:

"Ovicer of the militia should systematically oversee the conduct of the persons under administrative surveillance, using all necessary means for their inclusion into socially usefyl workforce, to distract and divert them from violating the social order and rules of the socialist community life".

During the performance of their duties of administrative surveillance, militia officers have the right to:

a) obtain information about the conduct of the person under surveillance from administrative enterprises, institutions, social organizations, said person's employer, as well as from the friends and acquaintances of said person;

b) summon the person under surveillance for militia interrogations, said interrogations necessarily taking place in the presence of representatives of administrative enterprises, institutions, social organizations, said person's employer, as well as said person's friends and family;

c) demand from the person under surveillance verbal and written explanatory statements in connection with fulfillment of the rules of administrative surveillance;

d) visit at any time the residence of the person under surveillance.

Once again, the above quoted proves that the "instructional influence" by the militia is to be directed only against criminals and those persons inclined toward anti-social conduct, and not against heterodox or dissidents.

Considering the establishment of administrative surveillance over me unlawful and groundless, I appealed to Pustomyty Regional Prosecutor for revocation of the same. Below is the Prosecutor's answer:

"Pustomyty Regional Prosecutor, Lviv Oblast.
292080 village of Pustomyty, 112 Shevchenko Street,
October 8, 1976, No. 969:

Citizen Kandyba, Ivan Oleksiyovych, village of
Pustomyty, 176 Shevchenko Street.

The Office of Pustomyty Regional Prosecutor reviewed your appeal with reference to revocation of the administrative surveillance over you. The review of your individual case did not reveal any bases for revocation of said administrative surveillance.

The Office of Pustomyty Regional Prosecutor
signature — O. F. Bedzyk”.

This is the way my appeal for revocation of the unlawful administrative surveillance over me was “reviewed” — with few empty phrases. No judicial citations were quoted as the basis of “lawfulness” of the established administrative surveillance over me. These are the actions of authorities when they realize their illegality, which is absolutely necessary for power to conquer law.

I did not appeal to higher authorities, realizing the answers I would receive. There was no way out, nobody to appeal to, and so I reconciled myself with my fate of life in “freedom” under so-called public surveillance. Then, as now, my life was not easy and not without adventures in connection with the conduct of “instructional influence” upon me by the militia aid the KGB.

Here are some of the main points of this kind of life :

Above I have already briefly stated my hardships in obtaining a residence visa and quarters. Obtaining work was not any easier. On the date of establishment over me of administrative surveillance, April 1, 1976, I was placed under obligation to find work as soon as possible, said written obligation I was forced to sign. Due to these circumstances, I applied to various judicial organs for a position in my profession. My application was refused, regardless of the provisions of the Labour Code, Article 116, which states :

“Persons, released from punitive institutions, should be provided with employment, if possible, in accordance with their professions . . .”

I was forced to apply at each and every one of the enterprises and organizations of Pustomyty, being refused every time. It seems, the KGB was not tardy in influencing any possible employers. Wherever I went, I was rejected; however, on the other hand, the militia periodically interrogated me in connection with my not obtaining employment, supplying me with a time period in which I was to obtain employment and threatening me. This lasted for a month and a half before finally I was employed as an apprentice to a locksmith-repairman of intricate technology, and three months thereafter, became a locksmith-repairman, with a monthly salary of only 70 rubles.

Formally, in the U.S.S.R. there is no prohibition against anybody being employed in his or her profession, but as a matter of fact, I am being persecuted with such prohibition against dissidents for the last three years.

Here are some facts of the “instructional influence” wielded over me by the militia.

In addition to the above mentioned "instructional influence" of the militia in connection with my obtaining employment, periodically I am visited by the militia in my living quarters. Usually, I am visited by two militiamen or one militiaman with one or two helpers. On November 29, 1977, the militiaman was accompanied by a recently released criminal prisoner, who served as one of the militia helpers. As can be seen, even a criminal has a right to "instructionally influence" me. Militia "instructional influence" in my case manifested itself in the following forms.

On May 24, 1976, I decided to stealthily travel to Lviv to visit my ill father. It seemed to me that I did everything necessary to leave Pustomyty unobserved. However, I was mistaken. After thirty minutes following my leaving of Pustomyty, members of the Pustomyty Detective Serving caught up to the bus I was on, stopped it, and ordered me to transfer to their automobile, which returned me to Pustomyty. At the Militia Headquarters, a charge sheet was prepared in connection with my violation of surveillance regime, I was ordered to write a report about my reasons for wishing to visit Lviv, and after a thorough search and confiscation of my notebook, released.

In addition, records of my "violation" of surveillance regime were transmitted to the court and after a few days, Peoples Judge Levchenko fined me in the sum of 10 rubles.

On June 19, 1976, I was stopped on the street and my wallet searched by the Chief of the Detective Service of Pustomyty Militia First Lieutenant Machurad, Bohdan Petrowych.

On July 29, 1976, I was visited by Member-Correspondent of Armenian Academy of Science Yuriy Orlov with his wife Irena. They were leaving Pustomyty that evening, and I walked them to the main road which runs near my home, about 60 or 70 meters away. When I was returning and was approximately half-way back home, the above mentioned First Lieutenant Machurad caught up to me and said: "Kandyba, why are you strolling through Postomyty at night and violating the surveillance regime?" At that time, it was about 9:30 p.m. (I was allowed to remain outdoors only until 9:00 p.m.). He ordered me to accompany him to his outomobile, which was parked on the main road, in the exact place where I bid farewell to my friends. I was told to get into the automobile. My guests, Yuriy Orlov and his wife did not have a chance to depart far and heard every word. They returned and informed First Lieutenant Machurad that, if he was taking me away, he should also take them. It seems, that was exactly what he wanted, because he agreed immediately to their proposition. We were taken to the Militia Headquarters. There, firstly, a charge was prepared in connection with my violation of surveillance regime. Thereafter, all three of us were searched thoroughly, confiscating everything that was handwritten and copying same, including my notations appearing on photographs — my gift to Yuriy Orlov and his wife Irena. In addition, all three

of us separately were required to write a report of explanation. We were allowed to leave about 1:00 a.m. the next day.

This is another example of how thoroughly I am watched and all those who visit me.

As in the prior instance of my "violation" (my attempt to visit my father in Lviv), records of this new "violation" on my part of militia surveillance regime were transmitted to the court, based upon which Peoples Judge Bokova fined me 25 rubles.

The six month period of administrative surveillance over me was to end on October 1, 1976, but on the eve of its completion, namely on September 30, 1976, the militia extended said administrative surveillance for another six months on the basis that I twice "violated" the surveillance regime (my attempt to visit my father in Lviv on May 24th and the time that I was walking my friends Yuriy and Irene Orlov on July 24, 1976), and, therefore, did not "take the road toward improvement", as was written in the Militia Decree of September 30, 1976, in connection with the extension of administrative surveillance over me.

I had to reconcile myself to living under administrative surveillance for another six months and suffering militia and KGB attempts at "instructional influence".

For example, on October 24, 1976, I was having dinner at a restaurant in Pustomyty with one of my friends from Lviv and having been seen by the above mentioned First Lieutenant Machurad. The same day, I was interrogated at the Militia Headquarters as to why did I dine in a restaurant, with whom, and at whose expense.

Just one more example of how the "instructional influence" over me looked in practice, performed by officials of the Detective Service of Pustomyty Militia, headed by the above mentioned First Lieutenant Machurad, under whose "protection" I found myself during my first year of being under administrative surveillance.

Simultaneously, it should be made clear that the militia is only formally surveilling me, in practice, it applied to me the cruelest forms of persecution and harassment pursuant to KGB orders, which had the "behind the scenes" responsibility for my "instructional influence".

Such "instructional influence" by the KGB is not only practiced through the militia, but also directly by the KGB, however quietly and secretly. In this way, the KGB directs the question of my employment, giving specific orders to managers of enterprises and organizations as to whether I should be hired or not and in what capacity should I be employed. Here are some examples of the KGB interference, in the person of its Chief, Captain Polishchuk, in connection with this matter.

The circumstances of my employment in the shop where I worked as a locksmith became unbearable, and I decided to seek employment elsewhere. After a while, I found employment in one of Pustomyty enterprises and, upon making arrangements with the manager in connection with the start of my employment, I took a leave of absence from the locksmith shop on

October 8, 1976. The KGB Chief found out about this and the manager of the enterprise who hired me, suddenly changed his mind and refused me employment. In connection therewith, I found myself in a most unpleasant position. Wherever I applied, I was refused employment. At the end of October, I considered myself lucky to find employment in a construction organization, and on November 1, I started work. However, this did not last long, since the very next day, the manager stated that, due to various sets of circumstances, he had to terminate my employment as of that day. The loss of this employment was due entirely to the direct interference of the Chief of KGB. Not having any other alternative, I was forced to return to my former employment at the locksmith shop.

In both places where I was hired, I was assigned to work as an unskilled labourer. Then why the interference by the Chief of KGB? One day, he revealed the reason to an acquaintance of mine, namely that "... I desire that Kandyba work where I can see him every day through the window of my office". The locksmith shop where I worked was located across from the window of his office and the other enterprises somewhat removed.

Agents of the KGB shadow me in my place of employment, outside my residence and trail me whenever I go out, in addition to trailing all those who visit me, whomever I meet or talk to, even those whom I only greet on the street. The KGB does everything to isolate me from other citizens of Pustomyty, with the aim of limiting its surveillance over persons of my acquaintance. More than once I heard, "Do not approach Kandyba and do not talk to him, or you will be called in by the KGB". This proves that most likely more than one of my acquaintances was called in by the KGB for interrogation because of me.

Yet another instance. One day on the street I met my neighbour Mychajlo Medvid and talked to him for a short while. This was enough for Mychajlo Medvid to be called in by the KGB and interrogated as to the reason he talked to me and what we talked about. The KGB Chief himself told me about this event.

In my view, an explanation might be in order as to who M. Medvid is. He is a seventy year old man, pensioner, suffering from a severe case of asthma. Regardless, he still works very hard. During the entire cold-weather season of 1977-1978, namely during seven months, he worked as a stoker at the boiler-house "Silhosptechnic", where he serviced four large boilers. In accordance with the current labour laws, he should not be working more than thirty-six hours per week, but was forced to work each and every week eighty-four hours, because in said boiler-house instead of four necessary stokers there were working only two. Due to harsh labour conditions, not many are willing to work there. Therefore, this sick old man is forced to work full twenty-four hour shifts, which can only be considered as nothing less than cruelty — and, in addition, being interrogated by the KGB.

The KGB Chief often called in my co-workers with whom I conversed, inquiring what we talk about, who visits me, and about my general disposition, etc.

The KGB, with the cooperation of local authorities and postal employees of Pustomyty holds-up and censors my correspondence. As a result of such unlawful interference, some of the letters get lost. For example, my letter dated December 10, 1977 to political exile Vasyl Stus got lost, as well as my letter to former political prisoner Kuzma Matviuk, and many others. In addition, the KGB monitors my telephone conversations, censors my telegrams, parcels, etc. These things are done regardless of the fact that they violate the Constitution of the Soviet Union and are considered crimes.

Article 56 of the Constitution of the Soviet Union states:

“Personal life of the citizens, privacy of correspondence, telephone conversations and telegrams is protected by law”.

How is this privacy protected by law? How is violated of such privacy punishable? Article 131 of the Criminal Code of Ukrainian S.S.R. states:

“Violation of privacy of correspondence committed by a public official — is punishable my punitive fine in the sum of 30 rubles, or by a public reprimand”.

As can be seen, the punishment is such that it cannot provoke much hesitation in committing said crime. In my instance, nobody is going to accuse postal employees of such a crime, if it was committed pursuant to KGB demands. The KGB, as is well known, is all powerful, it is allowed to do anything.

Here are some more facts with reference to the “instructional influence” over me by my KGB “protector-teachers”.

On April 1, 1977, my one year term under administrative surveillance ended. Since it was not extended, I obtained permission to leave Pustomyty to live and work in another place. I moved to Lviv and commuted to my place of employment in Pustomyty. From the beginning of March, 1977, I worked as a stoker in a public steam bath-house with a monthly salary of 60 roubles.

On June 7, 1977, I took a leave of absence from work to rest after my fifteen years of imprisonment and one year of surveillance, as well as visit some friends and family, and find another job and home in Lviv.

Regardless of the fact that the administrative surveillance over me had ended, the KGB did not leave me alone and continued to keep tabs on me. Its agents followed me wherever I went. I was even followed by the KGB when, on June 26, 1977, I was going by train from Lviv to Donetsk, to appear as a subpoenaed witness at the trial of Mykola Rudenko and Oleksa Tykhyi, in Druzhkivka, Donetsk Oblast.

The KGB periodically changed its agents, therefore, it was not easy to recognize them immediately. My rest and tour of Ukraine I finished with a visit to Moscow, returning to Lviv on September 21, 1977. Immediately upon my return, I started looking for employment. I walked around until quite late and did not notice any KGB agents following me. However, on the afternoon of September 22, 1977, I was looking for an establishment where I was to apply for employment, but did not know the street where it was located. Some fourth and fifth grade girl students appeared and I

asked them for directions. When I was about two hundred meters away from them, one of the girls rushed faster me and excitedly told me, "Mister, you are being followed". There were two KGB agents following me. With gratitude, I was pleasantly moved by the honesty and courage of the girl student.

I did not retain even this relative freedom for long. The next day, namely September 23, 1977, having been relatively free for less than six months, I was again placed under administrative surveillance.

From the early morning hours of September 23, 1977, Chief of Pustomyty KGB, Captain Polishchuk searched for me throughout Lviv. When around noon he finally found me, he told me to accompany him and took me by car to the Prosecutor's Office of Lviv Oblast to see Assistant Prosecutor of Lviv Oblast Rudenko. Shortly, we were joined by the Chief of Administrative Command of the Lviv KGB, General Poluden.

The conversation started with complaints about my actions, namely that I led an improper sort of life, did not work, travelled all over — to Kyiv, to Chernihiv, to Rivne, to Kharkiv to visit Ihor Krawciv (a former political prisoner), to Moscow, and even to Tarus to visit Nina Strokata-Karavanska (also a former political prisoner). Then I was informed about the conclusions of two researchers — professors of Donetsk University, about the ideological-political trend of the Declaration of Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group. These concluded the Declaration was a hostile, anti-Soviet document. Then I was threatened that, if I alone or with somebody else ever wrote a similar document, I would be held criminally liable. Then General Poluden left the room.

Continuing the conversation, Assistant Prosecutor Rudenko suggested that I renounce my views and belief and condemn them publicly through the press and television. If I agreed, I would be allowed to remain in Lviv and work in my profession, although not as an attorney, but as a legal advisor in a commercial enterprise. However, if I refused, then I would stay in Pustomyty and the only employment available to me would be as an unskilled labourer . . .

It would be useful at this point to quote a few words from my conversation with Assistant to Chief of Lviv Oblast KGB, Colonel Andrienko and his associate Colonel Davydow, which took place in Pustomyty on March 29, 1977, namely two days before the completion of the one year administrative surveillance over me. During the conversation, Colonel Davydow intimated that, in his opinion, the administrative surveillance over me would not be continued and in a few days I would be free to live and work in Lviv. He even suggested that I apply to the First Secretary of the Lviv Communist Party Dobryk, asking for a residence visa to remain in Lviv and employment in my profession. Such treatment was certainly surprising and I became most suspicious. First I was sent to Pustomyty and administrative surveillance was established over me immediately after my release from imprisonment for no violation on my part. And now, this treatment, after I became a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and co-author of its

Declaration as well as other memoranda, similar actions causing the arrest and current trial of Mykola Rudenko and Oleksa Tykhyy. I was not that naive and did not believe Colonel Davydow, of which I advised Colonel Andrienko. In addition, I informed him that I would not make any concessions or compromises as regards my views and beliefs. He answered that they did not need anything from me.

Therefore, if Colonel Andrienko told the truth that the administrative surveillance over me would not be extended, then his statement that they did not need anything from me for allowing me to live and work in Lviv was false. As can be seen clearly, they wanted a lot from me for this "privilege", which, of course, I rejected.

Upon hearing my negative reply, Assistant Prosecutor Rudenko instantly changed the tone of his comments, called me an anti-Soviet person, a degenerate and enemy No. (I did not have a chance to ascertain of which section of the Soviet Union I was an enemy No. One — the whole Ukraine, Western Ukraine or only Lviv Oblast), and told the Chief of Pustomyty KGB to order my father and brother to appear on September 26, 1977 before him to be told what kind of degenerate they have as a son and brother.

On the day ordered, my father and brother appeared at the Prosecutor's Office. There they were told what kind of a person I was, they were reproached for helping me financially, and were asked to influence me so that I would renounce my demands for an Independent Ukraine and reject my nationalistic, anti-Soviet beliefs, or I would again wind up in prison. It should be noted here that my father and brother were never told what happened to me and they did not know where I was during the next four days.

The Assistant Prosecutor presented me with a previously prepared Ordinance, dated September 23, 1977, re-establishing administrative surveillance over me for the next six months. This ended our conversation and Assistance Prosecutor Rudenko ordered my immediate removal to Postumyty for commencement of the administrative surveillance over me (in fact, I was placed under house arrest without being allowed to return to my residence in Lviv to pack my necessities, towels, soap, etc.).

The first ten days of my stay in Pustomyty I had to spend in a hotel, since my old quarters were not available anymore and new ones hard to find. As during my first stay in Pustomyty, it was very hard for me to find employment. After about a month, with great difficulty, I was employed as a stoker in a Pustomyty boiler-house, earning 70 roubles monthly. The rent for my quarters was 30 roubles per month. In this way I started my second term of defacto exile under administrative surveillance and under practical house arrest.

Pustomyty militia, under its Ordinance of September 23, 1977 stated the following motives for its extension of administrative surveillance over me:

1. Continuously refused to work;
2. Did not live where he was directed to;

3. Travelled through regions and cities of the Soviet Union.

The limitations upon my person were the same as during the previous circumstances, with the exception that, instead of my being allowed to walk around the village from 8:00 a.m. to 9:00 p.m., namely for fourteen hours, this time such allowance was reduced by one hour requiring me to stop going out by 8:00 p.m. In this manner, the actual period of my house arrest was increased from ten hours in 1976 to eleven hours in 1977.

Therefore, by this continual surveillance, and in fact, coercion, all international legal agreements in connection with human rights, such as the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Pact covering the socio-political rights, and the Helsinki Accords were gravely violated.

Above I have already mentioned the illegality and groundlessness of administrative surveillance over persons for their ideological and political views and beliefs, the regulations of July 26, 1966 covering administrative surveillance applying only to criminals and other anti-social elements.

The establishment over me of administrative surveillance, pursuant to the Militia Ordinance of September 23, 1977, was absolutely illegal and groundless.

In accordance with Article 6 of the "Statute encompassing administrative surveillance", the basis for the establishment of such surveillance is:

"Evidence from the militia which proves that the person, released from imprisonment, is conducting himself or herself in an anti-social manner".

Even the above did not completely cover everything.

Article 5, No. 6 of the Resolution of the Plenum of the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union, dated July 5, 1974, "Covering the practice of application by courts of law regarding the responsibility for violation of rules of administrative surveillance", states:

"The establishment of administrative surveillance by the militia, in the case of violation of social order and the rules of the socialist manner of life may be considered as having sufficient grounds only in the presence of written warning of the possibility of establishment of administrative surveillance over an individual, in the event that said individual, after having received such warning, continues to conduct himself or herself in an anti-social manner".

Therefore, in order that the militia have grounds for establishing administrative surveillance over a person, it is necessary that said person not only conducted himself or herself in an anti-social manner, but, after having been warned in writing that he or she does in fact conduct himself or herself in an anti-social manner, neglects such warning and continues to conduct himself or herself in an anti-social manner.

Why is the establishment over me of administrative surveillance, pursuant to the Militia Ordinance of September 23, 1977, groundless and illegal?

Firstly, the "motives" stated by the militia in its Ordinance, namely that it considers my conduct as anti-social, are such that it contain no grounds whatsoever to be considered anti-social. Secondly, even if it could be

considered for a moment, purely hypothetically, that I did conduct myself in an anti-social manner, then the militia still did not have any ground for establishing administrative surveillance over me, since during the entire period of my so-called anti-social conduct, no written, or even verbal, warning was presented to me in accordance with Article 5, No. 6 of the Resolution of the Plenum of the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union, dated July 5, 1974.

The statements of the militia that I "continuously refused to work" do not reflect the truth.

During the period of time that I did not work, namely between June 7 and September 23, 1977, I was never once ordered to appear at the militia or questioned why I did not work. Then on what grounds is the statement based that I "continuously refused to work"?

To the contrary, during the above mentioned period, I, on my own initiative, was attempting to find employment through my former colleagues (Lviv jurists), who, if necessary, could have corroborated this, by directly applying to Lviv organizations and enterprises, and by frequently applying at Lviv employment service, which could be corroborated by it referring me, by Referral No. 3548, dated September 12, 1977, which I still have in my possession, for employment as a legal consultant to Lviv Iron-Concrete Works. It is another matter that I was not hired.

However, there remains conclusive proof that I did not refuse to work, was attempting to find employment through my own initiative, because I was certainly more interested in it than were my "teachers-protectors".

The militia's statement that I "did not live where I was directed to", even if reflecting the truth, does not automatically mean that I conducted myself in an anti-social manner. To reside any place without a residence visa is a violation of passport rules, in accordance with Article 196 of the Criminal Code of Ukrainian S.S.R., and is punishable by imprisonment of up to two years or a fine of up to 50 roubles. The militia certainly knows very well the difference between anti-social conduct and violation of passport rules. Therefore, it should have charged me with violating passport rules, not with anti-social conduct.

In addition, during the entire above mentioned period of time, Pustomyty militia did not once inquire about my not residing at the place I was directed to, namely 176 Shevchenko Street, Pustomyty.

Therefore, even if this residence violation be considered an anti-social conduct, then, due to the fact that I never received any warnings in accordance with Article 5, No. 6 of the Resolution of the Plenum of the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union, dated July 5, 1974, there were no grounds for establishing administrative surveillance over me.

I do not deny that I "travelled throughout regions and cities of the Soviet Union". So what? I, as a free citizen, had the right to travel wherever or whenever I deemed necessary, and did so. However, on what basis is the fact of my travels qualified by the militia as anti-social conduct? Particular-

ly, taking into consideration the fact that the militia at no time warned me that through travelling I was conducting myself in an anti-social manner. Such warning, of course, is required by Article 5, No. 6 of the Resolution of the Plenum of the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union, as grounds for establishing administrative surveillance.

Therefore, from the above, it could be noted that Soviet law stands one hundred percent behind a non-Soviet person and even an enemy No. One (as I was called by Assistant Prosecutor Rudenko), and not even one percent behind the initiators of this groundless and lawless coercion of me by the Soviet people. However, in practice, the Soviet government is the greatest violator of said law, which was only written for show to naive westerners. On my side, so-called law, on the side of my "protectors-teachers" power. Power won over law, thereby constituting the most arbitrary rule and lawlessness.

It could only be concluded that imprisoning a person in concentration camps and prisons for a period of fifteen years and then in addition keeping such person under administrative surveillance for a year, all completely unjustly, groundlessly and illegally is considered "lawful"; however, if said person, after suffering the above, decides to rest and travel to revive his soul after having been caged and under a microscope for such a long period of time, then such action is qualified as anti-social conduct. In such a case, the only conclusion that could be arrived at is that the "normal" life in this country is not in freedom, even a relative one, but in concentration camps, prisons, exile, under administrative surveillance and house arrest.

Here I would like to mention a few more facts.

During my above mentioned conversation with Colonel Andrienko, which lasted more than three hours, he asked me: "What is your impression of the Soviet reality?" I answered that, in fact, I could tell him very little of Soviet reality, since immediately upon my release from imprisonment, I was herded into Pustomyty, having had no opportunity to view or observe much of anything. However, if Soviet reality is to be judged by Pustomyty, then it truly looks very, very sad. For instance, during my whole year there, in the stores (all run by the government) there was not one instance when meat or meat by-products could be purchased at governmentally regulated prices, they were always sold at commission prices, namely double the governmentally regulated prices (this practice continues to date): and butter and margarine could be purchased only very seldom. There is a large chicken farm in Pustomyty, however, chicken and eggs are impossible to buy — everything is transported out somewhere. It seems unbelievable, but there was a day when eggs imported from Finland were being sold. There are never enough dairy products.

Colonel Andrienko stated that true Soviet reality could not be judged in accordance with Pustomyty (it seems that in Pustomyty there is only a non-Soviet reality), but that I would soon have a chance to travel throughout Ukraine, and even the whole Soviet Union, and then I would see the great

changes for the better and achievements in all fields of the economy, therefore, the true Soviet reality. Actually, Colonel Andrienko was one of the officials who considered my travels as anti-social conduct and punished me by establishing administrative surveillance over me.

Here I will allow myself to mention the other side of the coin.

On December 18, 1977, while listening to one of the western broadcasts on the radio, I heard such: "The next comment will be about KGB provocation in connection with former political prisoner Ivan Kandyba...". I became suddenly very attentive. As far as I knew, neither during my presence in Pustomyty nor during my travels and rest in Crimea from June through September, 1977, did the KGB commit any provocation against me. However, when I caught a few more words (due to strong static interference, I was unable to understand much), namely "... what of it, if Kandyba was in the Crimea, he was resting there...", faint realization dawned on me. My understanding became clearer when, shortly after the above mentioned broadcast, I received a letter from my friend from Kyiv. Here is a portion thereof: "I already know about your cruel fate (she meant the re-establishment over me of administrative surveillance). I heard also about the false rumours from western sources. However, it is their defeat, and your victory. This is the way we all understand it". I was trying to find out more about the "false rumours", but my attempts came to nothing, since she never received any more of my letters nor I of hers. I still do not know exactly in what concrete manner did the KGB commit a provocation against me. However, from piece of information gathered here and there, I came to the following conclusion. The KGB made it known that the west, believes that Kandyba is being persecuted by the KGB and his freedom, after release from imprisonment, is being severely curtailed by the KGB through the establishment over him of illegal administrative surveillance. However, all of this is untrue. He, with complete freedom, travels all over Ukraine, enjoys himself with women at Crimean beaches, etc. For "corroboration" of the above, the KGB probably photographed me with some woman of slight acquaintance, or it could have used the photograph of me with my aunt (my mother's sister), Maria Dowhanska, born in 1919, who was also taking vacation in the Crimea at the same time I was. My conclusion is that such or similar rumour was spread by the KGB against me, constituting grave false provocation.

This KGB provocation was committed with the aim firstly to prove to the western world that I was completely free, and secondly to compromise me in the eyes of the western world. At the same time, the KGB was attempting as soon as possible to herd me back to Pustomyty under administrative surveillance, thereby depriving me of any further opportunities for travel, including medicinal rest visits to Crimea, which aim shortly thereafter it accomplished.

In accordance with Article 8 of the Pact covering sociopolitical rights, it

is forbidden to force or obligate anybody to work, however, I was accused and punished because I “continuously refused to work”.

Also, in accordance with Article 12 of the Pact covering socio-political rights and Principle 13 of the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, each individual has a right to freely move around and the freedom of choice of his or her place of residence, not only in his or her own country, but any place outside of it; and here I am being punished for “not living where I was directed to” and “travelling through regions and cities of the Soviet Union”.

I appealed to the Prosecutor of the Ukr. SSR against the clearly unlawful Militia Ordinance dated September 23, 1977 with reference to the re-establishment of administrative surveillance. The Prosecutor refused to review my case, transferring it to Lviv Oblast Prosecutor, who without even glancing at it, transferred it for review to Pustomyty Prosecutor’s Office. Therefore, my appeal wound up before the particular Prosecutor who completely agreed with the Militia Ordinance of September 23, 1977, sanctioned it and finally confirmed and upheld it. In these circumstances, I knew beforehand that my case would be decided negatively. And that is what happened. Below is the answer of the Pustomyty Prosecutor to my appeal:

*“Pstomyty Regional Prosecutor, Lviv Oblast,
December 26, 1977, No. 1420:*

*Citizen, Kandyba, I. A., village of Pustomyty,
302 Shevchenko Street.*

Your appeal, addressed to the Prosecutor of Ukrainian S.S.R., with reference to allegedly illegal re-establishment of administrative surveillance over you, was reviewed by the undersigned and refused as groundless.

Your contention about the illegality of the re-establishment of administrative surveillance over you has been found to be groundless.

There is no basis for reversal of the Ordinance.

Your appeal is hereby refused.

*Pustomyty Regional Prosecutor
Signature — Horbulko”*

Here another empty, brief refusal, without any reference to legal basis. He purposefully omitted any such reference, knowing very well that Soviet law was one hundred percent on my side. However, in accordance with Paragraph 3, Article 7 of the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S.S.R. of April 12, 1968, about “the process of review of proposals, declarations and appeals of citizens”, it is stated:

“Officials, when deciding proposals, declarations and appeals are

obligated . . . in the event of refusal of such proposals, declarations and appeals to cite motives, basis and reason for such refusal”.

In this manner, the Prosecutor in this case was permitted to completely ignore Article 5, No. 6 of the Resolution of the Plenum of the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union of July 5, 1974.

Then how is Article 164 of the Constitution of the Soviet Union, which places upon Prosecutors *“The gravest responsibility of strict and impartial application of law . . . is placed upon the General Prosecutor of the Soviet Union and the Prosecutors answerable to him”* upheld?

If the government were to strictly uphold the laws of the Soviet Union, then it would have revoked the administrative surveillance over me, even if I were, according to the words of Assistant Prosecutor Rudenko, a non-Soviet, degenerate and enemy No. One, and to allow me even relative freedom. Therefore, Soviet laws were overturned completely for the benefit of the KGB, the Prosecutor, and Soviet power. So, pursuant to the political resolution of this question, power overcame the law.

Possessing unlimited power, there exists every possibility for arbitrarily deciding the fate of such inconvenient elements as I, and, without any lawful grounds, by way of force and blackmail, placing me in a hopeless, servile situation, and proposing that I, through rejection of my views and beliefs, buy my freedom, which is mine by law and which was forcefully taken from me. This took place in the office of Assistant Prosecutor Rudenko. Almost the same took place five days later, on September 28, 1977, here in Pustomyty during my next conversation with Oblast Chief of KGB General Poluden. Keeping in mind what the Assistant Prosecutor told me on September 23, 1977, General Poluden stated that a few days ago, namely on September 23, 1977, we were talking as “an equal to an equal”, and presently it was not so because I was under administrative surveillance, and he was a free person. In this way, he made me understand that the price of my freedom, which was taken from me unlawfully by way of force, would be much higher.

A similar conversation between me and General Poluden, pursuant to his demand, took place here in Pustomyty on January 26, 1978.

This is one of the methods of “instructional influence” as practiced by the KGB.

The term of administrative surveillance over me, which was established on September 23, 1977, ended on March 23, 1978. Several days before its completion, namely on March 20, 1978, I was called out to the office of Chief of Pustomyty KGB Captain Polishchuk, who asked me what my reply was to the propositions of Assistant Prosecutor Rudenko and General Poluden, and in not so many words made me understand that the continuation or cessation of administrative surveillance over me would depend upon my answer. As previously, I categorically declined the propositions of both Assistant Prosecutor Rudenko and General Poluden, which

required me to reject my views and beliefs. Captain Polishchuk tried to convince me that my views and beliefs were harmful to my existence and were the reasons for me being limited in almost everything. He reasoned that I had no place to live, was unable to obtain better employment, was even unable to build a family, and finally he offered me his help and service in finding a wife. This seemed to me almost funny! They wanted to supply me with a wife, educated by them and belonging to them heart and soul, in order to "re-educate" me through her. Well, I rejected all his proposition and we parted company.

On March 22, 1978, I was called out to the Headquarters of the Detective Service of Pustomyty, where its Chief First Lieutenant Machurad familiarized me with its decision to extend the administrative surveillance over me for another six months.

So, another extension, but on what grounds? In accordance with Paragraph A, Article 13 of the "Statute encompassing administrative surveillance" said surveillance is to be stopped "*upon completion of the term for which said administrative surveillance was established*".

When in 1976 the administrative surveillance over me was extended, then the militia, or actually the KGB, at least had some so-called "grounds" since I twice "allowed" myself to "violate" the surveillance regime. However during the latter six month term of administrative surveillance over me, I did not allow myself to "violate" said surveillance regime even once, therefore, in accordance with the above mentioned Paragraph A, Article 13 of the "Statute encompassing administrative surveillance", said surveillance should have been stopped. But, this did not happen. As in the previous instances, so in this one, this question was not decided according to Soviet law, which again was one hundred percent on the side of the non-Soviet person, degenerate and enemy No. One, myself, but pursuant to the dictates of power.

In the Ordinance of the militia dated March 22, 1978, the following grounds were stated as the basis for the extension of administrative surveillance over me:

Presently it is evident from existing materials that the person under administrative surveillance is consciously unwilling to enter upon the road to reformation".

From this "basis" for the extension of administrative surveillance over me, it can be surmised that said extension was clearly the result of my conversation with Chief of Pustomyty KGB Captain Polishchuk, which took place on March 20, 1978, and during which I categorically rejected his proposition to renounce my views and beliefs. In such case, of course, it meant that I was "consciously unwilling to enter upon the road to reformation" and my place was under administrative surveillance.

In answer to my demands to be presented with evidence of my conscious unwillingness to enter upon the road to reformation, I was not allowed to

peruse them, because the militia raised such materials or documents for their exclusive use.

In addition to the extension of administrative surveillance over me, the KGB, from spite, ordered some of the limitations I was under to be increased. For example, until March 23, 1978, I was allowed to remain outside my quarters from 7:00 a.m. to 8:00 p.m. (and in 1976, until 9:00 p.m.), then from March 23, 1978, I was allowed to remain outside my quarters from 7:00 p.m. only, which forced me to stay in my quarters for a full twelve hours out of every twenty-four — namely being under house arrest for half of the time of my so-called freedom.

As could be noted from the above, the period of my house arrest was systematically extended. In 1976, said house arrest period constituted ten hours out of every twenty-four, in 1977 — eleven hours, and in 1978 — twelve hours.

All of the above, the KGB does not only to spite me or to make my life harder, but also to “wrangle” some concessions from me.

And so, on April 5, 1978, I was called to the office of Chief of Pustomyty KGB Captain Polishchuk for a discussion to ascertain my reaction to the extension of administrative surveillance over me and to attempt to “haggle” something from me. In answer to my demands in connection with the lack of grounds for the extension of administrative surveillance over me, he answered that all of that could easily be fixed, namely the administrative surveillance could be revoked, if only I would agree to the propositions of Assistant Prosecutor Rudenko and General Poluden, in fact, if I would spit upon my beliefs and the beliefs of others like me. However, if I was not willing to agree to said propositions, then maybe I could do something else advantageous to the Soviet authorities, which would result in the lessening of the limitations placed upon me — for example, I would be allowed to remain outside my quarters until 9:00 p.m. or even 10:00 p.m., instead of 7:00 p.m.

Therefore, the KGB, having in its possession the greatest power (maybe even all the power), is ready to bargain with everything, sell everything, and not risk anything. If a person spits on his or her beliefs and the beliefs of others like him or her, rejects his or her soul, beliefs and views, sells himself or herself and his or her friends, or becomes a traitor to his or her friends, then the KGB may revoke the public administrative surveillance established over the person, or may not even establish such a surveillance, but just keep its eye on the person, or may not use any methods of surveillance whatsoever, or may even allow the person to live, for example, in Lviv, or somewhere else, or may find the person suitable employment, attractive living quarters, or may even make the person “very happy” by finding them a wife or husband, and may do a lot of other things for them, everything depending upon how much and what the person is willing to pay.

In addition, during my conversation with Captain Polishchuk, he reprimanded me in connection with my exchanging letters with all kinds of criminals and other unsavory characters, of course, having in mind political prisoners and political exiles, and proposed that I cease all communications

with them. Similar suggestions were extended to my friend Lev Lukyanenko. When I mentioned that he did not have any grounds for insulting the political prisoners, and particularly Lukyanenko, who was then under investigation and could not be considered guilty under any judicial ruling, he answered with the standard (however groundless it may be) reply that there are no political prisoners in the Soviet Union and, as far as Lukyanenko is concerned, that, since he was arrested, he was undoubtedly guilty, and would eventually be tried, found guilty, and sentenced.

At the end of our conversation, seeing that nothing could be “wrangled” from or bargained with me this year, Captain Polishchuk stated with sadness: “It is too bad that beatings are not allowed anymore”.

That is how the KGB misunderstands the meaning of one of the most basic rules of jurisprudence — *the presumption of innocence*, and beatings are what they are still pining for.

Knowing ahead of time (having had similar experiences before) what the final decision of the prosecutor was going to be, I nevertheless decided to appeal to Lviv Oblast Prosecutor against the Militia Ordinance of March 22, 1978 extending the administrative surveillance over me.

The Lviv Oblast Prosecutor for the second time refused to review my appeal and transferred it to the Pustomyty Regional Prosecutor for review and decision, who upheld the Militia Ordinance. Therefore, it was not surprising (nothing surprises me anymore) that this time I also received a formal and groundless answer to my appeal, which read as follows:

*“Pustomyty Regional Prosecutor, village of Pustomyty,
112 Shevchenko Street, April 25, 1978, No. 365:*

*Citizen Kandyba, I. A., village of Pustomyty,
302 Shevchenko Street.*

*Your appeal addressed to Lviv Oblast Prosecutor with reference
to the allegedly illegal extension of administrative surveillance over
you was reviewed by the undersigned and refused as groundless.*

*Your contention about the illegality of the extension of
administrative surveillance over you has been found to be
groundless.*

*Pustomyty Regional Prosecutor
Class 1 Jurist
Signature — I. M. Horbulko”*

Yury VUDKA

FLOURISHING RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM

“Nothing now is further removed from the Russian soul than militant nationalism. *The idea of world empire is foreign to Russia*” — in this manner with great conviction yet completely misrepresenting the truth, the great Russian writer Solzhenitsyn so attests in the magazine *Die Welt* of March 1, 1980.

In his view Moscow’s imperialism is purely a communist and not a Russian phenomenon. “What is communism? Ask a cancerous cell why it is spreading? Because it cannot do otherwise”.

What an idyll! Until 1917, inhabitants of the Muscovite Principedom quietly and peacefully remained inside their borders, and then suddenly there appeared on the horizon these communists, who, contrary to the Muscovite’s will, drove them out to conquer the world. Of course, Muscovites never invaded Kazan and Astrakhan, Novgorod and Ukraine, Siberia and the Caucasus, Turkestan and the Baltic States, Finland and Poland, they never expanded their territories, until those communists spoiled everything . . .

But, maybe even before communism, the ruling power was hostile to the people, in the same way cruelly smothering national insurrections, enslaving the people and driving them to conquer other lands? Since Solzhenitsyn does not acknowledge such (but, to the contrary, idealizes the pre-revolutionary Russia), let us take a minute for his hypothesis and attempt to find those spokesmen of the Russian soul, who opposed the imperialism of the ones in power.

Pushkin? “Suvorov rose from his grave and envisioned the plunder of Warsaw . . .”. Lermontov? “Submit, you Chechen! It is likely that the West and the East will soon take everything from you. Years will pass and you yourself will say: I may be a slave, but a slave of the Tsar of all the world!”

Gogol? “A Tsar is rising from Russian soil, and there will be no power in the world that will not bow to Him”.

Dostoevskyi passionately greeted the invasion of Turkestan and nurtured dreams about conquering Istanbul. Non-Russians are widely intertwined in his, as well as in L. Tolstoy’s, novels, but these non-Russians are almost always reminiscent of Soviet newspaper caricatures. No matter who the non-Russian may be — German or French, Jewish or Polish. Russian geniuses seem to be unable to perceive a non-Russian as a human being. In their creative works, the worst and the most corrupt Russians are endowed with understanding and sympathy, but non-Russians almost never. Theoretically, they consider everybody human, but emotionally they perceive as equal and similar to themselves all Karamasovs, without distinction, but never any “Polaks” or even Napoleon.

Tyutchev? It is worth mentioning that he wrote about “the boundless

frontiers of Russia". As yet, even communists' appetites are somewhat more modest.

This gallery of spiritual imperialism may be continued almost indefinitely. But, why waste the paper. I will only mention in addition the Russian national poet Yesenin :

*I will glorify with my wholehearted nature of a poet
One-sixth of the entire earth bearing the short name of "Russ".*

To anyone who is a little familiar with geography, it is understandable that this sixth portion of the world encompasses around two hundred nations, which are denied by "Russ" even the rights to call themselves by their own national names.

As can be clearly surmised, the communist power absolutely has no need to "dream" about "harnessing Russian nationalism to its imperialistic wagon". It has been so harnessed, throughly and unequivocally, for five hundred years, from the very beginnings of the Moscovite Princedom, whose entire history consisted of an uninterrupted "drang" (march) into all parts of the world. Russian pre-communist expansion, as far as the range thereof is concerned, is almost without precedent, with the exception of Genghiz Khan, from whose empire Moscow inherited its governmental structure.

Did the communists occupy such nations as Murom or Perm, the only remains of which are their geographical names? And a whole string of such names can be pointed out.

Solzhenitsyn attempts to prove that Russians are the principal mass of slaves in the U.S.S.R., that they are in the worst situation. Why then is the fact that non-Russians are registering themselves as Russians a massive phenomenon, and never to the contrary? Why do Russian schools and other institutions exist in the remotest parts of the U.S.S.R., but other nations cannot attain such even in their own lands? Finally, why, in the most important governmental organs — Party Bureaucracy and the KGB — did the Russians secure for themselves a decisive majority? What other interests governed their actions, if not essentially nationalistic?

Let us try to understand Solzhenitsyn in this way — although Russians in the past were imperialists, however, today they have grown wiser and have renounced this idea. Well, for almost thirty years I lived in the U.S.S.R. and possess wide experience in observing the Russians. But, the fingers of my one hand would be enough to count those Russians who are against forcibly conquering non-Russians. The normal reaction of a Russian from the "people" to Lithuanian, Georgian or Hungarian patriotism is embodied in the sacred phrase: "Kill all of them and populate their land with our own! What I conquer — is mine!" Seven years of my life I spent in prisons and concentration camps for political prisoners. I met thousands of persons who were incarcerated for the ideal of separation of their particular country into a national independent state. But among them — not one Russian could be found! If the imperialistic policy of those in power is so very foreign to the Russian spirit, then, in a nation of one hundred and thirty million, there should be found at least one who would

oppose this so-called coercion over his soul! There does not exist even one! Moreover, among political prisoners about ten percent are Russian (in the empire, they constitute half — where is their opposition to enslavement?), but the majority of said prisoners hold firm with the same militant imperialism, which, according to Solzhenitsyn, is so very “foreign to the Russian spirit”. Where is it hiding, this mysterious spirit? Maybe among the emigres? Even here, in the West, the tiny group entitled “For Russia Without Colonies” is boycotted by the whole Russian community.

Are all of the above facts unknown to Solzhenitsyn? No, they are very well known to him. Solzhenitsyn is consciously leading the West astray. In his purely theoretical reflections, there can be found a lot of noble phrases, but as soon as a need arises to touch upon reality, his imperialism immediately rises to the top from the secret depths of his soul. In his *Archipelago*, he proclaims himself for the theoretical rights of other nations, but when mentioning the Brest-Litovsk Treaty (Treaty that recognized the Ukrainian National Independent State), he, with indignation, notes that the Treaty “cut-off part of Russia’s body”. It becomes manifest that for him other nations constitute inalienable parts of Russia, since at no time did the Brest-Litovsk Treaty touch upon Russian ethnic territories.

Therefore, his oratory against imperialism — is only a demagogy, the exact same kind as the “anti-imperial” demagogy of the communists. Communism is the lawful child of Russian colonialism and its saviour. Through its savagery, without regard for anything, Russia, in these anti-colonial times, compels the enslaved nations to opposition, but, on the outside, it procures fifth columns through modern leftist delusions.

Instead of misleading the West, Solzhenitsyn should better try to repress imperialism in the souls of Russians themselves, openly, consistently and honestly demanding the withdrawal of Russia into its own ethnic boundaries. If he believes in his own phrases about the “anti-imperialism” of the Russian soul, he has nothing to fear from adverse reaction.

If such is not accomplished by Russians themselves, then the day is near, when the whole colonized and endangered world will rise and a exact it its revenge.

There is no nation on earth that does not desire independence; there is no nation that wants foreign occupation, no matter under what colour flag. Russians, after having foresaken the enslavement of other nations, might even learn to respect each other and might even understand that there exists other kind of relations, outside of arbitrariness and terror.

Translated from Ukrainian
by Zena Matla-Rychtycka

Theodore MACKIW
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THE UKRAINIAN-JEWISH RELATIONSHIP IN THE 17TH CENTURY

In the 17th century, particularly during Khmelnytskyjs insurrection against Poland (1648-1657), there were many tensions, excesses, and recriminations between Jews and Ukrainian Cossacks, which became the cause of hatred and emotional reproach towards the Ukrainian people.

At the turn of the seventeenth century, the Ukrainians were an oppressed and exasperated people. The French engineer in the Polish service, Guillaume le Vasseur Sieur de Beauplan,¹ noted in his memoirs that the peasants in the Ukraine:

*"were very miserable . . . In short, they are obliged to give their masters what they please to demand; so that it is no wonder those wretches never lay up anything, being under such hard circumstances, Yet this is not all, for their lords have an absolute power, not only over their goods, but their lives; so great is the prerogative of the Polish nobility (who live as if they were in heaven, and the peasants in purgatory) so that if it happens that those wretched peasants fall under the servitude of bad lords, they are in a worse condition than galley-slaves."*²

Another eyewitness, Peter Skarga, the Polish Jesuit, well-known theologian and preacher at the Polish Royal Court, wrote that

*" . . . there is no country in the world, where the peasants, subjects of the lords would be as oppressed as they are in our country under the unlimited authority of the Nobility"*³

Another Polish priest, Msgr. Jan Jozefowicz, stated in his chronicle of the city of Lviv as follows:

" . . . I heard from my older Polish countrymen, who knew the conditions in these provinces under Polish administration, and they told me that even their (Ukrainian Orthodox) Church was given to the Jews for rent so that the Cossack (Ukrainian) priest, could not administer in his church to his parishioners the holy sacraments of baptism, matrimony or other sacraments, if he did not pay the Jew a fee for the key. The fee was set by the (Polish) landlord.

1) Beauplan's biography, see Frere, Edouard Benjamin, (1797-1874). *Manuel du bibliographe normand ou Dictionnaire bibliographique et historique . . .* (Rouen: 1858-60), 2 vols.

2) G. de Beauplan, *Description d'Ukraine, qui sont plusieurs provinces du Royaume de Pologne*, (Rouen: 1650). I used an English translation: *A Description of Ukraine, Containing Several Provinces of the Kingdom of Poland, Lying between the Confines of Muscovy, and the Border of Transylvania, in A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, (London: 1774), Vol. I, p. 449.

3) Geogre Vernadsky, *Bohdan: Hetman of Ukraine*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), p. 11.

The priest had to return the key to the Jew after every service. The future generations should make a judgement for themselves on how the Christian faith was abused and profaned. Oh, Poland, you deserved this fate . . .”⁴

Similarly, the situation in the Ukraine in the 17th century was characterized by the Rabbi of the city of Zaslav, Nathan Hanover, in his chronicle:

“King Sigismund, however, raised the status of the Catholic dukes and princes above those of the Ukrainians, so that most of the latter abandoned their Greek-Orthodox faith and embraced Catholicism. And the masses that followed the Greek Orthodox Church became gradually impoverished. They were looked upon as low and inferior beings and became the slaves and the handmaids of the Polish people and of the Jews. Those among them who were trained warriors were conscripted by the King to serve in his army. . . . The Cossacks therefore enjoyed special privileges like the nobility, and were exempt from taxes. The rest of the Ukrainians, however, were a wretched and enslaved lot, servants to the dukes and the nobles. Their lives were made bitter by hard labour, in mortar and bricks, and in all manner of services in the house and in the field. 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 (The Jews), became their overlords”⁵.

The maltreatment of the Ukrainian population by the *Szlachta** and especially the oppression of the Orthodox Church by the Polish clergy (particularly by the Polish Jesuits, who were determined to convert the Ukrainian people to Catholicism by force) caused frequent tensions and

4) “Letopis sobytij v youzhnoj Rusi lvovskago kanonika Jana Jozefowicza, 1624-1700”, *Sbornik letopisej odnosiaschchyksia k istorii juznoj i zapadnoj Rusi* (The chronicle of events in the Southern Rus’ by Msgr. Jan Jozefowicz of Lviv, 1624-1700, *Collections of Chronicles Concerning History of Southern and Western Rus’*). (Kiev: 1888), pp. 115-212, (“ . . . Audivi ab antiquioribus etiam nostris Polonis, rei scientiam habentibus, quod in tantum in partibus illis insolens domination Polonorum processerat, ut etiam super ecclesias jus isti genti tribueret. Non enim praesbiter cosacorum, (vulgo vocatur pop) sacramenta baptismi, matrimonii aliaque in ecclesia sua administrare paraphianis suis licitum habebat, ni prius a clavibus judaeo (quas semper ad judaei manus ab ostio ecclesiae suae deferre et deponere cogebatur) constituta a domino pensionem persolveret haec cum quanto abusu et praepudicio sacramentorum ac fidei Christianae erant, judicet posteritas fidelium. Et ita merito malis tuis succubisti Polonia, justas superbiae ac flagitiorum tuorum poenas recipisti”, pp. 121-2).

5) N. Hanover, *Yeven Metzulah*, (first edition: Venice: 1653), I used an English translation by the Rabbi Abraham J. Mesch, entitled *Abbyss of Despair*, (New York: Bloch Publishing Co., pp. 27-28.

*) Nobility.

uprisings against the Poles, culminating in the great national insurrection in 1648 led by Bohdan Khmelnytskyj, Hetman of Ukraine, 1648-1657.**

Regrettably, during this revolution, many Jews lost their lives.⁶ However, the spontaneous national uprising of the oppressed masses of the Ukrainians under Khmelnytsky's Cossacks was not against the Jews, but against all oppressors, or those who helped them. It is true the Jews, were carrying out the orders of their masters, the Polish landlords, yet as the Jewish scholar, Herman Rosenthal, pointed out,

"they farmed not only taxes, but even the revenues of the Greek Orthodox Church. At every Christening or funeral, the peasants had to pay a fee to the Jew. The lords were absolute rulers of their estates, and the peasants their dependent subjects. When a lord or any member of the nobility leased his villages or estates to a Jew, his authority also was delegated to this latter, who even had the power between to administer justice among the peasants".⁷

Thus the Jew, being a middleman between the Polish landlord and the Ukrainian serf, appeared to this peasant as a tyrant and oppressor. The accumulation of animosity was built up till the Ukrainian serf could not bear the exploitation of the oppressor any more and revolted. The Ukrainian masses killed not only Jews, Jesuits, and Polish aristocrats, but also those Ukrainians who supported the Polish oppressors. At that time they killed such Cossack officers as Barabash, Haiduczenko, Ilash, Kalynenko, Olesko, Nestorenko, and others.⁸

It is possible, as Hanover noted, that personal indignities and injuries caused by Jews embittered Khmelnytskyj against them. For instance, the Jewish leaseholder of Chihirin, Zacharias Sabilenski, helped a Polish nobleman and the bailiff of this city, Daniel Czaplinski, who reported Khmelnytsky's negotiations with the Tartars to the Polish authorities.⁹

**) Hetman derives from German "Hoeftmann" = Commander-in-Chief, the official title of Chief-executive of an autonomous Cossack military republic, better known as *Hetmanshchyna* (the Hetmanstate), first under the Polish and then under the Russian protectorate, 1654-1764; for details see: Hans Schumann, *Der Hetmanstaat 1654-1764*, (Breslau: 1936), (a dissertation), also in *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, (1936), pp. 499-546.

6) See. Jacob Schatzki's introduction to the Yiddish translation of *Yeven Metzulah*, (Yivo Wilno: 1938), p. 83; cf., *Abys of Despair*, p. 122.

7) The Jewish Encyclopedia (New York-London: 1903), Vol. IV., p. 284; See also in the *Abys of Despair*, p. 2. Some historians pointed out that the Jews leasing Greek-Orthodox churches hurt the feelings of the Ukrainian people and aroused their animosity. The Jewish scholar, I. S. Hertz in his work *Di Yidn in Ukraine*, (New York: 1947), p. 197), analyzed this matter and came to the conclusion that these accusations have no historical basis and were written for propaganda purposes. However, another Jewish scholar, J. Schatski, disagrees with Herth that those accusations were unfounded, (see: his article in the *Zukunft*, New York, December 1949); Cf., *Abys of Despair*, p. 122.

8) Michael Hrushevsky, *Istoria Ukrainy-Rusy (History of Ukraine-Rusy)* (New York: 1956), Vol. VIII, p. 2, pp.133-184; Vernadsky, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

9) *Abys of Despair*, p. 36; cf., *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. IV, p. 40; Vernadsky, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

But on the other hand, Khmelnytsky had also some Jewish friends. According to Rabbi Hanover:

“... there lived another Jew in that city whose name was Jacob Sobilenski (Sabilenski), a close friend of Chmiel (Khmelnysky), who counselled the latter to have his friends bail him out of prison, so that he would subsequently appear before the nobleman in the Church and on bended knees plead for his life”.¹⁰

As can be seen, Khmelnytsky also had Jewish friends, and had no personal reasons to hate them. His objective was to liberate the Ukrainian people from the Polish oppressors. What resulted was a spontaneous uprising of the masses, whom Khmelnytsky often could not control, and who acted on their own. It was actually a reaction of the accumulated animosity of the oppressed serfs against their oppressors, regardless of race, religion, or nationality.

Rabbi Abraham J. Mesch in his introduction to the *Abyss of Despair* by Hanover, who certainly hated the Ukrainian Cossacks and pictured Khmelnytsky as a “ruthless oppressor, and arch-enemy and a blood-thirsty tyrant”, (at each mention of his name, he added; “May his name be blotted out”), did not fail to emphasize the miserable plight of the peasants whose suffering at the hands of the Polish nobles may have justified relation. Nor does he absolve the Jews of any guilt when he says: “Even the *lowliest* among them (he Jews) became their overlords”.¹¹

It also should be said that Hanover’s chronicle has to be treated with caution, because he lived in 1648 only in the city of Zaslav, and fled from there before the city was attacked.¹²

Therefore Hanover could not see those terrible massacres in person, but obtained his information at second or third hand.¹³ Referring to 1649, Mesch noted that Hanover “obtained various versions of the massacres” from the survivors, and used several publications, in which were described the events of 1648-49, (the main source of information was *Tzok Ha-itim — Troublous Times* by Meir of Szczebrzeszyn, published in Cracow 1650). Furthermore,

10) *Abyss of Despair*, pp. 37-38; *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. IV, p. 40. Although Mesch pointed out that this story with both brothers Sabilenski does not correspond with the historical fact, yet he did not bring sufficient proof otherwise.

11) *Abyss of Despair*, p. 8.

12) Mesch mentioned that Hanover was an eye witness to the massacres. There is, however, no clear proof that he himself saw those terrible massacres in person. He pointed out, that for example “a messenger would be sent daily to observe the developments there” (Polannoe)... When the enemy attacked Polannoe, “I, and my family and my father-in-law, the master, Rabbi Abraham of the holy community of Zaslav... fled to the holy community of Miedzyrecze...” pp. 64-65. It is not known how he was able to escape from the Cossacks to Germany, then to Holland. In 1652 he was in Venice, from where he went to Wallachia, and finally he proceeded to the city of Ungarish-Brodin Moravia, where he occupied the position of judge and preacher. During the Austrian-Turkish war he was killed together with other Jews in the synagogue as they gathered for morning prayers by the troops of the Hungarian Court Emeric Tekely in 1683; see *Abyss of Despair*, pp. 16-18.

13) Dr. Solomon Grayzel, preface to *Abyss of Despair*, p. X.

there is an understandable tendency on the part of Hanover to exaggerate the figures,¹⁴ thus involving a large segment of the Ukrainian people. In fact, the American historian, James H. Billington of Princeton University, referring to Hanover's chronicle, observes in his book that the writers of that period were not objective in their presentations and analysis.¹⁵

But, not all Ukrainians participated in these massacres. For example: when the Cossacks left the city of Tulczyn, "the Ukrainian inhabitants of the city dealt kindly with them (the Jews) and sent them away".¹⁶ Moreover, some Cossacks married Jewish girls, who, however, preferred suicide to being a Cossack's wife.¹⁷ Furthermore, after the peace treaty of Zboriv (1649), the Cossacks did not harm the Jews, but on the contrary, according to Hanover, "in those places where the Cossacks dwelt, business was good".¹⁸ Regrettably however, there is a discriminatory article, which forbids Jesuits and Jews to establish residence in Ukraine.

However, curiously enough, in a contemporary text of the peace treaty of Zboriv (1649), published by the London weekly, *A Briefe Relacion of Some Affairs and Transactions Civil and Military, both Forraigne and Domestique*, of October 16, 1649, there is no mention of any terms about Jews or Jesuits.¹⁹ The text of this treaty in the *Briefe Relacion* is a valuable source of information, because it was published by the contemporary neutral English newspaper.

During that time the Jews suffered not only from the Cossacks, but also from the Russians and the Poles. For example: at the end of the Summer of 1655, the commander of the Russian garrison at Mohyliv, Colonel Poklonskyj, discovered that the Polish Army was approaching the city, and, fearing that the Jews might help the advancing enemy, ordered them to be escorted as Polish subjects to the Polish camp. But Rosenthal remarks:

"no sooner were the Jews, with their wives, children and belongings, outside the walls, than the Russian soldiers acting upon them, killed nearly all of them and appropriated their possession".^{19a}

In 1655 most of the Wilna Jews, who were not able to escape, were "either

14) *Abyss of Despair*, pp. 9-10.

15) J. H. Billington, *The Icon and the Axe. An Interpretive History of Russian Culture*, (New York: 1966), p. 118; ("... The realities of the universal war in Eastern Europe were, if anything, even more harsh and terrible than in the Civil War in England or the Thirty Years' War in Germany. Historians of these eastern regions have never been able to settle on neutral descriptive labels for the periods of particular horror and devastation which successively visited their various peoples. Russians still speak in anguish and confusion of a 'Time of Troubles'; Poles and Ukrainians of a 'Deluge'; Eastern European Jews of 'The Deep Mire'; and Swedes and Finns of 'the great hate'."

16) *Abyss of Despair*, p. 58.

17) *Ibid.*, p. 53.

18) *Ibid.*, pp. 102,105.

19) *A Briefe Relacion* . . . , October 16, 1649, No. 3, pp. 28-29.

19a) *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. IV, p. 286.

slain or banished by order of the Czar”.²⁰ During the Swedish-Polish War (1655-1658), he notes, that the Polish commanding general, Stefan Czarnecki “manifested exceptional harshness in his treatment of Jews . . . (Czarnecki) retreating from the Swedes, devastated the country and his rage on the Jews. He is said to have killed 200 in Kobylin; 100 in Mezhirichi; 100 in Wreschyn; 300 in Lenczyc; 600 in Kalish, Posen, Piotrkov, and Lublin. Hundreds of families were exterminated in Cracow (EPLP); many Jews, in order to escape a worse fate, drowned themselves in the river; and others changed their religion. The Poles destroyed the synagogues and took great delight in tearing up the Holy Writings . . .”²¹

In the works of many Jewish authors dealing with this period, Khmelnytskyj is presented as a predecessor of Hitler. It is wrong and false from an historical point of view to compare Khmelnytskyj with Hitler. Hitler ordered the extermination of the Jews not because they oppressed or helped to oppress the German people, but because of their race. In one of the best of recent studies, a German historian, Andreas Hillbruber at the University of Marburg, stressed that one of Hitler’s motives in attacking the USSR was the extermination of the Jewish-Bolshevik leadership and the biological roots of Eastern European Jews.²²

In the 16th century, as Mesch pointed out in his introduction about the life and work of Nathan Hanover, many Jews, who were expelled from Germany, “where they suffered unprecedented persecution and oppression”, emigrated to the Ukraine. “The Ukraine was especially inviting because the Jews there enjoyed some measure of peace and economic freedom”.²³

H. Rosenthal noted that during the first Cossack uprisings against Poland under Nalyvaiko and Kossynsky (1591-1593) and Taras “Triassylo” Fedorovycz (1630).

“the Cossacks did not exhibit any special animosity toward Jews. The feeling against the Jews spread very rapidly from Poland into Ukraine in the reign of Sigismund III”, (1587-1632).²⁴

Moreover, the Jews served in the ranks of the Ukrainian Cossack Forces; for example, “Berakh the Hero” fought with the Cossacks and fell in the battle against the Muscovites in 1601; in 1637 a certain Illyash (Elijah) Karaimowicz was appointed as one of the registered Cossacks officers; in

20) *Ibid.*; for details see Vol. X, p. 520.

21) *Ibid.*, pp. 286, 406.

22) A. Hillgruber, *Hitlers Strategie, Politik und Kriegsführung, 1940-41*, (Frankfurt a. M.: 1965), p. 519, (“ . . . Vier Motive verschlingen sich in Hitlers Ostkriegskonzeption miteinander: 1. Die Ausrottung der jüdisch-bolschewistischen Führungsschicht (einschliesslich ihrer biologischen Wurzel, der Millionen Juden in Ostmitteleuropa . . .”). See also pp. 525, 556.

23) *Abyss of Despair*, p. 13.

24) *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. IV, p. 284.

one Ukrainian ballad reference is made to Colonel Matvij (Mathew) Barokhowicz (1647), whose name indicates the son of Baruch.²⁵

In later times, too, during the Great French Revolution, and even during the October Russian Revolution in the 20th century, as well as in many other cases, many innocent people of various nationalities lost their lives. It is very regrettable indeed that so many Jews lost their lives during the uprising of the Cossacks against their Polish oppressors, but neither the Jews nor the Ukrainian people can be made forever responsible for what happened more than three hundred years ago.

During both World War I and especially World War II, there were tensions and recriminations between Jews and Ukrainians. Jews charged that Ukrainians were anti-Semitic, while Ukrainians maintained that many Jews were supporting oppressive Russian policies in the Ukraine (Christian G. Rakowsky — Prime minister of the Ukrainian SSR, Lazar M. Kaganovicz — First Secretary of Ukrainian Communist Party, 1925-8, 1947, and others) and were providing personnel for the Secret Police (GPU, NKVD, MVD) thus causing resentment among the Ukrainian people.

However, during the Second World War there was neither a Ukrainian State nor a Ukrainian government. The Ukraine was under German Military occupation and therefore the whole Ukrainian people cannot be held accountable for the deeds of certain individuals.

During World War II many Ukrainians from all social classes, beginning with the Metropolitan (Head) of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and ending with the average man, helped save Jews. Just to name a few examples: Archbishop Andrew Sheptytskyj at risk to himself and his church sheltered many Jews from Nazi police. Moreover, he issued two notable pastoral letters and wrote to the SS-Reichsführer H. Himmler a letter protesting the execution of the Jews.²⁶ It was only the Nazi defeat at Stalingrad that dissuaded the Gestapo from arresting Metropolitan Sheptytskyj.

Leo Heiman, a noted Jewish journalist, contributor to the *National Jewish Monthly*, *Moariv Lanoar*, and other magazines, writes: "Jews in Israel owe their lives to Ukrainians, who saved them from the Nazis. Ivan Hrycko Irena Mazaniuk, Stefan Dushnyj, and the nameless public notary at Lvi who issued false "Aryan" birth certificates to the Jews until he was caught and killed by the Nazis, are remembered by grateful survivors in Israel".²⁷

There are many records that Ukrainians helped and saved Jews. The Jewish-American Committee in New York published in 1946 a remarkable book *The Black Book*, in which several Jewish eyewitnesses stated the

25) N. Kostomarov, *Bogdan Chmel'nitskij*, (St. Petersburg: 1884), Vol. I, pp. 5: 135; cf., *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. IV, p. 284.

26) Cf., Rabbi David Kahane's statement in *Undzer Veg*, Paris, September 17, 194 as quoted in L. Shankovsky's "Russia, the Jews and the Ukrainian Liberation Movement", *Ukrainians and Jews. A Symposium*, (New York: 1966), pp. 74-5.

27) L. Heiman, "Ukrainians and the Jews", *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, 1961, Vol. XVII, No. 2, p. 113.

many Ukrainians at risk of their lives sheltered and saved the lives of many Jews.²⁸

Jewish people should know that Ukrainians certainly condemn those individuals or factions who participated in any anti-Jewish excesses. But Ukrainians cannot be condemned nor held responsible for them as a nation. These individuals and factions can never be considered as an entire nation, especially when the nation is oppressed by others. As a young American of Jewish descent, whose parents came from the Ukraine, Eugene Sanjour, remarked:

*“... The Ukrainian national movement, just as the Jewish National movement, is not and never has been a monolithic ideologically homogenous group. It consists now, and always has consisted, of parties and factions, often at odds with one another. Some are liberal and democratic; others are chauvinistic and reactionary”.*²⁹

The record shows that the Ukrainian people as an independent nation were the only nation, which in 1917-1920 not only granted the Jewish people national rights in the Ukraine (as can be seen in the proclamation of the Ukrainian National *Rada* or Parliament of November 7, 1917), but also for the first time in modern history recognized Jews by law as a separate nationality.³⁰ (Up to this time in all European countries the Jews had always

In conclusion it must be said that mutual accusations will not solve this problem. A possible solution of the Jewish-Ukrainian question lies in the good will of the Jewish people, and should not be treated in the traditional hatred and emotional approach. It should be analyzed with judicious wisdom — *sine ira et studio*.

28) *The Black Book*, published by the Jewish Black Book Committee, (New York: 1946), pp. 198, 359, 364, 367, 451.

29) E. Sanjour, “Anti-Semitism in Ukraine”, a letter to *The New York Times*, April 25, 1964.

30) For details see: Solomon I. Goldman, *The Jewish National Autonomy in Ukraine, 1917-1920*, (in Ukrainian), Institute for the study of History and Culture of the USSR, (Munich: 1963); also very interesting work of the prominent Jewish leader and former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian Republic, Arnold Margolin: *Ukraine and the Policy of the Entente*, (in Ukrainian), (Berlin: 1922).
been officially referred to as citizens of the “religion of Moses”).

THE FRONTIERS OF CULTURE

THE POSITION OF THE UKRAINIAN CHURCHES AND THEIR ACTIVITIES

The Orthodox Church which functions today on Ukrainian territory, apart from the fact that it is subordinated to the Moscow Patriarchate, despite even its tenets which are contrary to and irreconcilable with those of communist ideology, belongs to the mainstream of Moscow's imperialist state politics. According to Russian historical tradition the Church is rigidly controlled by the interests of the State and together with the latter has one aim: the creation of a Great State, Pan-Russianism and aspirations of world hegemony. As a result, Ukraine is not allowed to have its own national clergy and Ukrainian Church Hierarchy. Consequently, only the emancipation of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church from the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarchate, and subsequently the return from abroad and transfer to Kyiv of the Throne of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church together with its Chief Hierarch, will return the Russian Church to its proper task, giving the Ukrainian Church national unity, thus ironing out the quite natural conflicts between the two Churches.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church is without doubt our national Shrine which has created imperishable national value and saved us as a nation in the fullest sense of the word. However, the Ukrainian Catholic Church is not only an extraordinary phenomenon of the national spirit. It is an original, major offshoot of the Universal Catholic Church. By its progressive growth, farsighted reconstruction and historical proximity to the people, it has become an example, a prototype for many reforms in the present development of the Catholic Church. As the incarnation of the spiritual uniqueness of the people, for centuries the Ukrainian Catholic Church has been the bastion of its originality, the protector of national interests and the Apostle of our Sovereignty on the political crossroads of the world. This is particularly true of modern times during the office of Metropolitan Sheptytskyj and Cardinal Slipyj. This very Apostleship of Faith and national interests and the unshakable unity with the people, provoked the savage hatred, intolerance and treacherous, perfidious attempt to destroy the Ukrainian Catholic Church by the imperialist Muscovites who strangle anything that is genuinely national.

For three decades now the Ukrainian Catholic Church has existed underground in the catacombs as in the days of Nero. Condemned to death, subject to unbelievable persecution and a campaign of mass terror against its clergy, the Church naturally is not as powerful as it was in the past, however, the invader cannot destroy it. "Conquered death by death". It lives on and has faithful in each parish. Masses and Holy Communion take place illegally in safe, private houses in villages and towns. This has been the state of affairs for the last three decades. Only in the last few years as a result of the internal political situation, by virtue of the sacrifices made by

the priests of the UCC together with the simultaneous support of the population which erupted in spontaneous outbursts of protest in many villages or individual communities united by parishes, legal Mass is now being celebrated in certain villages in Western Ukraine. The Liturgies are said in closed churches not functioning officially due to the "lack" of Orthodox clergy but saved by the inhabitants from ruin, fire and similar crimes committed during the period when churches were plundered by groups of bandits under orders from party headquarters, and criminal brigades provoked into doing this "job" by operation sections of the political gendarmerie as a form of penance for earlier crimes; or this "job" was sometimes given to prudent collaborators, the "Herocrates" of the XXth century for a reward, privileges, and a career. The colonialist power treated these people as colleagues and partners in the destruction of Ukrainian shrines, rites, traditions and cultural values.

The colonialist's arsenal bristles with methods of destroying churches, chapels and synagogues, ranging from direct destruction by fire to their conversion into warehouses or production plants. Nevertheless, some of the village churches are still intact. The possibility of semi-legal Masses and the partial essentially only nominal de facto emergence of the UCC from the underground can be explained by several factors. First of all, this has been brought about by the influence of world events — a change in the internal state of affairs in the empire and on the outside, the forced retreat of the regime to the benefit of our Church: *and also the exceptional steadfastness and sacrificial spirit of the UCC pastors who together with the faithful have for more than 30 years kept and preserved the national Faith like the first Christian martyrs.**

The partial emergence of the UCC from the underground was also made possible without doubt by the action of Ukrainian Resistance Movements during the last decade and the unremitting wave of national opposition to the policy of ruining the Faith and Church as one of the means of de-nationalization. The resistance was strengthened by the considerable authority of the Ukrainian clergy, its organic unity with the people, its readiness to sacrifice itself in the name of preserving the national spirituality, the prototype and symbol of which is His Holiness Patriarch of the Kyiv Halych Patriarchate Cardinal Joseph Slipyj and the Clergy of the UCC. *The extensive activities of the Clergy and the selfless work of our emigres abroad in defence of the Church, helped her to withstand and survive the most difficult years.* All this together brought about the formation of separate national parishes of the UCC. However, one of the most important facts involved are the profound changes in politics as a whole in the empire, the atmosphere of increased public activity of the population and the influence on it of foreign mass media information, on the one hand, and the gradual retreat of the cast of party bureaucrats on the other. The third

*) We have preserved the italics of the article as it appeared in Ukrainian (cf. Liberation Path No. 6 1980). The same applies to subsequent italics.

factor is the West's awareness of the threat to itself from the aggressive totalitarian regime and in conjunction with this the pressure of world opinion on it which has resulted in the minutely perceptible restraint in the arbitrariness of the empire's repressive machine, the attempt to act secretly (which is not always easy when one has wider contacts with the world) and utter deviousness, the search for more treacherous, tactical nuances ranging from the traditional well-tryed campaigns of wide repression to the "legality" and "legal principles" game in the face of the West. Included here are the legal norms of conduct fixed by the final act signed in Helsinki.**

Naturally, we should be prepared for further sacrifices and repressions. Moscow will not accept the fact that its imperialist position is visibly weakened. The long-term major aim of strangling the Church has not been achieved, and who better than Moscow, doubtless in its own way, appreciates the boundless devotion to God and the unparalleled service to the people of the UCC clergy. Who better than Moscow understands the danger to itself inherent in the singleness of interest, the organic unity of the nation and Church, the joint struggle for the life of the people and the Faith, in the preservation of today's values and the national spirit? For this very reason Moscow strives with ferocious hatred to stifle and destroy the Church, spreading lies about its activity, continuing persecution, pogroms, harrasment, it has waged and will continue to wage a terrible war against the UCC. Nevertheless, the Church is on the threshold of a *major rebirth*, while her decisiveness even her sacrifices at opportune moments in history, during the birth of national consciousness do not bring extinction but life growth and increased morale. They are of exceptional value since they bring us closer to the Ultimate Aim.

AID TO UKRAINIAN JEWRY

One of the most important tasks and principles (belonging to the national problem as a whole, the deep, organic purposeful solidarity of two peoples related spiritually and by historic fate, connected by close historic bonds and who for a long time and today in particular have been in the grip of the jaws of criminal ethnocide) of the Ukrainian liberation movement and all national forces, was and will remain in the coming years the struggle to reopen Jewish synagogues on Ukrainian territory and concentrate actively on fully renewing the national and cultural life of Ukrainian Jews.

Ukrainian Jewry is an inseparable and organic cell of the Jewish Nation, a huge tract of virgin soil, an independent and unique, spiritually powerful entity in the Ukrainian organism. According to Ukrainian State Law its own national and social life is guaranteed. The existing communities and synagogues which unite Ukrainian Jewry first and foremost have the right to print newspapers and publish in Hebrew-Yiddish, have, access to informa-

**) The next section from the original Ukrainian has been omitted for practical reasons.

tion channels, educational establishments, internal government and autonomous military detachments and without question, the guaranteed right to vote in free, public elections, leave for the home of their fathers and have Israeli organisations or an economy functioning on their territory.

However, severely restricted by the empire's system of "law and order" throughout the USSR, particularly in Ukraine an elementary unit of the empire, the Jews even to a greater extent than other oppressed nations have been deprived of national rights, subject to constant forced assimilation and in recent decades in conjunction with the empire's interests in the Middle East, and the collapse of Moscow's politics in this region, Ukrainian Jews have become exposed to a violent campaign of anti-semitism, as part of Moscow's global anti-Israeli strategy. Via the empire's information channels a mechanism of unprecedented debauchery and infamy has been set in motion and a campaign lauded of total zoological anti-semitism, persecution and attacks. Cynical propaganda and mass dissemination of slander, malice and hatred is transmitted through every possible channel and in every social echelon. However, the press and publishers, radio and television on account of world public opinion are forced to limit their use of Goebbelian "black propaganda" unleashed without restraint or any elementary moral norms. Its sources, its system of spreading rumours operates according to the principle "anything goes". It does not stop at the most vile means, pouring out torrents of filth maligning the Jews. GUN and the active Ukrainian emigration abroad are perhaps the only ones in a similar position. The dirt splashing from the "black stream" is relished by the Russian settler on other national territories. It insenses him, firing the genetically inherited "Kill the Jews, save Russia" and the historical destructive streak of this 5th column. This infects the local inhabitants thus masking the actual colonisers, those really responsible for the material shortages and the difficult predicament of the masses. The aim is to make the Jews the object of "ridicule, malice and letting off steam".

Antisemitism is the result of a dangerous inferiority complex, the malicious psycho-pathological state of the Russian chauvinist philistine whatever his rank. The mentality of the riff-raff and criminal element is a mass phenomenon which requires decisive, principled opposition, exposure and neutralization. Ukrainian Jewry is our long-standing and dependable political ally. We don't need to make historical analogies of the Ukraino-Judea type, or talk about political unity and the joint struggle against the occupant during the time when we were a state or research into Ukrainian-Jewish connections and alliances in the past. Today the political situation is different, the Jewish people have regained their statehood, while we have a thorny path to tread before our statehood is regained.

However, the Jews in the empire need our help, protection and cooperation. The Jews are subject to callous Russian-style pressure. Their rights are severely curtailed, which means in effect restrictions on education, similar restrictions on most jobs, and the persecution of anyone who openly and proudly calls himself a Jew.

The Jewish question is inseparable from the national problem in the empire, including Ukraine. This subject should be dealt with extensively in the manifesto of the Ukrainian opposition and they should devote to it as much attention as to our question. It is one of the most important tasks of the Ukrainian liberation movement. The level at which this problem is formulated and the measure of its conception will be evidence of the maturity and scope of the Ukrainian liberation movement. Defence of the rights of Ukrainian Jewry, the fight for the development of its national culture and the reinstatement of Hebrew in the press, publishing houses, and schools, the most vital element in national culture; the encouragement and actual transfer of Russian-language Jewish cultural workers to their native sphere or the Ukrainian sphere; demands to reopen on Ukrainian territory all the former synagogues, Jewish schools, newspapers and journals; the struggle for legislation to guarantee dual citizenship and exit to Israel, are the minimum components of the Jewish national problem in Ukraine. They require everyday attention, purposeful action and have in the joint struggle with the Jews for a renaissance in national and social life, become more urgent in recent years. They remain topical and are inseparable from the great responsibility of each mature Ukrainian to the fate of his nation.***

MOSCOW'S SYSTEM BREEDS CRIME

An important indicator of the health of a society and the development and level of its culture is the number of offences against the criminal code as against the population. The level of democracy and humanitarianism of a regime is proportioned to the measure and guarantee of civil rights and the lawfulness of the repressions. Crime exists and has its reasons and characteristics in every state. The higher the level of culture and the more democratic the system, the lower the index. Thus in Sweden and Switzerland criminal offences as a social phenomenon were liquidated a long time ago. In the USA according to data published in the USSR the prison "population" is 270,000, as against a general population of 215 million. In Europe the overall percentage of crimes is even smaller. At the same time statistical data on the number of criminal offences, the most frequent crimes and the percentage of offenders in the USSR is kept secret. However, according to unofficial calculations made by competent members of the Russian opposition who had certain access to relevant sources of information, "the population" of the empire's concentration camps and prisons is 5-6 million. If in Western European countries prison terms vary from 6 to 12 months, then the corresponding figure for the USSR is 36 to 45 months. Thus, if the lack of elementary civil rights attests to the anti-national character of the Bolshevik regime and its usurpation of state power, then the heavy prison sentences and the severity of the prison regime are indicative of the brutality and violent nature of the system.

The official legal demagoguery attributes the existence of crime in "socialist

***) The next two sections have been omitted for practical reasons.

society" to two basic causes. Firstly, due to external influences from the capitalist world (in spite of the "iron curtain"!), that is "anti-soviet activity", the direction to this aim of official institutions and propaganda services, copying the capitalist way of life, moral "corruption" of the soviet population, particularly the youth, private ownership and the urge for profit and luxury, psychological individualism and other similar "subversive" expedients. Secondly, due to internal reasons, although here again "the influences of capitalism", only its "remnants" in peoples' consciousness: the surviving influences of faith, opinions, habits and traditions left over from the past, and their "moral" effect on peoples' minds. Why then is it that the number of crimes in Czarist Russia during the greatest increase in crime, together with the quite considerable number of political prisoners did not exceed 200,000, while one of the most important causes, the historical context of crime: as a product of the social system, is hushed-up completely? The reason is clear.

For this reason explanations of the causes of inveterate, mass crime given by official criminalists (the most reactionary apologists of the regime) are to put the case mildly, "narrow-minded" and hypocritical. The cause-effect relationship and the motivation of mass crime in the USSR are so broad that it is impossible to explain the problem and deal with it comprehensively in sketch form as one of the frontiers of the empire's communist culture. However, it is essential for our study to pose the problem, trace the fundamental causes and indicate the basic stages in the "development" and "blossoming" of this "frontier" of culture: the reverse side of the culture in whose sphere the totalitarian regime proved to be a major inspiration and "considerable creative force". The crimes are not only moral and legal; the humanitarian system is a façade. The forced slave labour of 5-6 million people has become a potent factor in rapid industrial development and growth; and from this point of view a whole system via the cruel exploitation of workers, particularly those on collective farms. Preaching "complete emancipation" and "the harmonious development of the individual" the system has even transformed the right to work into a new form of slavery and the workers into serfs and automatons of work; this occurred during the first two decades of its existence.

Today scientific and technological progress means that new kinds of relations are necessary which the regime is searching for. However, the share and pace of the bureaucratic machine which came to power by terror, established itself by terror and exists by force, is incapable of changing its coercive nature.

The epidemic of crime was in fact begun by terror. The Bolshevik take-over, civil war, mass terror and repressions during the first decades of the Bolshevik dictatorship caused famine and ruin, while the victims of this monstrosity left behind them hundreds of thousands of orphans and waifs, and anarchy. In addition, the newly formed regime declared as their own the classless elements and vagabonds, dredging up hundreds of thousands of people from the depths of society to the most elevated ranks. Given the

prerogatives of power and carte-blanche to do anything they became a caste and gradually the essence and mirror of society, its basic product, growing faster than electrification, collectivisation and industrialisation etc., Since new blood was needed for self-protection and the strengthening of the regime, the masses were corrupted by mass violence, mass demagogery and hypocrisy. The "product" formed became the criterion of social morality, law and culture. (Interfering once again in the chronology of events may we say in parentheses that crime has become the scourge of society which has today been transformed into a middle-class bureaucracy. However, the regime is powerless to prevent it. Radical changes in social policy and democratization are necessary and their implementation would mean the dissolution of the empire.)

The growth of crime and social malfunctions during radical upheavals is not peculiar to the Russians alone. We know that wars, revolutions and historical cataclysms, repressions and pogroms, and urbanization, together with the mass displacement of population, form the best feeding-ground for outbreaks of crime. It is also well-established that when longstanding or formed governments exist peacefully and make constructive decisions, provided that the content of the decisions are in keeping with and satisfy the needs of the vast majority of the population, there is a drop in the crime rate. It falls even in multi-national states where it is difficult to reconcile social and national interests without causing sharp conflict. In the USSR the crime rate has grown rapidly, another pointer to the regime's anti-national politics, collectivization being one of its most important weapons. Collectivization, depriving the peasants of private ownership of land, the means of cultivation and the fruit of the peasant's work, was aimed not only at strengthening the usurpation of power by the regime thus breaking down village structures, but, and this is one of the chief motives, the weakening of national liberation movements, particularly in Ukraine, the mainstay of which were the villagers and the national intelligentsia. With this aim in mind Ukraine was the first to suffer mass repressions, and artificial famine was organised and tens of millions of Ukrainians perished. By these very means during the 1930's the Ukrainian liberation movement was bled dry and destroyed including general aspirations to statehood. These did not only continue but even spread during the time of the dictatorship. The forced collectivization effected by all means available to the dictatorship, from psychological pressure to confiscation of property; the destruction of the kulaks and the mass deportations to the North and Siberia led to violence, arbitrariness, the ruin of millions of lives and thousands of homeless orphans, and subsequently to fresh outbreaks of crime. This was the aftermath in Ukraine of the artificial famine in this large and most densely populated area. The famine, a crime against Ukraine, will be a constant weight on the Bolshevik dictatorship, exposing its coercive nature and colonialist character not only because it was artificial and killed 10 million Ukrainians but also because it brought about the demoralization and decay of national life which caused the next outbreak of crime.

Forced industrialization and the transfer of millions of inhabitants (15 million migrating annually) had similar effects. The liquidation of the clergy, the destruction of Churches, the debauchery of militant atheism, violence and anarchy accompanied by the unprecedented break up of established structures and traditional morals are also a major cause of this phenomenon. The culmination of this and the point of crime was the formation of a tight network of concentration camps which were filled with the victims of mass repressions. An integral part of the Bolshevik system, acknowledged by the then functionaries and subsequently by the leaders of the state, the camps could hold and usually held up to 20 million people, more than half those who died during the Second World War.

The sacrifice and liquidation of the national life of the subjugated nations are the direct results of the deliberate policy of the regime. As a result, the whole complex of these processes produced over two million real criminals whose lives the regime had no right to ruin. The same applies to the millions of innocent victims. The war and the results of the anti-social policies of the stalinist leadership after the war increased the total number of criminal offenders. Only after the Khrushchev amnesties and a whole series of social reforms which to a certain extent satisfied the needs of the empire's inhabitants was there a significant drop in crime in the late 50's and early 60's. By the end of the 60's it was already beginning to show signs of rapid growth and today the regime has at its disposal an army of criminals, 5-6 million people, about two percent of the entire population. Thus the USA has 270,000 criminals and the USSR has 5 million, a striking ratio between two countries with approximately the same population but with a different way of life and a varying degree of civil rights.

The vast majority of these 5 million belong to the most active, energetic and able-bodied age group, 18-20 to 45. This multi-million army is essentially a free (75% of the "wages" after food and clothing deductions, goes to the State) work force is not only a mass means for economic growth but primarily a pointer to the nature of society, its health and the level of its culture. In recent years even the newspapers have abounded with articles on problems, the decisions of the highest courts and bureaucratic campaigns shaped from above with a suitable range, calculated not so much to remove existing problems as to soothe the man in the street: "the fight against hooliganism", "the fight against theft of socialist property", "the fight against anti-social elements". In other words, the struggle against mass crime, the problem of the juvenile", the large number of young delinquents, "young drug addicts" and so forth. The name and nature of the problems and campaigns are very significant, nevertheless, crime in comparison with the gross national product which is to be increased by a series of stimulating measures, increases in geometrical progression and has become the scourge of the regime. However, apart from the increased repression, harsher sentences, more severe regimes in concentration camps and prisons, particularly the methods of stultifying military drills and starvation which have been practiced with particular persistence in recent years, the bureaucratic

regime is incapable of implementing absolutely essential reforms and taking radical measures in this sphere of life. Each campaign ends in either complete failure or half-hearted temporary resolutions or forgetting which is tantamount to failure, followed by the next series of campaigns. The resolutions pile up, campaigns fail, while advertisements change like film captions. The actual cause is hushed up: the root of evil is the regime itself and its social politics.

The criminal world is aware of this to a certain extent and protests. True, in its own way, spontaneously and unorganised. There have not been strikes and mass riots in recent years, though there have been tens if not hundreds of thousands of individual protests. The most frequent kind are slashing of veins. It is such a mass occurrence that the organs of repression accustomed to this, call it common "blood-letting" and ignore it. Now other forms are spreading: cut-off ears, noses and pieces of flesh are sent by post through various channels to the highest state organs, to Brezhnev, Rudenko and others. Convicts tattoo slogans on their faces: "Slave of the CPSU", "Death to the communists", "Down with Bolshevism" and so forth. The repressive system does not ignore such protests and some protesters are sentenced to long terms while others are condemned to death. The prisons and camps are ruled by the arbitrary repressive system and joint responsibility. The convicts live according to their own rules. Piracy exists between them, knife fights and other malpractices, banditry, gang warfare terrorising the weak, robbery, blackmail and extortion, card games, homosexuality and drug addiction. For every thousand convicted criminals there are on average 150-200 sodomists and approximately the same number of drug addicts. Depending on the regime and the criminal contingent their number may be bigger or smaller: nevertheless, the figures as statistical means are an objective reflection of the real state of affairs.

Open anti-semitism reigns in the concentration camps. Every Jew behind barbed wire, particularly traders, jewelers, stomatologists and so forth and also those on fabricated, criminal charges because they wanted to leave for their homeland, are cruelly persecuted, insulted by filthy judophobic obscenities and contempt. Ransoms are demanded or they are physically liquidated.

Traditional Russian judophobia is stoked up by official anti-semitic propaganda. The same applies to Ukrainians who consciously regard themselves as Ukrainians. This practice is particularly widespread outside Ukraine in the camps where criminals from various nationalities are concentrated. The policy of deliberate assimilation in all sphere of social life with no less marked and even more powerful and effective results is carried out in the camps. The system of mutual responsibility in the administration works as a catalyst for these processes since the organs of repression consist mostly of Russian chauvinists or vetted communist collaborators.

A member of a different nationality having committed a crime is given the heaviest possible sentence. This is particularly the case with inhabitants of villages, towns and cities if they show signs though in no way overt of a

natural inner as it were maternal national consciousness. They form the overwhelming majority and as a rule are not kept in local district concentration camps. They are sent out of Ukraine to camps with a mixed international contingent of criminals, where the lingua franca is exclusively Russian, to places where the prisoner feels particularly isolated from his national milieu, is alienated and open to contempt and intolerance. If he tries to fit in and "merge" with the background, he consciously rejects national particularism and is assimilated more quickly.

In this way on national and even ethnic territory the non-Russian inmates face concentration camps. (the same applies to the army) transformed into a gigantic mincing machine for denationalizing people, obliterating their national individuality, habits, mode of thought converting them into a uniform, monolingual, plain form, an army of multinational workers assimilated by a degraded social structure, its nature, and the level of its social and legal justice which is indicative of its level of culture.

CONCLUSION

Having dealt with only individual sides of society in the empire and Moscow's imperialist policies towards the subjugated nations, we have only traced certain "frontiers" of social life. For obvious reasons we took Ukraine as an example. The notes have not been expanded either vertically or horizontally. Nevertheless, even from the traced contours we have given in relief a realistic picture of the state of the Ukrainian people, their national life, culture and also the real face and strategic aims of the coloniser: to bleed the nation dry and destroy it in the all-consuming cauldron of the empire's Eurasian territory. Moscow's colonial policies, the bleeding dry of the nation and suppression of national-liberation aspirations of the peoples, are always supplemented without mercy. Ukraine is one of the largest nations in Europe and a colony of Moscow: a nation which gave Moscow a name, a historical pedigree and a tremendous potential of creative and human resources. Ukraine's enormous natural resources, her soil, the most fertile in Europe, are exploited, bringing the coloniser huge profits and enabling him to increase his power and intensify exploitation. Ukraine is a geographic region whose location not only caters for considerable expansion but can prevent it, quickly change and shift the balance of power, begin and establish the decolonisation of a huge region of the Earth and many nations, and thus recivilize and bring (or help establish) real freedom and another "pedigree" for Russia. For these very reasons Ukrainians and Ukraine have been and continue to be a matter of top priority to Moscow, were subject in the past and are still subject to particularly cruel pressure and denationalisation.

Consequently, the picture of our life based on the notes is dramatic in content. It could have been even more tragic had it not been for the national achievement in resisting the coloniser, the heroic dedication and devoted selfless efforts of hundreds of thousands of the best sons of Ukraine in the

fight for the nation's right to life, sovereignty and statehood. Today the achievements of past generations, personified by Mykhailo Hrushevsky and Symon Petliura, Yevhen Konovalets and Stepan Bandera, Yaroslav Stetsko and Roman Shukhevych, Mykhailo Soroka and Zenon Tershakivets are regarded with a feeling of national dignity, honour and pride and belong to the most precious values in our national treasury. The work continues. It grows and its scope widens. After unprecedented ruin, the baton has been passed on to new generations of apostles of freedom. Ukraine is on the threshold of qualitative changes in our national liberation struggle. The youngest generation is about to enter the arena, it has great potential and a favourable atmosphere both inside the empire and internationally.

We are about to see the development of new forces and coordinated action. Generations and methods may change but the ideal of our freedom remains eternal, inviolable and steadfast.

Translated by *Wolodymyr Slez*

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(Part 2)

THE FIRST PHASE: CONSOLIDATION AND EXPANSION

After the destruction of the Avars the Antaes were from all indications further harassed by nomadic tribes who chose the southern part of Ukraine as their route to the west. This process of migrations severed the main body of the Antaes off from the Black Sea while pushing parts of them south toward it. The result of this was the splintering of the Antae nation into smaller tribes or clans. In the tenth century we find the Greek writings referring to them by their clan names. The question that may be posed here is: Why was this process of atomization of the Antaes not noticed earlier by the Greeks? There may be several reasons for this but the one that seems to have most credence is the one that maintains that the Greeks, absorbed in the problem of their own survival, and no longer having common borders with the Antaes ceased to write about them and take interest in them since they were no longer a threat to them.⁴⁸

The breakup of the Antaes into smaller more compact units was a process that involved the idea of self preservation and defence. This splintering does not of necessity mean that cooperation between these clans, in the face of a common enemy, was in any serious way affected. While separated physically, the clans that were formerly integral parts of the Antae Federation, remained united and eventually absorbed into the Kievan Rus' State. The "Norman Theory" first expounded in the St. Petersburg Academy by H. Z. Bayer and more concretely formulated by H. F. Miller would have us believe that until the Scandinavians came there was no politically organised entity in the area of Kyiv. This theory, time and again, has been disproved by many historians yet is still tenaciously maintained by many western scholars. It was earlier believed that Askold and Dyr were Scandinavians yet much of the known information points in the other direction, that is, that they were descendants of Kyi, who was, as heretofore believed, not a legendary figure but actually existed. These facts are borne out by the testimony of Al Masudi and Dlugosh.⁴⁹ Much of the information given in the chronicles of Rus' about the coming of the Varangians has no substantiation and is seen as a form of justification of the usurpation of power from Askold and Dyr and an attempt to legalize Oleh's position in the eyes of the citizens of Kyiv. The chronicles have been found to contain many errors and certain facts that were until now believed have been

48) Kotliar, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

49) Braichevskiy, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

disproved by archaeological findings. One of these facts that is related to our topic is the statement in the chronicles that maintains that Askold and Dyr were both killed at the same time. But according to newest findings Dyr was dead a long time before the arrival of Oleh.⁵⁰ When Oleh did arrive, contrary to the Norman interpretation, he found a functioning governmental entity ruled over by its own rulers. More than likely Oleh came as uninvited conqueror and after a struggle subdued Kyiv.

After conquering Kyiv, Oleh consolidated his power and expanded into the areas of the other Antae tribes. The process was slow and in many cases peaceful. The takeover of Kyiv meant the integration of the Poliny, its aristocracy, as well as population, into Oleh's plans. From here he expanded south against the Khazars whose territories were cutting off Kyivan Rus' from the Tmutarakan Rus'. The first attempt against the Khazars proved to be a disaster. Thereafter, the rulers of Kyiv and Tmutarakan coordinated their strength and shortly achieved this union. In the process of expansion Oleh became an ally of Byzantium against the Khazars, attacked Sambar, and integrated into Kyivan Rus' the Siveriane and Radymychi tribes. The Siveriane were physically subdued around 883 while the Radymychi joined Rus' of their own accord in 885. In the west he integrated the Derevlane tribe. Turning southwest he created an alliance with the Antae tribes of Ulychi and Tyvertsi in 885 and from all indications conducted numerous campaigns against the Hungarians, who were then in the territories of these tribes, from 890 to 893. Around 897 the Hungarians were pushed from southern Ukraine and soon the White Croats, another Antae group, joined Oleh.⁵¹ With this all of the Dnieper Black Sea area was now at Oleh's disposal. This union of the tribes is not to be assumed to be the completion of consolidation of power. Some of the tribes joined Kyiv temporarily and regarded themselves autonomous. This gathering of the Antae lands, however, can be considered as the instrument which gave birth to the idea of the creation of the Imperial Kyivan Rus' whose nucleus became the city of Kyiv and its immediate surroundings. Thus according to Rybakov Rus' was only the area of Kyiv. The northern areas, as maintained by Tretiyakov, incorporated into Rus' were not referred to by that name but were merely known as the "upper regions."⁵² This has its parallel in the Roman empire in which conquered areas were called by other names than Rome. Novgorod the Great never really accepted the idea of becoming part of Rus' or calling itself Rus'. Its jealousy of the Kyivan position led Oleh to launch a campaign against it in 882 and after subduing it exacting a tribute from it. At this point the main centres of Kyivan Rus' became Chernihiv, Peretyiaslav and Lubech, while all former Antae lands were also called Rus'.

The tribal consolidation was far from complete by the time of the death of Oleh. From the first treaty with Byzantium we find that Oleh treated

50) *Ibid.*, p. 140.

51) Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

52) Chubatyi, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

some of the rulers of the tribes as his equal and divided the spoils of war with them. This trend still seems to exist during the reign of Ihor and many of the tribes continued to maintain their autonomy. The Ulychi, for example, were conquered only in 940 while the Derevlane in 945. Only in 964 was the last tribe, the Viatychi, incorporated into Rus' by Svyatoslav the Conqueror.

By 885 Kyiv had assumed the character of capital of a rapidly growing state. Even prior to this Kyiv and the surrounding areas of present day Ukraine engaged in commerce and trade. Much of the Greek culture was absorbed by the Ukrainians who were in constant contact with Greek colonies in the Crimea. So important was this trade that it is said that Greek culture depended on Ukrainian bread.⁵³ Kyiv had vigorous economic and cultural contacts with Greek Evpatoria, Kherson (Khersonos), Sudak, Kerch, the Trapesond and Asia Minor. Khersonos became a trade center where "For nations of special importance special warehouses and even special quarters were reserved."⁵⁴ Among these "special nations" were the Genoese, Venetians and the Rus'. The significance of the Rus' in the commerce of the area becomes more apparent during the ninth and tenth centuries when their commercial fleets dominated the Black Sea and the sea was known as "Ruske More" "Mare Rusciae" and "Mare Rucenum."⁵⁵

Since economic considerations seem to be the primary causes of the conflicts between Byzantium and Rus' it is important here to reflect upon Rus' trade and economic life. Of primary significance to the Ukrainian economy were the trails that converged in Kyiv and served as arteries of travel for the merchants of the world. The three main arteries were the "Zalozny Route" (meaning dangerous), the "Salt Route", and the most important the Greek Route (Put Variah v Kreky). All three routes played a significant role in the growth of Rus' economy but the most significant role at this time must be attributed to the "Greek Route". This trail led from the area of the Baltic Sea and along its rivers travelled merchants from Novgorod, Smolensk, Lubech, Chernihiv and other cities. The Dnieper River was its main artery which eventually led to Kyiv, to the Black Sea, and from there to Byzantium, Asia Minor and other places. At certain points along this way boats were drawn out of the water and pulled from the Dvina into the Dniper River. This process was known as "Voloky" (meaning to drag, from the word volochyty). Meeting at Kyiv the merchants would then set out with their fleet and stopped twice along the way at the islands of St. George (Khortitsia) and St. Aetherius (Berezen).

The nature of the Rus' fleet is vividly described by Constantine Porphyrogenitus in his *De Imperio Administrando*. The boats were made during the winter and were sent from Polissia to Kyiv in an unfinished state. Once

53) Sichynskyi, Krym, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

54) Norman H. Baynes and H. St. L. S. Moss, *Byzantium* (Oxford, Press, 1949), p. 65.

55) Hrushevskyi, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

there the boats would be outfitted with sails and oars. They were easy to carry and could accommodate forty persons.⁵⁶ Each year Rus' sent a flotilla of a hundred and sometimes even over a thousand such vessels which then travelled in close proximity to the coastline south to Byzantium. The amount of trade done was enormous. A conservative figure is put at five thousand tons of goods annually were shipped to Greece. This is a very high figure by medieval standards. St. Gotthard Pass, one of Europe's busiest commercial areas, averaged only 1,250 tons of goods shipped. The volume of the flotilla trade of Rus' was far above that of the West European Carolingian period.⁵⁷

The Rus' traded with much of the then known world. Vigorous commercial ties were held with Khazaria, Bulgaria, Spain, Egypt, Italy, Greece and the Arab world. The main exports consisted of agricultural products, fruits, cattle, honey, wax furs, fish, poultry, wood products, metal goods, textiles and finished leather products. On the return trips the Rus' fleet would bring Greek fabrics, gold, wine, glass products, works of art and other goods that brought handsome profits in Kyiv. It is important to note that the chief merchants of Rus' were the Rus' princes. As a result when their commercial rights were violated they would not hesitate to retaliate against the offender. Where peaceful means could not prevail the Rus' Princes were not hesitant to use force. These methods were also used to gain new markets for their goods.

Blocking the way of Rus' economic growth was Byzantium. Aware that if Rus' grew economically so also grew the possibilities that she would lose her commercial monopoly in the Black Sea, as well as her colonies in the Crimea. While a great distributing centre, Constantinople and its merchants lacked the daring of Rus' men. Instead of vigorously seeking new markets Byzantium depended on foreign fleets to come to her shores. This eventually was one of the reasons for her decline and fall.⁵⁸ It is at this time that Rus', more than ever before, became a viable sea power which sought to break out of the restrictions imposed on her by Byzantium. Most of the Rus' attacks against Greece took place in the tenth century when it grew rapidly, and contrary to the opinion of many historians, had a commercial rather than a piratical character. This is borne out by the treaties signed with Byzantium by Oleh, Ihor and later Sviatoslav. If pillage and plunder were the interest of the early Rus' princes no treaties would be necessary. From the treaties that were signed by Oleh and his successors we observe that they tried to regulate and solve political, economic, juridical and other problems that emerged from Rus'-Byzantine intercourse on the Black Sea.

In 907 Oleh set out against Constantinople. The reasons for the war are

56) Popivskiy, *op. cit.*, p. 517.

57) Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia, op. cit.*, p. 31.

58) Baynes, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

not well known but judging from the peace treaties that were signed they were commercial in nature. In this campaign Oleh was joined by ten Slav and one non-Slav tribes. The invasion forces consisted of cavalry which rode across Bulgaria and a fleet of 2,000 ships. Both forces reached Constantinople simultaneously and shortly thereafter the Byzantines sued for peace. Shortly a treaty was signed and according to this document, each ship was to receive 12 hryvnians of silver while each of the major Rus' cities received an indemnity. Kyivan merchants received special privileges; they could now trade without paying the usual 10 percent tax to Byzantium; they received free lodging for six months while in Byzantium as well as all equipment necessary for their ships. In return for these concessions they bound themselves to live in a special area and travel in groups no larger than 50 at a time. In 910 the Rus' in league with Byzantium sent their ships to Crete. This was probably a gesture of friendship to Byzantium.⁵⁹ In 911 the 907 treaty was supplemented with regulations which settled the questions of treatment of the citizens of both states, in case of death or robbery, and also whether Rus' warriors could be hired out by Byzantium as mercenaries. This 911 supplement was more elaborate and probably evolved out of some misunderstanding between Rus' and Byzantium. The conclusion that is drawn from this treaty is obvious; the Rus'-Byzantium relationship was now treated on the basis of full equality.⁶⁰

Around 940 the Rus'-Byzantine relations became strained. The Greeks began imposing limitations on Rus' merchants which included demands that; forbade the merchants to spend the winter in Byzantium, forced them to enter Constantinople by certain gates, and required that each merchant present necessary credentials and that the Rus' fleet be accompanied with a letter from the Rus' prince. The demands mentioned are not completely unreasonable, however, close to Rus' territories, Byzantium began colonizing the Black Sea area and encouraged Pechenig, a nomad tribe which came to this area around 915, attacks again Rus' merchants as they cross the Dnieper Rapids. In retaliation Ihor Oleh's successor, used the Black Bulgars, another nomad group, to attack Byzantine colonies in the Crimea. Thus, for all practical purposes, an undeclared war existed between the two states. The hostilities soon erupted into a full scale war. Ihor dispatched his fleet into the Bosphorus where it confronted the Byzantine fleet and in sea engagement, where the enemy used Greek fire, a new weapon, his navy was defeated. The defeat was not a complete success for the Greeks and the remnants of the Rus' fleet made retaliatory attacks on Greek colonies in Asia Minor. After this the fleet instead of returning to Kyiv went to Tmutarakan Rus' from which, between 943-944, vigorous campaigns were conducted against Transcaucasia.

59) Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

60) Oscar Halecki, *Borderlands of Western Civilization: A History of East Central Europe*, (New York, 1952), p. 36.

The war with Byzantium continued. Ihor returning to Kyiv began to energetically organize another campaign against Byzantium. Beside using the Rus' forces, Ihor hired Varangians and Pechenigs and in the summer of 944 crossed the Danube River. Here the envoys of Emperor Roman Lakapin approached Ihor with rich gifts and the offer of peace. The offer was accepted and in 944 the Greek dignitaries signed a treaty in Kyiv. According to this document almost all the early privileges of the 907-911 treaties were returned. More precise than the previous agreements, it; created a Byzantine-Rus' alliance against the Black Bulgars and Khazars, gave parts of the Black Sea coast to Rus', which with the result that the Sea of Aziv became a Rus' lake, secured Greek fisheries along the Black Sea coast, exerted the promise of each not to destroy each others vessels and limited all expense paid stay of Rus' merchants in Constantinople to one month.⁶¹ The treaty, though not as favourable as the 907-911 treaties, did allow Rus' commerce to grow and flourish.

Although the first objective of the Rus' princes was Byzantium and its markets, they also sought to dispose of their goods in the eastern Moslem world. Between the ninth and tenth centuries expeditions were sent to the Caspian Sea area, Dagestan, Azerbaizan and Sherevan. Since Rus' chronicles mention little of the exploits of its princes in the east the information must be obtained from Arab sources. Mahmud El Hasani mentions Rus' attacks against Abehun between 864 and 884. He also mentions that in 909 they came in 16 ships to Abehun and Mina and conquered them in 910 they attacked Sari, Daylema, and Heylan, but were forced back by the Shah of Sharavan.⁶² Between 912-914 Rus' attacked the Caucasus and Iran by way of the Caspian Sea. Al Masudi writes that involved in that engagement were 500 Rus' vessels in each of which were 100 warriors.⁶³ The number of vessels and men in them is perhaps an exaggeration since the Rus' fleet could not have been any different from the Black fleet. This campaign was motivated by plunder and did not have any commercial or political objectives behind it. To get to the Caspian Sea the Rus' army crossed Khazar territory in exchange for a promise to divide the gains with the Khazar Kagan. The islands near Baku became their base of operations from which Dzhyll, Daylem, Tabarastan and Baku were attacked. On their return the Rus' warriors were attacked by mercenaries of the Moslem merchants of Khazaria and were defeated. The remnants of this force settled in Khazaria.

In 943-944 the rest of the Rus' fleet that set out against Constantinople, after raiding Anatolia and its provinces of Bithynia and Paphlagonia, returned to Tmutorakan. From here an attack was initiated against the Moslem world. This was the largest Rus' army to ever penetrate into the Caspian

61) Nicholas L. Fr. Chirovsky, *Old Ukraine: It's Socio-Economic History Prior to 1781*, (New Jersey, 1963), p. 13.

62) Povivskyi, *op. cit.*, p. 516.

63) *Ibid.*, p. 518.

area. Its first attack was against Berda in Azerbaijan. The army of the city was defeated and the city taken. The nature of the attack was different from previous campaigns into the Moslem world. They were no longer after plunder but after permanent colonies. Testimony to this is given by Rus' words as recorded by Ibn Mishkawaih the Arab chronicler:

*There is no dispute between us on the matter of religion; we only desire the sovereignty; it is our duty to treat you well and yours to be loyal to us.*⁶⁴

The idea then was to hold the land, obtain new market, and exact tribute. The local aristocracy submitted, but the Rus' soon left unable to cope with the climate and food of the area.

THE SECOND PHASE: A DREAM OF EMPIRE

Ihor's untimely death left Olha, his wife, to rule in the name of her son Sviatoslav who was at the time too young to assume control of the Kyivan Realm. Byzantium counting on the weakness of Rus' felt that the time was opportune to break the treaty that it signed with Ihor in 944. It is probably because of this breach of faith that Olha, with a retinue of forty merchants, twenty nobles and one priest, travelled to Constantinople. The mission to Byzantium proved a failure in spite of the offer of the Greek Emperor to marry her. The Rus' position on the Black Sea was not improved and commercial rights were further curtailed.

An issue that was discussed by Olha at the Byzantine court was the question of Christianity. Although many maintain that while in Constantinople Olha became a Christian, according to Constantine Porphyrogenitus she was already one on arrival.⁶⁵ Olha hoped that the Christianization of Rus' would improve the commercial ties between the two states but she was keenly aware of the implications and the danger of accepting Christianity from Byzantium. Christianity, in the form offered by the Greeks, was a direct threat to the sovereignty of Rus'. Aware that the Emperor of the East was also regarded as the head of the Church, Olha asked that the Rus' Church be regarded autonomous. When this was refused her she imitated the policy of the Bulgarian Khan who in 860 asked the Pope to send his missionaries and in this way forced Constantinople to recognize the autonomy of his Church. Olha appealed to the German Emperor Otto I to send missionaries to Rus' and in 960 a Monk from St. Alban's monastery was consecrated the first bishop of the Rus'. Unfortunately, he died on the way and his successor the monk Adalbert of Trier was not accepted by Kyiv. The reasons for this may have been that there was probably a misunderstanding between Otto and Olha or that the pagan party of Rus' with Sviatoslav at its head, was still too strong to be ejected from power.

By 962 Sviatoslav, the first Kyivan Rurikite ruler with a Slavic name, became old enough to assume power. With his rule the energy that was

64) Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia, op. cit.*, p. 35.

65) *Ibid.*, p. 40.

dormant under Olha was released. Much can be said about Sviatoslav and his campaigns but the most important aspect that should be mentioned is that they were well planned and executed. This ruler whose stature remind one of a seventeenth century Ukrainian Kozak was above all a soldier who although pagan, had a high sense of chivalry and usually warned his enemy that he is setting forth against them. His campaigns were not only concerned with creating an atmosphere conducive to Rus' trade but also expansion. Under him then was born the idea of Rus' as an empire.

With empire in mind Sviatoslav made plans to unite Tmutorakan Rus with Kyivan Rus', to extend his control over the Sea of Azov, and open the gates to the Caspian Sea. To achieve these objectives the defeat of the Khazars and Volga Bulgars was necessary. The pretext for this undertaking was soon found. Ihor's Treaty of 944 with Byzantium committed Rus' to protect the Crimea from the Khazars. About 963 a dispute arose between the Khazars and the Tmutorakan Rus' over control of several Gothic towns on the Crimean Peninsula. The Goths appealed to the Tmutorakan Rus' princes to call a conference on this matter. This was done, and according to the *Report of Gothic Toparch*, a chronicle, the conference decided to appeal to "the ruler north of the Danube who possessed a strong army and was proud of his military forces and from whose people they did not differ in customs and manner".⁶⁶

This excerpt is quite interesting when considering that after a fairly long separation from its matrix the Slavs in Tmutorakan Rus' and Crimea still regarded themselves as part of the same culture. Shortly, envoys sent to Kyiv and a treaty by which Tmutorakan and the Goths recognized Sviatoslav as their Suzerain was signed in exchange for his promise to defend them. In 963 Sviatoslav attacked the Khazars destroyed Sarkel and proceeded south to the Kuban region. Here the Circassians submitted to him and shortly he entered Tmutorakan, uniting the two Ruses', and probably taking the title "kahan of Rus'". This was only the first campaign against the Khazars. From here he turned to the Volga Bulgars who controlled the entrance into the Caspian Sea. His campaigns had definite objectives, as was already mentioned, and they were so far sighted as to deprive the Byzantines of Allies who continuously harassed Rus' flanks whenever she set out against Byzantium.

But once again Byzantium succeeded to divert Rus' from its objectives. The Greek envoy Kolokyras, magistrate of Kherson, was sent to negotiate a treaty with Sviatoslav in the name of emperor Nicephorus Phocas. The emperor hoped to chastise the Bulgarians on the Balkan Peninsula and hoped to use Sviatoslav in this task. Prior to this when the Bulgarian envoy approached the emperor for subsidies the emperor assumed a militant posture and exclaimed that the days of softness were over. In his abusive language he referred to the Bulgarians as a "hideous race of beggars" "Scythians of Bulgaria" and as a culmination point exclaimed; "There be of with you! And learn in future a proper respect for the Roman name you

66) *Ibid.*, p. 43.

that are triple slaves, the sons of dogs".⁶⁷ This insult was of course tantamount to a declaration of war. For his assistance against the Bulgars, Sviatoslav received a subsidy of 1500 pounds of gold as an advance payment.

In 967 the war began and Sviatoslav invaded the Balkans with from 40,000 to 60,000 Rus' warriors and 16,000 Greek auxiliary troops under Kalokyras. Too late did Byzantium realize its folly. Sviatoslav was not after booty but after territory. By winter the Rus' warriors stormed and took Pereiaslavets. Sviatoslav's progress was halted by news that Kyiv was surrounded by the Pechenigs, a nomad nation, which undoubtedly was bribed, by the now apprehensive Greeks, to attack Rus' in order to avert Sviatoslav's attention. Post haste Sviatoslav returned to Kyiv and defeated the Pechenigs. Since the nomads were obviously given safe passage through Khazaria Sviatoslav set out on another campaign and destroyed this merchant empire. This and previous victories against the Bulgarians left Rus' in a dominant economic position in Tmutorakan, the Kerch Strait, the northern Danube area and Pereiaslavets.⁶⁸ This was followed up by the strengthening Kyivan power on the Black Sea and intensive colonization of the Tmutorakan and surrounding areas.⁶⁹

Having achieved great victories in the east Sviatoslav expressed his desire to establish his capital in Pereiaslavets a city on the Danube. Once again he set out against Bulgaria. The Byzantines and Bulgarians by this time had settled their differences and Tsar Boris of Bulgaria adopted a pro-Byzantine policy. Sviatoslav shortly succeeded in taking Preslav and capturing Tsar Boris. Kalokyras hoping to profit from Sviatoslav's victories urged the overthrow of Emperor Nicephorus Phocas. This did take place but the new emperor became not Kalokyras but John I. Tsimiskis. Sviatoslav took advantage of the confusion caused by the murder of Nicephorus Phocas and in 970 advanced into the Balkans destroying Greek armies on the way. Advancing south he attacked Phillipopolis, Thrace and Adrianople. From there he proceeded south to Macedonia destroying everything before him. In the meantime the Greek army underwent a reform that was initiated by the last emperor Nicephorus. Leading this army were two able generals Bardas Sclerus and Bardas Phocas. After the Battle of Arcadiopolis Sviatoslav returned to the fortress of Dorostol where some of his forces were garrisoned. In July 971 John I Tsimiskis recaptured Preslav and freed the Bulgarian Tsar. Besieged in Dorostol Sviatoslav time and again led out forays against the Greeks. Surrounded by an army of 100,000 Byzantine soldiers he exhorted his warriors to battle :

We shall not bring shame upon the Rus' land, but here shall we lay down our bones! There will be no shame attached to the

67) Romily Jenkins, *Byzantium: The Imperial Centuries* (Hartfordshire: Garden City Press Ltd., 1966), p. 280.

68) B. Rybakov, *Early Centuries of Russian History*, (Moscow, 1965), p. 45.

69) Sichynskiyi, *Nazva Ukrainy, op. cit.*, p. 17.

*dead . . . We shall stand firm and I shall go before you. When my head falls, then think about yourselves!*⁷⁰

In the end however 16,000 Rus' warriors fell and a treaty was concluded between Byzantium and Rus'. In July 971 the remnants of Sviatoslav's armies were provisioned and allowed to return back home in exchange for Sviatoslavs promise to abandon Bulgaria and Crimea and not to conduct war against Byzantium. Previous friendly relations between the two were to be resumed.⁷¹ Byzantium however was not satisfied with this treaty and fearing possible wars in the near future bribed the Pechenigs to attack Sviatoslav's returning army near the Dniپر Rapids. To incite this attack news was circulated among the Polovtsi that he was returning with great riches and few warriors. After attacking and killing Sviatoslav, Kuria, the the Khar of the Pechenigs, had Sviatoslav's head fashioned in gold as a drinking cup

Upon learning of the death of Sviatoslav his son Volodymyr ascended the throne. Unlike his father he thought in terms of consolidation and conquest of territories that originally belonged to the Antaes or territories that impeded the desired growth of Rus'. Also, unlike his father, Volodymyr avoided overextension or war on two fronts. Aware of Byzantine policy of using one nation against another he hoped to unify Rus' and remove the nomadic hordes as a threat to the commerce and normal growth of his realm. Not interested in the Balkan Peninsula Volodymyr used the energy of Rus' to build a chain of fortresses which would aid in defence against the nomadic Pechenigs who by this time made frequent raids against Rus' and prevented it from following its normal commercial pattern. To assure unity with Tmutorakan, Volodymyr initiated a campaign against the Eastern Bulgars and defeated them. This allowed him to reestablish contact with the Sea of Aziv area and for a time assured close cooperation with that region. In the west Volodymyr reconquered former Rus' territories and incorporated the Cherven Cities and Peremyshl into his realm.

Aware of the unifying force of the Christian religion, Volodymyr, while not opposed to it, also knew the danger of accepting it from Byzantium. In the hope of establishing a religion that would successfully counter Christianity, he proceeded to establish a uniform pagan religion with Perun as the main diety. This experiment did not come to fruition as Volodymyr had hoped. The ground was already too well prepared for Christianity and the Pagan party was too weak to oppose it as it did during the reign of Olha.

Having achieved consolidation Volodymyr curtailed the autonomy of the clans and appointed his sons to rule in the Rus' provinces. Thus strengthened Rus' once again began to play an important part in Byzantine politics. Tsimiskis expulsion of Rus' warriors from Bulgaria did not profit the Byzantines but strengthened the former, who in 986 defeated the Greek armies. Emperor Basil II smarting under the blows of Bulgaria also had

70) Rybakov, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

71) Hapusenko, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

problems at home. From 976-979 he fought Bardos Skleros, a relative of Tsimiskis, who revolted against his rule. Successfully crushing the Bardos Skleros revolt with the aid of Bardos Phokas, the nephew of Nikephorus Phokas, Basil now had his ally, who hoped to become emperor, to contend with. Basil therefore appealed to Volodymyr for aid in exchange for payment and the promise of his sisters hand in marriage. After agreeing to this arrangement, Volodymyr dispatched an army of 6,000 men to Greece. By the spring of 988 the revolt was crushed and Bardos Phokas lost his life at the battle of Obydos.

Having achieved this victory Basil II was in no hurry to send his sister to Volodymyr as agreed. It must be pointed out that members of the ruling house of Byzantium were called the "Poshyrogenitus" (born in the purple) and were not given in marriage to foreign rulers. Otto I approached Byzantium on this question and hoped to arrange a marriage between Anna the sister of Basil and Otto II his son. The Byzantine Emperor and the then living Nikophorus Phokas not only refused but even laughed at the German proposal. It is to be expected then that the attitude of the Emperor Basil II to Volodymyr would not be much different. This breach of faith with Volodymyr caused the latter to mount a campaign against Crimea and the taking of the most important Greek city Kherson after a siege of six months. The conquest was followed up with a threat that the same fate awaits Constantinople if the agreement is not fulfilled.

The emperor being in a vulnerable situation, especially since many of his personal guards were Rus' mercenaries, post haste dispatched princess Anna to Volodymyr. It is probably here in Kherson that Volodymyr became a Christian. His accepting of the faith was timely in that Byzantium was weak and would not have too much say in the Christian Church of Rus'. This was precisely the point that Byzantium was most reluctant to concede. The pressure was applied to Byzantium with the appearance of Papal envoys in Rus'. A certain amount of autonomy was finally granted to the Rus' Church by Constantinople. Before bringing priests and ikons and religious books from Crimea to Kyiv, Volodymyr went to Tmutorakan and had himself proclaimed Kahan.⁷² In 988 Rus'-Ukraine was Christianized and Kherson, as a gesture of good will, was returned to Byzantium.

After Volodymyr's death a fratricidal war among his sons took place in Rus'. The sons of the dead ruler contented for the throne of Kyiv. After the death of Boris and Hlib and the defeat of Sviatopolk there remained only two contenders for the throne of Kyiv, Iaroslav of Novgorod and Mstyslav of Tmutorakan. After a battle which took place between the two in 1024 and which Mstyslav won, Rus' was divided along the Dniper River and both ruled as co-rulers. Together they reconquered the lands of Cherven that were lost to Polish king Boleslav during the civil war and conducted campaigns against the barbarian nomads. The Pechenigs were at that time

72) Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

the most fierce of the nomadic groups. From 915 to 1036 there, not counting small engagements, there were 16 wars fought against them. In 1036 when Mstyslav died Rus' was once again reunited under Iaroslav. In that same year he undertook a campaign against the Pechenigs and defeated them. After this they ceased to be a threat to Kyiv and moved into the Balkans. Of Kyiv and the threat posed to it by the Pechenigs before the victory by Iaroslav, Titmar von Merseburg in his chronicle dated about 1017 writes the following:

*The hostile Pedenei (Pechenigs) frequently raid it (Kyiv) upon the incitement of Boleslav (Prince of Poland)... In this great city are over 400 churches and 8 market places, and a great multitude of people.*⁷³

This contemporary description shows not only the role of Pechenigs in Rus' but also the role of commerce in Kyiv which had 8 market places and within twenty nine years of its conversion could boast 400 Christian Churches. By 1039 Rus' had eight eparchies and a Metropolitan who was first appointed by Constantinople for all of Rus' by Patriarch Photius.

Between 1042 and 1043 Rus' once again clashed with Byzantium. It appears that during a quarrel a Rus' merchant was killed in Constantinople. Not getting the satisfaction demanded from Byzantium Iaroslav launched an attack against Constantinople in 1043. The Rus' fleet of 400 ships under the leadership of Iaroslav's son Volodymyr and Voyevoda Vyshayta encountered the Greek navy near Pharos. Because of a storm the Rus' fleet which, as we have seen, consisted of small craft, was forced to retreat and was pursued by the Greek ships which used "Greek fire". In a skilful manoeuvre Volodymyr managed to surround the Byzantine fleet destroyed part of it and forced the rest to surrender. Another part of the Rus' fleet, under Vyshata, due to the storm, was forced to land, was captured by the Greeks who either blinded them or had their right hands cut off. After this a three year cessation of hostilities took place and then again relations were served. Iaroslav seized this occasion to ignore the Patriarch of Constantinople and appoint Ilarion the first Metropolitan of Kyiv that was of Rus' origin. The Greeks remonstrated by attacking the Rus' monastery on Mount Athos. By 1052 a treaty was signed with Byzantium and Vsevolod, Iaroslav's son, married a Greek princess.

Thus ended the last campaign of Rus' against Byzantium. After this Byzantium declined. Recent archaeological discoveries prove that Rus' had achieved the status of empire on equal footing with Byzantium and the Holy Roman Empire. Graffiti found on the walls of the St. Sophia Church indicate that Iaroslav used the title of Tsar (caesar).⁷⁴ The role of Kyivan Rus' and its place in the world of the eleventh century is eloquently expressed by Dr. Ross Hoffman who writes:

⁷³ Sichynskyi, *Ukraine in Foreign Comments, op. cit.*, p. 37.

⁷⁴ S. Vysockyi, "Litopysy na Stinakh Kyivskoi Sofii", *Kalendar-Almanakh UNS* (New Jersey, 1967), p. 222. See also his *Pro scho rospovily davni stiny* (Kiev, 1978), pp. 30-31.

*The most exposed of the Russian (Rus' G. K.) cities to the Byzantine influence was Kiev, the greatest commercial center north of Constantinople. Within a hundred years of Vladimir's conversion, Kiev boasted hundreds of churches, schools and monasteries and was the most splendid Christian City in Europe after Constantinople.*⁷⁵

CONCLUSION

In this paper we have attempted to describe the nature of Rus'Byzantine military and economic relations. It was our aim to point out that the state of Rus' was a very vital force in the Black Sea area and that in comparison to the other medieval states of Europe Kyivan Rus' was second only to Byzantium. In our dealing with the Rus'Byzantine trade relations we submitted that the wars against Byzantium were motivated by commerce rather than war spoils. This fact we underlined with the argument that states or nations that are interested in warfare as an instrument of pillage and robbery rarely sign commercial treaties.

The strength of Rus' becomes more evident when we consider that in almost every war with Byzantium it had to fight a war on two fronts. Had there existed more stable conditions in southeastern Europe the strength of Rus' would have probably been consolidated and a Rus' empire, about which Sviatoslav dreamt, would have emerged. In spite of the problems that Rus' had to overcome it did manage to become a first rate power and was equated with the Holy Roman and the Byzantine Empires.

The Black Sea known as the "Rus' Sea" was not lost to Rus' commerce altogether. As late as 1187-1189 when the *Lay of Ihor's Host* was written we find mention of Rus' dominating the mouth of the Danube and the entrance to the Black Sea. The author addressing Yaroslav Osmomysl writes:

*— you sit perched high upon your golden throne, strengthening the Hungarian Mountains with your iron regiments, blocking the way for the king, closing the gates of the Danube, throwing weights over the clouds, administering justice to the Danube.*⁷⁶

Thus, still in possession of an entrance to the Black Sea, Rus' probably could have fared much better had not a new horde, the Mongolians of Batu Khan, made their appearance in Eastern Europe.

⁷⁵ Ross J. Hoffman *et. al.*, *Man and His History*, (New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc. 1960), p. 220.

⁷⁶ Ivan Ohienko, *Slovo Pro Ihoriv Pokhid*, (Winnipeg: Christian Press Ltd., 1949), p. 144.

Ivan MIRTSCHUK

HISTORY OF UKRAINIAN CULTURE

Below we begin a series of 10 chapters in English translation from "Geschichte der Ukrainischen Kultur" by the above named author, published by Veröffentlichungen des Osteuropa Institutes, München, Herausgeber Hans Koch, in 1957. This work, which is in the tradition of several other publications of prof. Ivan Mirschuk, especially his "Ukraine and its People" published by the Ukrainian Free University in 1949, gives an overview of Ukrainian Culture and points out the main currents in Ukrainian thought against a historical and psychological background. Without pretending to be exhaustive, it forms a useful platform for deeper study of the subject, and is by no means merely a reference book.

This publication, from which we publish in English translation 10 chapters, received a favourable review from John A. Armstrong. Hans Koch describes Mirschuk as being particularly well qualified to introduce the Western European reader to the Ukrainian people and the history of their culture.*

We would like to thank Günter Olzog Verlag GmbH München for the kind extension to us of their copyright.

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GESCHICHTE DER UKRAINISCHEN KULTUR — IVAN MIRTSCHUK

Veröffentlichungen des Osteuropa-Institutes p. 55 — 181.
München, Herausgeber: Hans Koch, Band XII.
Isar Verlag., 1957.
II. (p. 55).

Spiritual Landmarks of the Ukrainian Nation

NATIONAL PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE

The cultural influences at play on Ukrainian territory since the Early Stone Age left a distinct impression and formed if not all to the same extent the spiritual make-up of the Ukrainian which is clearly distinguish-

able in his activity, thought and way of life, or in general terms, his national philosophy of life.

The treatment of the question of national philosophy of life is extremely difficult, the major problem being methodology. It is not easy to rise above everyday matters, understand and describe the character of the Ukrainian people as a unity. The nature of the territory settled by Ukrainians for many centuries, its breadth and width, produced a situation where the same land was inhabited by people with the same name, but differing markedly in the way they reacted to living phenomena as a whole.

The differences are all the more pronounced by the fact that for centuries Ukrainians have been forced to live in foreign states subject to the influence of the ruling nation. There are still many other conditions which determine the various characteristic traits of a people. Paying attention to appearances and externals will only place considerable obstacles in our path. If, however, we can disregard insignificant fortuitous details relevant to only a small part of the national organism, and see into things, we may still be able to understand the many facets of national life based on the character of a people and its basic psychic structure. For the "soul has a basic structure which is certainly not easy to grasp but to which our thoughts lay claim, and which can be demonstrated to a certain extent. This is what we mean by national character: the soul actually does have a basic structure which is more or less a continuum in a state of change, and can be regarded as a national factor even though it is subject to definite fluctuations". (Müller-Freienfels).

For the purposes of this type of study, it is important to also make a comparison with other European peoples and particularly with immediate neighbours, since it is generally easier to make correct observations about foreign organisms and therefore come closer to the truth. By determining various divergences in the problems which face all peoples equally, we are able to gain knowledge of our own make-up.

RELATIONSHIP WITH THE EARTH — A CHIEF COMPONENT OF PSYCHIC STRUCTURE

If, after these introductory remarks we return to the question of the basic elements of the Ukrainian national philosophy of life it is immediately clear that the main feature of the spiritual life of the whole nation is the inner link with the soil, Mother Earth.

This fact, like a firm foundation supports the edifice of the Ukrainian philosophy of life which without it as its carrier and chief support, would inevitably collapse.

Ukrainians are decidedly a farming people. A fleeting glance at their history is sufficient evidence of the fact that Ukraine has been an agricultural land not only since early history but for many centuries now. The area around the Dnipro River is cultivated by farmers. Agriculture in its primitive form was already being pursued by the Indo-Germans in their

ancestral homeland, however, around the Dnipro it must have been intensified both in terms of method and compass. We must remember that in the first century A.D. Ukraine was already a grain-exporting country and was even then regarded as the granary of the Black Sea and Mediterranean region. Likewise agriculture during the Kyivan period was a chief branch of the Dnipro region economy, a fact which is merely obscured by the one-sided emphasis on urban life and culture. On the contrary, agricultural development outstripped urban culture.

This development formed in the inhabitants a remarkably strong bond with the soil which is today still characteristic of Ukrainian farmers and indeed is not exclusive to an individual social group but applies to the whole nation; the intelligentsia of today are mostly descendants of farmers. The life of the entire Ukrainian nation was until very recently completely bound up with its native soil, seeing it as their most powerful weapon by means of which it could hold its ground not only by virtue of the land allotted to it by providence in spite of many heavy invasions, but also in recent times to conduct a policy of expansion which should be given due note. The settlement of Siberia, the Far East and the emigration of farmers to the USA and Canada are sufficient evidence of this. It is obvious that this bond with the earth must also produce a corresponding spiritual support for the Ukrainian people. In language, literature, folk-lore and custom, in religious life and cultural development, music, the plastic arts and philosophy, everywhere we can see clearly and unmistakably the strong organic link between man and the earth which he tilled and which nourished him.

The Ukrainian national poet Taras Shevchenko was the son of a farmer and serf (*glebae adscriptus*) whose friends bought him out of bondage. Spiritual dissociation was impossible, for the poet's whole soul and all its fibres were rooted in his native soil. Separation from it would have meant his spiritual death. The fact that the Ukrainian national poet later no longer a serf but a celebrated artist and poet, very popular in the best social circles of the Russian capital, is depicted in peasant dress and thus passed on to posterity, is on no account based on external impressions but on a deeply rooted symbol of his whole spiritual make-up. "Shevchenko the poet", wrote Kostomarov¹ "was the nation". Thus the externals of

Shevchenko's poems whether written in St. Petersburg or in exile in the semi-asiatic East vibrate with an unrelenting heartfelt desire to be buried in his beloved Ukraine on native soil. This pious, deeply felt wish of the poet which his fellow countrymen carried out, is expressed in his poem *Testament* (1845):

1) Mykola Kostomarov (1817-85), historian, publicist, writer; member of the Brotherhood of St. Cyril & Methodius together with Taras Shevchenko. Among its ideas the Brotherhood propagated democracy and a Ukrainian national renaissance. Shevchenko's life assume a symbolic meaning for the whole nation.

TESTAMENT

Wenn ich sterbe, so bereitet	When I die, then make my grave
Mir mein Grab als Zinne,	High on an ancient mound,
Wo die Steppe weit sich breitet,	In my own beloved Ukraine,
In der Ukraine:	In steppeland without bound:
Das ich höre, rauh den rauhen	Whence one may see wide-skirted
Sich mit Saaten füllen;	wheatland,
Dass ich höre, rauh den rauben	Dnipro's steep-cliffed shore,
Wilden Dnipro brüllen . . .	There whence one may hear the
(Translation by Hans Koch)	blustering

(2)

(3)

Even the most important Western Ukrainian poet Ivan Franko, likewise of peasant-farmer stock pointed frankly and without reserve to agriculture as the foundation of a new period in human development:

"I am a peasant — prologue, not epilogue".

The reviving force of Ukrainian literature at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century, Ivan Kotliarevskyj, had his roots in the life of the common people and the land. His characters are imbued with the spirit of the earth and are products of the Ukrainian steppe steeped in warm sunlight.

A theoretical interpretation of this link with the soil has been given by the contemporary Ukrainian historian and sociologist V. Lypynskyj who was the first Ukrainian thinker to refer consciously to this fundamental constituent of the national philosophy of life in his *Letters to my brother farmers* (1921-22) and by further extrapolation of this principle pointed to a battling farming class as the foundation and carriers of modern Ukrainian statehood.

The philosopher P. Jurkevych offers an "argumentum a contrario". His work was fruitful and very promising while he remained in Kyiv in his native country; as a professor of the University of Moscow he lost contact with his native earth and became almost completely unproductive.

Vasyl Stefanyk the contemporary writer in his gripping short story *The Earth*, gives a remarkably simple, very enlightening and moving synthesis of the complete philosophy of the farmer merged with the earth spirit:

The earth is our destiny; leave it and you perish, embrace it tightly and it will drain all your strength, tear out your soul with bare hands; you embrace it, submit to it, it sucks the blood from your veins; but in return you have herds of sheep and horses, and haystacks; and for your effort it gives you a house full of children and grandchildren who laugh like silver bells and whose cheeks are as red as the fruit of the guelder rose . . ."

2) As in original German text, (*Geschichte der Ukrainischen Kultur*).

3) Translation by Vera Rich from *Song out of Darkness* (published by the Shevchenko Centenary Committee 1961.)

Tied to the soil there grew in the Ukrainian a deep feeling for the beauties of nature. The result of this aesthetic sense developed under the influence of nature is the visible effort to express the beauty of form, harmony of colour and originality of theme even in the immediate surroundings: in the arrangement of living quarters, the making of clothes or everyday utensils. In building a church, arranging a garden, weaving an apron or shawl and making a table or bench, the aesthetic and not the practical aspect is the decisive factor.

It is not surprising then that the rich and valuable folk music and likewise the no less rich and original folk poetry obey the law of aesthetic sense in the same way, a law which can only be traced back to the innermost intercourse with nature and experience of her beauty. This strong link with the earth has also formed the unbreakable bond between the Ukrainian, his culture and Western Europe and at the same time is a clear and characteristic feature which distinguishes him from his north-eastern neighbour, the Russian. The latter in fact lacks any emotional attachment to the earth: when involved in agriculture it is never out of love for Mother Earth, but a compulsion or hope of making a rich profit. Consequently, the Russians are the best traders among the Slavs. Due to an overattachment to the field and its functions the real farmer whose ancestors for generations had lived out their lives on the same stretch of land, becomes too sluggish and lacks mobility which the nomadic people take for granted, to their great advantage in trading.

IDEALISM

The idealism of Ukrainians which is a projection of purely subjective viewpoints stemming from the outside world, dominates their whole action and thought. Not material objective reality as we meet it but a "wished reality" built on imagination and strongly permeated by elements of fantasy, forms the basis for all action and decision. Ukrainian history abounds with examples of this view. I will only mention two characteristic cases.

The Ukrainian historian Kostomariv prompted by messianistic ideas wrote a gospel of the Ukrainian people representing its mission assigned by providence, to play a leading role in the history of mankind. The work designed to give new strength to an oppressed nation and its life a new meaning against the sad backcloth of reality, hovers in such cloudy idealistic trains of thought, confusing actual correlations, that they could scarcely survive the transition to real life. I do not wish to claim that a people should only be concerned with life in this world and can dispense with ideals. On the contrary, without a possibly unattainable though stimulating aim, development is impossible. The point of departure for this higher striving must lie in the world surrounding us and not in the evidence of our imagination. Even Franko, in spite of the most awful experiences during his troubled life, retained an idealistic belief in mankind, his innate goodness, and his inclination to beauty and morality. All his characters, even the worst, show good sides or at least traces of positive qualities sufficient to make improve-

ment possible. It is obvious to him that man is not by nature evil but is led astray by foreign influence. Some critics declare that it was only the belief in an ideal humanity and the possibility of progress which gave Franko the moral strength to persevere and work for the good of his own people and culture without rest or respite. The idealising tendency of Ukrainians is evident in their dealings with women who in Ukrainian society in general, occupy a privileged position. Even the female characters in Ukrainian literature are idealised and spiritualised; and their mistakes and weaknesses do not detract from their inner worth but rather enhance their charm and highlight their grace.

Behind this fanciful idealistic flight of the thirsting soul the sense of reality almost completely disappears. The playwrights of the 19th century produced from their point of view very "positive" female characters in rich assortment — national heroines, maidens good, true and lovely to the point of boredom, unfortunate victims of men's wives, and finally, prophetesses steeped in tragedy. We must stress here that the completely antiquated plays filled with such characters are becoming more and more popular to the Ukrainian public and were performed on countless occasions until recently in the cities and villages where they enjoyed great success.

ORIENTATION TO THE WEST AND INDIVIDUALISM

The Western philosophy of life has based itself from time immemorial on the "self", the individual consciousness. In this respect Ukrainians are completely oriented to the West. Although they lack an independent philosophical system in which the "self" is expressed as an established principle or basis for further speculation, nevertheless their entire spiritual life, philosophical thought, view of morality, formation of legal norms and all the more so their practical activity emanate from the notion of individuality whose limitation even in the interests of the community at large is always felt as a painful blow to the free will. The individualistic attitude of the Ukrainian is clearly reflected in his concept of social order, and the principles of community in social life. He rejects completely forms of social life with a rigid system of discipline presupposing unconditional subordination without thinking what kind of unwholesome effect this may have on the security of general interests and in the long term even his own personal advantage. This sociological individualism sees the individual as an end in itself whereas the community is merely the sum or union of individuals and a means to guarantee their wellbeing. According to this concept the community — "hromada" in Ukrainian — is a voluntary union of individuals who for the moment have agreed to work together with a common aim but completely free to break their tie even to the point of taking extreme measures against the community if they feel that their personal freedom is threatened or selfishness takes the upper hand in the community.

The structure of the Russian community the "Mir" is fundamentally and diametrically opposed to the above system. It is the spiritual expression

of the collective will going to another extreme: abolishing personal independence completely. The essence and basic tenet of the Russian "Mir" is compulsion proceeding from the government as the organ of divine will. Any resistance to this God-given compulsion is a terrible sin which the ordinary Russian may not commit. This way of thinking formed and continues to form favourable ground for the thriving and flourishing of every kind of absolutist regime. As opposed to Western European thought the characteristic feature of the Russian philosophy of life is an outright aversion to individualism and reliance on a kind of spiritual collectivism. In spite of the most ardent attempts of some Russian scholars to explain away and mitigate this feature of the Russian psyche one cannot deny the Slavophile view that the Russian psyche inclines towards the collective in the sense that it detests personal freedom and contracts and private ownership, preferring collectivist economic models already proven in the past by the original Russian commune or "obschina". Even today collectivisation experiments carried out in the Soviet Union sacrificing the lives of millions of people are most indicative of the fact that the relevant measures of the Soviet government hardly meet any opposition in Russia itself while the Ukrainian farmers were prepared to fight to the death to protect the principle of private ownership as the basic of Western culture which they did in spite of their desperate position.

THE DOMINANCE OF EMOTIONS

If we are to understand correctly the foundations of the Ukrainian philosophy of life we must also refer to the basic psychic structure of Ukrainians and explain the characteristics and functions whose prevalence and particular colouring condition the general character of their psychology. What we notice first is the marked preponderance of emotions and feelings over the rational side. Not reason — the ratio — so characteristic of occidental thought and philosophy, but emotions rising from the very depths of the soul are the leitmotiv of their actions. Ukrainians are capable momentarily of limitless enthusiasm only to sink into deep apathy and despair after the first failure. They are capable of feeling the deepest emotions of love which are dominant in their spiritual life, however, very often the emotion for the slightest cause turns to the opposite extreme of irrational though emotinally understandable hatred. The imbalance, the enormous fluctuations of emotion within these poles are extremely detrimental to maintaining a certain inner order and stability and form a major perhaps even decisive obstacle to systematic thought.

Love is a dominant force in Ukrainian life and is primarily a product or concomitant of the relationship between mother and child. The mother's love in all conceivable forms creates the spiritual prism through which most objects and phenomena of public and private life are seen and coloured according to their angle of refraction. Love embraces a huge complex of themes recurring in literature, the plastic arts and music. I have not discussed here the manifestations of this principle in everyday life, though I should

mention that among the few representatives of Ukrainian philosophy, Jurkevych produced a system in the 19th century — *sit venia verbo* — of the philosophy of the heart which declared all-out war on both materialism, mechanical rationalism and intellectualism.

In his analysis of contemporary philosophical problems Jurkevych comes to the conclusion that philosophical knowledge expressed in intellectual terms is totally incapable of grasping complete and real being. Our philosophy is subject to a certain limitation inherent in human perception. These limits arise because behind the intellect and its ability to understand the world, another deeper or higher function of the human soul is concealed on which the intellect is based and which actually provides the latter with possibilities to develop. This proto-function of the human soul is performed by the human heart. The philosophy of the heart which Jurkevych expounded in his work *"The heart and its significance in the spiritual life of man"*, is a typical transition from Platonism to very recent philosophy, and is diametrically opposed to Kant and his followers. I have returned to Jurkevych intentionally, as the representative of Ukrainian philosophical thought since his theory contains typical traits of the Ukrainian philosophy of life. A pupil of Jurkevych, later the famous Russian thinker Vladimir Solovyev, rightly emphasises in his work on the philosopher, the Ukrainian elements in his character. "Jurkevych came from the province of Poltava, and was therefore a Ukrainian which has left clear traces in his speech and character".

I do not, however, wish to claim that Ukrainians underestimate the power of thought or are hostile to it. On the contrary, the spiritual leaders of the Ukrainian people, such as Drahomaniv⁴ and his school, or Lesya Ukrainka acknowledge the virtue of rationalism while Ivan Franko's proud motto was "ratio vincit". Nevertheless, if we analyse the psychological structure of these people we come to the conclusion that their intellectualism was more a tribute to the spirit of the age, that it was perhaps only for show, concealing the all-decisive though reluctantly acknowledged emotional factor.

The character of Ukrainian life is best portrayed by comparing it with the basic features of the German psyche. "The character of German thought", says Paul Menzer in his work on the nature of the German soul "is without doubt most clearly expressed in German philosophy". Inherent in it is a belief in systems, the view that it must be possible to enclose all reality in a series of concepts. This naive belief in the omnipotence of concept was already illustrated in the writings of Christian Wolff who believed that it is possible to deal rationally with all questions of knowledge, action and feeling and also find an explanation for them. The whole attitude to life should be governed by reason, all direct decisions arising out of emotion seem forbidden. There can be no doubt that this kind of life atrophies, although in spite of this the grandeur of such a systematic attempt is plain to see. Historically Wolff's philosophy has made Germans pedantic,

4) Mykhailo Drahomaniv (1841-95) eminent 19th century Ukrainian scholar, publicist and politician.

which has nevertheless had a salutary effect. No other than Kant confirmed this in his renowned praise of the spirit of thoroughness.

If we now find an opposite to the German psyche stressed by Menzer, we arrive at the characteristic traits of the Ukrainian mode of thought. There is no excessive taxonomy, rather a lack of system; but in return there is often the intuition of genius which forms its structure unconsciously based on feeling. No thoroughness, no deepening with obligatory limitation of the scope of activity, but on the contrary too much breadth of interest with a simultaneously shallow output. Not rational conceptual treatment of problems in theory or practice but an emotional understanding of reality, directness of decision emerging from the emotions and finally confusion of theory and practice.

In connection with this may I touch on the third sphere of psychic activity, the will. Since all three functions: intellect, emotion and will are closely interdependent, the predominance of the first or the second will also necessarily influence the outcome of the third. The will ruled by feeling and not reason cannot be very sound, persistent or systematic but as in the case of the emotions passes between the extreme poles in short oscillations, leading to periods of heightened abnormal activity and joy of work, followed by periods of complete inertia and desperate indolence.

RELIGION

The ascendancy of feeling and the dominant role of love introduce us to another basic element of the Ukrainian philosophy of life, deep religiosity, which in the case of most Slavs is a chief constituent of their national psychology. Many researchers in previous centuries have stressed as the chief trait not only of modern Slavs but their ancestors, the predominance of the emotions and the role of religion in their psyche. Attempts have been made to derive the historical character of the Slavs by comparing them with the Romans and their chief representatives the French, and also the Germans. Compared with the political Romans and the philosophical Germans, the Slavs are in the fullest sense of the word the "religious race".

Regardless of our opinion about this description it should be said that almost all the leading spirits of the Slavs whether Poles, Czechs, Ukrainians or Russians, whether the subject be philosophy, literature or art, have unambiguously shown a plain if not multifaceted religiosity. Even such revolutionaries as Bakunin, Herzen and others who rejected any faith a priori, were no less religious, while their fanatic struggle against religion was only the inverse negative form of religious pathos. Atheism in Russia is the expression of an unfulfilled passion for belief, a passion which cannot be satisfied by inadequate religious formulae and at the same time in its despair rejects even God.

In spite of their common background the expression of religious feeling among the various Slav peoples, differs. The Ukrainian is never orthodox in his religious life. He never adheres to form or externals but always strives to discover and understand the essence of a creed. Anyone who has

only had a brief acquaintance with Ukrainian spirituality and believes he knows its motive forces, must admit that it is impossible for Ukrainians to have a religious quarrel or even a bitter war about ritual forms and externals. Ukrainian history contains interesting and instructive examples of this. When the Kyiv State became attached to the eastern schismatic church by adopting Byzantine christianity in the 10th century and was launched directly into the whirlpool of religious strife, its princes made a conscious attempt to avoid dogmatic disputes and in spite of its forming part of the eastern church and culture, to maintain contacts with the West. Untroubled by dogmatic detail which they were not interested in at all and in spite of their hierarchical dependence on Constantinople they sent delegations to the German Kaiser and the Popes. They received and bestowed gifts on embassies from the West and intermarried with catholic princes and rulers. In short, they began to prepare favourable ground for the later role of Ukraine as mediator between Western and Eastern Europe. Certainly in the 16th and 17th century religious strife also flared on Ukrainian territory, although in this case the struggle between the members of the orthodox and uniate churches merely gave the name to the powerful struggle between two ideologies, eastern conservatism and western progressiveness, embracing apart from religion, many other factors such as national attitude, social elements, political and cultural orientation. Even today church allegiance in the unusually difficult social life of Ukrainians is no stumbling block. By virtue of their individualism they are only too ready to take advantage of any opportunity for an argument with their opponent, however, religious feeling is too deeply rooted in their soul and makes each Ukrainian respect his neighbour's faith too much to make a bone of contention out of differing views. Skovoroda, the Ukrainian Socrates, whose spiritual life is a reflection of the characteristic traits of the Ukrainian national psyche defines this religious attitude very simply perhaps too clearly for a philosopher: heathen temples and graven images were also a sign of christian faith, on which the wise and blessed word was writ: *gnoti seauton, nosce te ipsum*⁵.

According to Skovoroda God revealed his truth not only to Christians and Hebrews, but also to heathens, just as morality is not a christian monopoly, since it has also had noteworthy adherents among the ancient peoples. Universality, respect for every deeply felt religious emotion, toleration of other peoples' views, never orthodoxy or sacrifice of valuable content for the sake of form alone, are typical of the Ukrainian attitude to religious matters.

OPTIMISM

The Ukrainian philosophy of life is distinguished by optimism metaphysically and ethically based. In spite of the enormous catastrophes which have shaken the Ukrainian people throughout their history, and the frightful aftermath which the core of the nation, the farmers, has suffered over the

5) Know yourself.

centuries, hope for a better future was never lost but replenished just when in real terms there was almost none left. Nevertheless, in defiance of all hostile powers the Ukrainian people will and must fulfil their destined mission. This is the watchword to which all leading spirits have payed homage unceasingly and unreservedly. Spiritual depression conditioned by the age naturally also affected Ukrainian society, particularly the higher echelons, though there has never really been a disruption in general progress, or a complete longterm collapse in Ukrainian history inspite of occasionally very critical situations. On the contrary, the tendency to see the world and life from the bright side and a belief that all will turn out well in the end, is typical of the Ukrainian way of thought. "Things will work out somehow", is the expression not only of spiritual equanimity and a mental disposition, but at the same time the clear mark of a confident attitude in the changing current of events. If we look for the source of this seemingly unfounded optimism we realise that its roots reach back into prehistory whose motive forces are reflected in folk legends, stories and fables. On the basis of very extensive material in Ukrainian it is immediately clear on analysis that Ukrainians are permeated by belief in the predominance of good and the subordinate role of evil. The world is ruled by the principle of good, evil and the devil its personification, are inferior to good and do not exist in their own right.

Without going into this assertion in detail it can be said in general that the devil in Ukraine is never represented as a powerful spirit who finds satisfaction only in an excess of mischief inflicted on man; he is not equal to the spirit of good, nor a ruler in the realm of evil with demons under his command, but a minor spirit who tries to be a nuisance to people in various ways by exploiting their weaknesses.

The serious political catastrophies which have afflicted the Ukrainian people in past centuries leaving their mark on everyday life, have not affected the Ukrainian's psychological make-up. The artificially implemented industrialisation of the country, the forced collectivisation of land subject to the complete abandonment of private economy. were bound in time to erase the link with the earth from the memory of the broad social spectrum of Ukrainians. Similarly, the totalitarian system with its methods of terror and the absolute elimination of anything individual was bound to lead to the levelling of society and its transformation into a shapeless mass. A system of this kind does not cater for feelings and emotions, since human beings slowly change into living machines whose only task is to fulfil the output quota assigned to them. The mother's love mentioned earlier cannot be realised once the mother is forced to find work outside the home in order to support the family; children are taken from their parents' care and brought up in nurseries and childrens' homes. It is difficult to assess the extent of the sovietisation of Ukrainians; an examination of this problem is one of the most urgent tasks of contemporary research on Eastern Europe.

In this section I have tried to bring to the fore features of Ukrainian spirituality or chief constituents of the Ukrainian philosophy of life, without

making a historical or psychological value judgement. The examination of any particular psychological tendency would result in conclusions which go beyond the scope of this study. Every attentive reader will in any case be able to see that certain traits in the national character which seem positive at first sight may prove on closer analysis to be dangerous to the fortune of the nation. Extreme idealism which ignores the facts and claims of reality, untrammelled individualism which rejects any authority including tradition, preferring personal advantage to that of the community, feeling over reason and even the link with the earth and its consequences, the dominant role of farming in Ukrainian society; together grow into hotbeds of disease which at difficult times lead to unwholesome consequences.

The purpose of this study has been not to give a correct diagnosis forming the basis for subsequent therapy, but the identification of a spiritual background which will result in a more accurate portrayal of individual cultural phenomena.

Translated from the German by *Wolodymyr Slez*.

(To be continued)

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Wolodymyr T. ZYLA

TEXAS ONOMASTICS: THE PLACE-NAME OF ODESSA

An interesting explanation of how a Texas town was named after Ukraine's largest port. Philosophically speaking, the myth is the rational a priori form in which we became aware of transcendence. Psychologically speaking, it is a mode of experiencing the real. But neither the rational a priori form nor the psychological experiential form is a guarantee of truth.¹

There is no lack of studies concerning the place-name of Odessa in Texas.² But these studies are by no means confined to the meaning of the word. They rather discuss ways in which the place acquired the name, and upon close inspection they appear to be quite different from one another — forming some kind of a myth and adding confusion. Much of the difficulty lies in ignorance of the sources. The myth itself is sometimes good but sometimes it creates a morass which obscures the truth, which, as time goes by, will require considerable energy to explain.

The purpose of this study is to show the meaning of the name Odessa in general and to propose the most convincing and the most truthful version of how the place, Odessa, acquired it. To do so, a careful analysis of the past is needed one which will eventually transcend the analytical work and by its synthesizing will make more sense out of the ways the place was named.

There is no doubt that the name Odessa in Texas as well as the similar names in the states of Delaware (547 inhabitants), Missouri (3,362 inhabitants), Washington (1,074 inhabitants), Maryland (not shown on the map)³ and Canada in the Province of Ontario (847 inhabitants)⁴ are derived from one source — the Ukrainian seaport of Odessa. A place of old stature,

1) Karl Jasper, *Myth and Religion*, in *Kerygma and Myth*, ed. Hans-Werner Bartsch, trans. Reginald Fuller, Vol. XI (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1962), p. 157.

2) Margaret Ann Price, *From Rails to Rigs: The Early History of Ector County, Texas 1881-1927*, Master's Thesis, The University of Texas of The Permian Basin 1977; Velma Barrett and Hazel Oliver, *Odessa: City of Dreams* (San Antonio: The Naylor Co., 1952); *Odessa Fact Book*, comp. Loyce Chapman (Odessa: Odessa Chamber of Commerce, 1979-1980); *Romantic Old Odessa: Diamond Jubilee 1886-1961* (Odessa: Texas Permian Historical Society, 1961); *Spangler & Finley's Real Estate Bulletin* (Zanesville, Ohio: Spangler & Finley, March, 1886), Vol. IV, No. 2; *Texas and Pacific Railway Company Records, 1871-1970*, available on Microfilm, Reel 4, at the Southwest Collection, Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Texas.

3) Georg R. Stewart, *American Place-Names: A Concise and Selective Dictionary for the Continental United States of America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970)), p. 338 and Rand McNally, *Road Atlas* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1980), pp. 41, 123.

4) *Road Atlas*, pp. 113, 128. There is also a lake Odessa in the state of Colorado which was named by W. J. Workman, local lodgekeeper, for his daughter, circa 1900. See *American Place Names: A Concise and Selective Dictionary for the Continental United States of America*, p. 338.

attractive and important, Odessa's name became worth transplanting into several places on the North American continent.

In the Ukraine Odessa is located on a shallow indentation of the Black Sea coast (the Black Sea Lowland) and has all the facilities needed for a major port. Although a settlement, Istrion, existed on the site of the present Odessa in ancient times (from the second to the fourth century A.D.) and was then destroyed and forgotten for ten centuries, the history of the city begins in the fourteenth century when the Tartar fortress Kachibej (or Kaku-bija) was established there. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Kachibej belonged to Lithuania and Poland and in 1453 played an important role in providing Constantinople with food supplies when the Turks laid siege to its walls. With the fall of Caffa and the conquering of the Crimea by Mehmed II of the Ottoman Empire, the northern coast was in ruin and Kachibej was among many settlements and fortresses also destroyed. When rebuilt by the Turks at an unknown time, it appeared under a new name Hadzhibej (Khadzhibej), and then, for centuries, it played an insignificant role as a Turkish observation post surrounded by Tartar settlements. In 1789 Hadzhibej was stormed by the Russian armies and finally ceded to Russia by the treaty of Jassy in 1791. In its place a new fortress was built in 1792-93, followed by a naval base and a commercial quay in 1794. In 1795 the new port was named Odessa.⁵

The name Odessa originated within the Imperial Academy of Sciences in order to commemorate the ancient Greek colony of Odessos (Ordessos in Ptolemy)⁶ which, according to Russian beliefs, existed in antiquity in the present place of Odessa. This belief, however, has later on been corrected by archaeological uncoverings which proved that the ancient Odessos was located some 34 miles (50 km) from Odessa in the corner between Taligula Liman and the Black Sea. Furthermore, it should be mentioned here that at the end of the eighteenth century there was some mania in Russia to name all new places in the South, especially along the Black Sea, in a Greek style, and this is the main reason why the name Hadzhibej was changed to Odessa.⁷

Boris Unbegaun in his interesting article "Les noms des villes russes: La

5) Smol'janinov, *Istorija Odessy* (The History of Odessa), in *Zapiski Odesskago obshchestva istorii i drevnostej* (Proceedings of the Odessa Association for the Preservation of History and Antiquities), Vol. III (Odessa: Gorodskaja tipografija, 1853), pp. 338-339, 353.

6) "Der Form Ordessos bei Plinius und Ptolemaios steht Odessos bei Arrian gegenüber. Arrians Schreibung dürfte die urgundliche sein, da sein Verzeichnis auf persönlicher Erkundigung beruht. Ordesson scheint ein Schreibfehler der mittelbar gemeinsamen Quelle von Plinius und Ptolemaios zu sein". See *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 34 Halbbd (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1937), p. 1886. There is also an opinion that "es ist unsicher, ob diese Odessos das heutige Warna, oder eine andere Kolonie gleichen Names ist". *Der Grosse Brockhaus*, 15th ed. Vol. 13 (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1932), p. 603.

7) For example, the settlement Ol'viopol' was named to commemorate the ancient Greek settlement Ol'via, the remnants of which were then uncovered on the coast of the Black Sea, near village of Parutina. See M. Levchenko, "Hajdamackij kut", in *Kievskaja starina*, Vol. II (Kiev, 1882), Note 1, p. 347. See also Note 1, p. 346.

mode Grecque” writes: “It seems that in the eighteenth century one attempted to link the name of Odessos (=Odissos) with that of Odysseus”.⁸ Moreover, he quotes a certain Vigel’ who wrote in *Zapiski o Kerchi* (Notes about Kerch): “There was on the Liman of Taligula a small Greek town Ordissos or Odissos built in honour of Odysseus, who it is said had visited these places in the course of his long peregrinations. This was enough to seduce the imagination of the empress [Catherine II], an imagination still ardent and flourishing in spite of her old age [she was then 66]⁹ Ribas¹⁰ knew it and and he hurried to propose the building of Odessa in the place where the old settlement of Hadzhibej was founded”.¹¹ It is also possible that the little known Odessos in the Taligula Liman obtained its name from the famous Odessos (today Varna), whose name as Unbegaun stresses “has been given in honour of Ulysses”.¹²

Thus the name Odessa is directly derived from the name of Odysseus (Greek form; Latin — Ulixes: English — Ulysses) — a noted king of Ithaca and one of the leading heroes of the Trojan War. In the *Iliad*, Homer portrayed him as a man of outstanding wisdom, eloquence, resourcefulness, courage and endurance. In the *Odyssey*, he manifests his talent for tricks, frauds, deceptions, but besides this he is loyal and magnanimous.¹³

The above mentioned qualities of the legendary hero after whom the city was named, its geographical location as well as the convenient time for growth, paved for Odessa a rich and glorious future. Its growth was rapid, especially after the coming of railways in 1866. Grain, in particular wheat, formed a major export. Odessa’s population in 1803 was 9000, in 1827 —

8) *Revue des études Slaves*, Vol. 16 (Paris, 1936), p. 231. The Greek form of *Odysseus* is apparently found in an alternate form of *Odissos*; the parallel form *Ὀδισσεύς* is cited by Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek English Lexicon*, 9th ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940). From this form it seems that the place-name *Odissos* (*Odessos*) was derived. The form is apparently a noun. The adjectival form of the feminine gender *Odisseia* (derived from a classical Greek form *Odysseia* because of the *y/i* variation) or *Odissia* (*ei* can become *i*) produced the for Odessa (in Ukrainian Odesa). This and all other translations are mine.

9) Catherine II (1729-1796) was an enthusiastic patron of the arts, she corresponded extensively with Voltaire and Diderot, and founded schools and literary reviews. She was also interested in the history of the ancient Greece.

10) Ribas, a Russian admiral; he is also known in Russian sources as de-Ribas (Deribas).

11) *Revue des études Slaves*, p. 231. The official document for renaming Hadzhibej to Odessa was never located. K. Smol’janinov the author of “*Istorija Odessy*” hopes that such a document existed. He writes: “We meet the word ‘Odessa’ for the first time in the title of the document which approves the amount of salt reserves to be stored in the city of Odessa”. (p. 352) The document is dated January 10, 1795.

12) *Ibid.*

13) A mention should be made that Odysseus, in different periods of human development, has been viewed differently. At the time of naming Odessa (1795) (his intelligence and wisdom were very much admired in Russia, as well as were his political potentialities.

more than 32,000, in 1836 — 54,000, in 1858 — 104,000,¹⁴ in 1970 — more than 892,000,¹⁵ and in 1980 more than 1,000,000.¹⁶ Odessa became also a large industrial centre with many important cultural facilities.

Another city of the same name located on the North American continent some 14 degrees 37 minutes more south than Ukrainian Odessa is Odessa in Texas — a city about 100 years old. Both cities have a common name and some similarities in their growth and development. Their locale is, however, different. The Ukrainian Odessa lies on the Black Sea within the steppe which is fully cultivated. The Odessa in Texas on the contrary, is located in a rather well defined oval known as the Permian Basin on the southern High Plains, a limitless prairie covered with grass and cactus. Its territory around 1880 was bleak, dull and monotonous, with unpredictable weather. But because of man's vision and the terrain's potential for becoming a productive home, worth strenuous efforts, a miracle occurred, and a new city was born. The presence of water and coming of the railroad in 1881 changed the desolate region, and the history of its settlement began. Margaret Ann Price describes those years in a succinct way :

Soon the transcontinental railroad system was completed and made the settlement of West Texas feasible. Villages emerged around box cars left by the Texas and Pacific Railroad. Families came to satisfy their curiosity as well as their pocketbooks. They were pioneers who searching for cheap productive land, found themselves in a strange environment of sand, sagebrush and sun. Some left as quickly as they had come. Realizing that the propaganda of the profitseekers was not true, they left in disgust and anguish. Those who were brave enough to remain faced years of hard work and hardship.

*These are the pioneers who have helped give Odessa and Ector County its history,*¹⁷ The going was not easy but was not hard enough to make them leave. Their modest ventures in ranching and farming proved that they were able to adapt and to make a life for themselves on the plains. The qualities of diligence, fortitude and foresight that the pioneers maintained throughout their lives in the "little desert" of West Texas were unsurpassed. Perhaps their love for the land and its permanence kept them from seeking shelter from its harshness. Certainly their presence kept alive the beginnings of the county and saved it from abandonment. Yet the forces of nature were to hamper development as the American Northeast had known it and to help the Southwest refrain from becoming a vast industrial centre in which people were victims of their own existence. Being an individual was still an absolute necessity and a very important part of being a native of the Southwest.¹⁸

14) *Istorija mist i sil Ukrajin'skoji RSR: Ode'ka oblast'* (The History of Towns and Villages of the Ukrainian R.S.R.: Odessa Oblast'), ed. L. V. Hladka et al. (Kyjiv: Akaremija Nauk Ukrajin'skoji RSR, 1969), p. 86.

15) *Encyclopaedia Britannica: Micropaedia*, Vol VII (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1974), p. 482.

16) Soviet Census of 1980.

17) Italics mine.

18) "From Rails to Rigs", pp. 66-67.

Stress was therefore laid on the individual and he had to manifest strong personal qualities in order to be able to take the harshness of nature and to provide the necessary leadership for the "island community"¹⁹ that at the time was fully "relying upon its own initiative and resources, but was also dependently interconnected within the national economic and political system. In this sense it was part of both the frontier past and the industrial present".²⁰

"In less than half a century", proceeds Margaret Ann Price:

Ector County's development had moved from the start of an empty frontier to the threshold of an industrial future. The railroad had created interest in the area . . . Land promoters gave the county life by making the desolate, brush covered territory economically attractive to settlement. Ranching nurtured the small citizenry by creating an economic base on which the populace could rely for stability. Finally, the discovery of oil thrust Ector County, along with other boom counties of the Permian Basin, into a position of significant economic importance not only in Texas but also across the nation. The decades probably passed slowly for some who lost faith in the promises of prosperity. But those who remained steadfast in their hopes found that the dream could come true and that their community indeed became a miracle of the Texas Prairies.²¹

The centre and seat of Ector County, the city of Odessa, was founded in 1886. Soon it became a rail shipping point for livestock, and after the oil discoveries of the 1920s it developed into a major distribution-processing-servicing point of a petrochemical complex. This rapid development was facilitated by its location in the centre of the Permian Basin, one of the largest known oil reserves. Odessa developed from a whistlestop to a large well planned city with still a bigger and brighter future ahead. The original founders intended that Odessa be a health resort and an educational centre. City officials even forbade the sale of intoxicating liquor in making a bid for German Methodist colonists from the northwestern states, but these did not come. Again by 1891, when Ector County was organized with Odessa as the county seat, the city had given up its early hope of becoming a wheat centre, and Odessa was rapidly becoming a typical cow town.²² This pattern of development held steadfastly into the 1920's when the city suddenly became an established oil centre and began growing rapidly in population and industry. Its population in 1930 was 2,407, in 1940 — 9,573, in 1950 — 29,495, in 1960 — 80, 338, in 1970 — 78,380,²³ and in 1980 — 107,642.²⁴

19) *Ibid.*, p. 111.

20) *Ibid.*

21) *Ibid.* pp. 171-172.

22) *The Handbook of Texas*, ed. H. Bailey Carroll (Austin: The Texas State Historical Association, 1952), Vol. II, p. 302.

23) *Odessa Fact Book: Odessa, Texas* (Odessa: Chamber of Commerce, 1979-1980), Section II, p. 3.

24) U.S. Census of Population for 1980.

The meteoric development of Odessa, Texas parallels the development of the Ukrainian Odessa, indicating not only the vitality of the new city but also its economic and industrial potential. It is far too difficult and probably impossible to evaluate the impact of the cities' name on their development, but since they hold fast to this charismatic name, it must have some importance and value to their development and growth. Ukrainian Odessa obtained its name from the highest authority in St. Petersburg, and its name was even approved by Catherine II. What about Odessa, Texas? Its name came neither from Washington, nor from Austin; it did not originate among the settlers from the Ukraine, because there were no such settlers in this part of Texas. Thus the origin of the name "Odessa" in Texas is shrouded in mystery and the conflicting stories about its origin propagate myths and add more and more confusion. And this confusion occurs when the city is only one hundred years old. It is therefore time to subject these various suppositions to scientific scrutiny in order to end with one well-founded supposition that could be easily proven by factual data.

One version of naming Odessa originates from the saga of a wagon train massacre that might have occurred near the present city. The only survivor of the massacre was a small girl, Odessa, supposedly found the next day by cowpunchers on a cattle drive. They brought her to the small settlement and named it in her honour. This story has been proven doubtful by Bill Walkup, who in 1961 wrote: "The U.S. Cavalry had done a very effective job of rounding up all 'hostiles' before the building of the railroad and while there were still Indians who would attack a lone traveller, there were no known bands large enough to wipe out a wagon train".²⁵

Another story tells us about a railroad man who named the new settlement Odessa after his Indian sweetheart. Still another story says that "the town probably was named for the daughter of a pioneer rancher".²⁶ Both these stories are more than improbable. The settlers and promoters who were selling lands in that part of Texas were trying to give the place an attractive name that might remind a prospective buyer of some brilliant past or an exclusive future (Abilene, Big Spring, Midland, etc.).

The third version in naming Odessa became a wide-spread legend-myth which penetrated even the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. We read there: "The site was presumably named in 1881 by Russian [Ukrainian]"²⁷ railroad-

25) Bill Walkup, "The Advent of the Iron Horse", *Romantic Old Odessa: Diamond Jubilee 1886-1961*, p. 6 See also Samuel Bertram McAlister, "The Building of the Texas and Pacific Railway", Master's Thesis, The University of Texas at Austin 1926, p. 57.

26) Pamphlet "Along the Way", Missouri Pacific Lines. *Texas and Pacific Railway Company Records, 1871-1970*, Microfilm, Reel 4.

27) Where in quotations appears "Russian" or "Russia" I inserted in square brackets "Ukrainian" or "Ukraine" in order to indicate to the reader the right people and the right country we are dealing with. There is a tendency in the U.S. to call everyone Russian who lives between the Black and Baltic Seas and east of the German boundary, without realizing that this practice is a great injustice because this vast territory is settled by many nationalities that have their own historical past, their own culture and therefore should be properly respected and recognized. In our case we are

construction workers who noted the similarity of the prairie region to their Odessa steppe homeland".²⁸ The city pamphlet "Where-What-Why" expresses this version in a more sentimental way: "As the westward-moving Texas and Pacific Railroad reached here, in July, 1881, a crew of Russian [Ukrainian] workmen were reminded of the wide, flat prairies and good well water around their home city, and with a sort of vague nostalgia, christened this yet-to-be founded city Odessa".²⁹ *The Naming of America* by Allan Wolk expresses this version as follows: "This was one of the many areas in the United States built with the labour of foreign workers. In this case, Russian [Ukrainian] railroad men, toiling on this section of the Texas and Pacific Railroad line, said that the wide, flat prairies reminded them of the steppes (grassy plains) of Odessa in the Ukraine".³⁰ The *Odessa Fact Book* states this naming version in a more factual way: "In 1881 the Texas and Pacific Railroad, moving west to El Paso, founded a camp here. The Russian [Ukrainian] immigrants working as crewmen on the railroad named the camp for their home city".³¹ The most recent repetition of this version occurs in an article commemorating the American Bicentennial: "Early settlers in the county came from Zanesville, Ohio, where they formed the Odessa Improvement and Irrigation Co. Their trustee, John Hogg, bought the original townsite of Odessa so named by railroad workers who were reminded of the flat plains of Odessa, Russia [Ukraine]".³² Finally in the most romantic way this third version of naming Odessa is presented in Velma Barrett's and Hazel Oliver's book *Odessa: City of Dreams (A Miracle of the Texas Prairies)*:

The Texas and Pacific Railroad came to this section [Odessa] in the month of July, 1881. Our interest just now is how the workers on this road christened the newborn town mentioned above. Some of the labourers were from Russia [Ukraine] and when they saw the wide, flat prairies and tasted the good water from the wells (for the Texas and Pacific workers, like Abraham of old, "dugged a well" wherever they camped with their crew), they were reminded of their native land of Russia [Ukraine] with its great wheat fields. They saw in this land a second Odessa, comparable to that five centuries old city³³ of their youth, and so, out of a vague nostalgia they called this little spot in the desert by the name of that faraway city, still dimly remembered. The name stuck

talking about the Ukrainian steppes, the Ukrainian seaport Odessa and, if such were in Texas at that time, about Ukrainian workmen or settlers. At that time Russian labourers immigration to the U.S. was almost insignificant. The people who were coming to this country were Jews, Byelorussians, Poles, Ukrainians, and others.

28) *Encyclopaedia Britannica: Micropaedia*, Vol. VII, p. 482.

29) Pamphlet "Where-What-Why", p. 1.

30) Allan Wolk, *The Naming of America* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Inc. Publishers, 1977), p. 119.

31) *Odessa Fact Book: Odessa, Texas*, Section I, p. 1.

32) Robert C. Borden, "Ector County: Hopes for Quiet Life, Farming Faded with Discovery of Oil", *Bicentennial: The Odessa American*, July 4, 1976, p. 1.

33) This is a mistaken notion, because at that time (1881), Odessa was not even one hundred years old (it was founded in 1795).

for lack of a better one perhaps, or maybe it was caught in the mesquite thorns and cactus spines and could not escape. At any rate, under the name of Odessa, the "cattle stop" grew and became known in places farther away than anyone supposed.³⁴ In 1952 Brad Carlisle of *The Brad Carlisle of The Odessa (Texas) American*, pretty well disgusted with a lack of knowledge about how Odessa acquired its name, wrote:

Ever since the discovery of oil in large amounts, Odessa has been bursting at the seams and continuing to retain the proof that it's the biggest city in the Permian Basin. But in 1884 when she was established, all Odessa could boast was a few box cars on railroad sidings to house the station agent and a section crew. At that time there was not a building between Stanton and the Pecos River and the only thing to remind anyone that people had been through this neck of the country was the Texas and Pacific railroad tracks. A short time after the box cars were left for the depot and home of the agent, however, a townsite company from Pennsylvania moved in and laid out the present original site of Odessa. About that time Odessa got her name. Where it came from no one knows for sure. No matter where she got her name, Odessa certainly did not flabbergast anyone with her growth during the first five years.³⁵

And finally Bill Walkup says, in his "The Advent of the Iron Horse": "There are conflicting stories on how Odessa was named. The original supposition was that it was named after the Russian [Ukrainian] City because Russian [Ukrainian] railroaders note the similarity of our terrain to the steppes of Russia [Ukraine]". "This theory", says Walkup, "is very doubtful"³⁶ because according to R. A. Malone, who was an Assistant Director of Public Relations of the Texas and Pacific Railway Co. there were no Russian [Ukrainian] labourers working for the Railroad. Bill Walkup quotes Malone saying: "We had surveyors and construction engineers who were for the most part English, Scotch and Irish. We had many Chinese and Irish track workers and some Latins, . . . but, to our knowledge, not one Russian [Ukrainian]".³⁷ This overthrows the legend and forces us to confront

34) *Odessa City of Dreams*, p. 3. This view is truly romantic written with nostalgia and pretending to represent the true fact.

35) Brad Carlisle, "Cowtown Odessa Beco: Once Sleepy Community Paces Growth in Texas", *The Odessa (Texas) American*, October 12, 1952, p. 2A.

36) Walkup, p. 8.

37) *Ibid.* There is also a letter from R. A. Malone to Mrs. B. S. Toole, dated March 23, 1967 — "At that time, back in the 80's, railroad construction was booming and men seeking work literally flocked to the construction sites. They were 'hired out on the spot', to use an old railroad term and Texas and Pacific construction engineers and foremen would immediately put them to work. For truck workers then, there is no record of their having filed applications. Too, the pioneering little Texas and Pacific then did not have a personnel department. Many of these section labourers could not write, simply making their "X" on a foreman's soon discarded time book. They were paid once a month from the vestibule end of the Treasurer's pay car, their wages being paid in cash. It is a fact that Chinese labourers were used in both construction and maintenance of the Texas and Pacific in West Texas. *Texas and Pacific Railway Company Records 1871-1970*, Microfilm, Reel 4.

reality which is, moreover, explained by Walkup's following statement: "... but it is generally believed by historians that Odessa was named after one of the many 'Odessas' in the United States, probably by a settler or a railroader from a city of that name".³⁸ This assumption not only for the sake of argument but because of its serious approach to the problem, is strongly supported by the view stated in *The Handbook of Texas*, where the naming version is more than original. It states: "Established by the Texas and Pacific Railroad in 1886, Odessa was named because of a resemblance of its prairies to the steppes of Russia [Ukraine]". A similar trend of thought is found in George R. Stewart's *American Place-Names*, where he argues that Russian [Ukrainian] city on the Black Sea had a large reputation in the 19th century as a wheat-shipping port, and for commendatory reasons the name was placed upon towns, e.g., in Delaware, Maryland and Hexas, which fancied themselves as wheat centres".⁴⁰

Before concluding my discussion let me cite the speech made on February 12, 1886 in Marienfield by Henry Thatcher of Chillicothe before the Odessa City, Land and Town Site Company, five investors from Pennsylvania, and the Leader representative. N. B. Davison, one of the finest civil engineers on the plains, after they all returned from the sightseeing of the locality of Odessa. "You, gentlemen", said Mr. Thatcher, "have made the happiest choice of a name for your new town Odessa. I have been all over that portion of the plains on which your property is located — have made a horseback survey of it — and from what I know of the character of the soil, and the climate of the great territory embraced in 'Llano Estacado', I feel safe in predicting that it is destined to be the *the greatest wheat country in the world*. That is why I say you have happily named your new town site, for your Odessa will be in the heart of this great wheat belt, and with adequate railroad facilities — which you can with comparative ease, secure — will become the famous wheat market of the plains; the point from which millions of bushels of wheat will be shipped to Galveston, on the Gulf,

38) "According to historical accounts, the name Odessa in Missouri was suggested by T. B. Blackstone, president of the Chicago & Alton Railroad. During a stop in Odessa, Blackstone remarked the surrounding lands reminded him of the wheat belt around the great exporting city of Odessa, Russia [Ukraine]. See *Odessa's Odyssey* (Odessa: The Heritage Committee of the Odessa American Revolution Bicentennial Committee, 1976), p. 5. "By the middle of the nineteenth century the town Odessa in Delaware had become an important grain-shipping port and in 1855, aspiring to the fame of the Russian [Ukrainian] seaport which exported Ukrainian wheat all over the world, changed its name to Odessa". See Pamphlet "Historic Odessa, Delaware on the Appoquinimink Creek", published by Mayor and Council Offices of Odessa.

The settlement Odessa in Ontario, Canada, was established along a river where milling was possible. Therefore it was first named "Mill Creek". Parker S. Timmerman renamed it in 1855 to commemorate the siege of Odessa by the British fleet during the Crimean War in 1854. This information was supplied by Chris Willard of the Township of Ernestown in a letter, dated August 28, 1980 to the author of this article. I was not able to locate the place Odessa in Maryland and could not secure information about Odessa in Washington. In my study I could not find any connection between the Odessas on the North American continent and the Odessa in Texas.

39) *The Handbook of Texas*, Vol. II, p. 302.

40) *American Place-Names*, p. 338.

for direct shipment to European markets".⁴¹ From this speech it is clear why the name Odessa was selected for the new town. Thus Bill Walkup's assumption, views of *The Handbook of Texas* and George R. Stewart's explanations are correct.⁴² There is now the problem of who named the place Odessa. Thatcher credits all seven members of the Odessa City, Land and Town Site Company from Zanesville for naming the place Odessa. I am personally inclined to consider Thatcher's remarks rather a courtesy for the Zanesville group. The name Odessa appears on the Map of the Great South-West published by the Land Department of the Texas and Pacific Railway Company in 1882. At that time there was no Odessa City, Land and Site Company, thus the place was named by someone else who was well acquainted with this section of Tom Green County and at the same time was agriculturally minded and familiar with the great exports of wheat which were passing through Odessa in Europe. This person in my opinion was N. B. Davidson, "one of the finest civil engineers on the plains, a finely educated and courteous gentleman, and a surprisingly correct and eloquent talker".⁴³ He knew "the plains by heart — all their crowning points of advantage over the world at large— and the great southwest in particular, and all their disadvantages as well".⁴⁴ Davidson was a Tennessean by birth, but Texas bred — "one of the most reputable and best posted men in this section. He was a truly attractive personage — six feet tall, as straight as the spear of a Spanish dagger, and as agile as an antelope. His complexion was fresh, and glowing with perfect health; his steel blue eyes were full of the vim with which the buoyant air of this delightful plain country was charged, and his voice had a clear, happy ring. His curly auburn hair was held down by a black crush felt hat".⁴⁵ He named Odessa somewhere in the middle of 1881, but lived himself in Marienfield in Martin county. In 1884 he came in contact with the Odessa City, Land and Town Site Company, who accepted his name for the place and in 1886 when seven gentlemen from Zanesville — members of the Odessa Company — visited Odessa, Davidson volunteered to accompany them, as a guide. This information makes it more than obvious who named the whistlestop Odessa and why.

41) *Spangler & Finley's Real Estate Bulletin*, p. 10. I used copy 465 of 670 reproduced copies. Apparently only one copy of the original edition of this book is known to exist. The University of Texas of the Permian Basin has photographically reproduced this copy from the original housed in the Regional Resources Depository of the Texas State Archives at The University of Texas of the Permian Basin. This reproduction was suggested by the Ector County Historical Commission as a part of Odessa's Bicentennial celebration. The University of Texas of the Permian Basin, Odessa, Texas was the first Regional Historical Resources Depository of the Texas State Archives.

42) They were suggesting that Odessa will become a centre of wheat and an important wheat market of the plains.

43) *Spangler & Finley's Real Estate Bulletin*, p. 10.

44) *Ibid.*

45) *Ibid.*

To sum up, I would like to say that legends and myths do not help to solve serious cultural problems, they rather contribute to the difficulties of interpretation and add more and more confusion. Only a serious study of facts can ultimately contribute to the understanding of the problem and can put the right things in the right perspective. By this I do not want to say that I am definitely right in my conclusion, but I am more than positive that my approach is right and that I considered the right things in the right way to solve the precarious problem of who gave Odessa its precious name.

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Dmytro BLAZEJOWSKYJ

BYZANTINE KYIVAN RITE METROPOLITANATES, EPARCHIES AND NOMENCLATURE AND STATISTICS

The Byzantine Kyivan rite developed in the territories of the Metropolitanate of Kyiv which, being of Byzantine origin, from the beginning inherited to a great extent both the good and the bad aspects of the Byzantine Church, as well as its problems. Kyiv, the Kyivan Rus' State and the Kyivan Metropolitanate were in the northeastern area of Greek-Roman culture and civilization, and the Metropolitanate found itself at a very early date on the crossroads between Constantinople and Rome. Later it was caught in the triangle — Rome, Constantinople, Moscow, and in the twentieth century in the quadrangle — Rome, Constantinople, Moscow and Autocephalism. This is not only a question of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. It is also a cultural and political question, which in time created a crisis of identity.

The millenium of the conversion of Kyivan Rus' (988) is approaching. A triple question presents itself, the answer to which involves the past, present and future. Did Kyivan Christianity and the Kyivan Church exist, and if so, what was it? Does it exist now, and if so, what is it? Will it exist in the future, and if so, what will it be?

The ancient Romans had a saying, "Historia est magistra vitae" — "History is the teacher of life" — that is, history teaches us to solve the problems of the present and to plan for the future. The more we know of the past, the better able we will be to cope with the present and plan the future well. Through wars on the native territories of the Byzantine Kyivan Church, many documents of the past were destroyed, and much of what has survived is inaccessible. The research for this present study has been done from sources available outside of the occupied territories of the Kyivan Metropolitanate. It has been done in the hope of making some contribution to an affirmation of our *identity* as people of Byzantine Kyivan Rite, by establishing where we were and how many we were. This knowledge should help indicate to us our future — where we will be and how many will be.

This present work begins by giving the nomenclature of the metropolitanates, eparchies and exarchates of the Byzantine Kyivan rite, based on Vatican sources published in *Notizie*, *La Gerarchia Cattolica* and *Anuario Pontificio*. Then it gives statistics of the Metropolitanates of Kyiv and its dioceses around the year 1772, of all metropolitanates, eparchies and exarchates of Byzantine Kyivan rite from 1943 until the present time, of all metropolitanates, eparchies and exarchates of Byzantine Kyivan rite for the years 1929, 1932, 1962 and 1974, based on the statistics published by

the Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Churches. Next it gives the nomenclature and statistics of all metropolitanates, eparchies and exarchates of Byzantine Kyivan rite in the United States and Canada, based on information from the *Official Catholic Directory*, and the historical background and statistic of religious orders and congregations for men and women of Byzantine Kyivan rite based on information published by the Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Churches. A special insert has been included for the Basilian Order of St. Josaphat giving historical and statistical information based on Vatican documents and the catalogues of the Order for the years 1617, 1748, 1773-74, 1867, 1882, and 1890 until the present. Extra figures have been added to the statistics for the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate, based on their own catalogues for the years 1938, 1955, 1965 and 1972. The study concludes with statistical summaries, with diagrams showing the divisions of the eparchies of Philadelphia, Winnipeg and Mucacevo, and with maps of the Kyivan Metropolitanate of 1772, of Byzantine Kyivan eparchies and exarchates on native territories, and of Byzantine Kyivan metropolitanates and eparchies in North Americaa.

Copies may be obtained from Ukrainian bookstores, or directly from the author at the following address:

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The
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III

1981

THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

A Quarterly Magazine devoted to the study of Ukraine.

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Price: £1.50 or \$3.75 a single copy
Annual Subscription: £6.00 or \$15.00

Editorial correspondence should be sent to:

The Editors,
"The Ukrainian Review"
200 Liverpool Road,
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Subscriptions should be sent to:

"The Ukrainian Review" (Administration).
c/o Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Ltd.
49 Linden Gardens,
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Overseas representatives:

USA: Organization for Defence of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc.
P.O. Box 304, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Canada: Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation.
140 Bathurst Street, Toronto, Ont., M5V 2R3.

Printed in Great Britain by the Ukrainian Publishers Limited
200 Liverpool Road, London, N1 1LF Tel.: 01-607-6266/7

THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

Vol. XXIX No. 3

Autumn 1981

A Quarterly Magazine

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Published by
The Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain Ltd.
in cooperation with
Organization for Defence of Four Freedoms for Ukraine Inc. (U.S.A.)
and
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Mr. and Mrs. Yaroslav Stetsko (9th and 7th from right) at a reception given by the speaker of the U.S. Congress, Mr. Tip O'Neill, to mark the Fortieth anniversary of Ukraine's independence. Mr. O'Neill is standing between Mr. and Mrs. Stetsko

THE FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE

June 30 this year marked the 40th anniversary of Ukraine's declaration of independence during the Second World War. That event, which signalled the resumption of a Ukrainian national struggle against all invaders, was momentous in that it demonstrated to the whole world Ukraine's desire for freedom and independence and her people's willingness to suffer, and if need be die, for that dual cause.

Throughout this year Ukrainians all over the world and friends of the Ukrainian cause marked that anniversary in different ways. Following is a selection of speeches and resolutions by Ukrainians and their friends paying tribute to the heroism of those who perished in Ukraine's freedom struggle and to those who are still struggling.

Yaroslav Stetsko — Last Prime Minister of Free Ukraine

ADDRESS TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

I would like to begin by thanking the Congress of the United States for adopting the Captive Nations resolution on July 17, 1959 and for reaffirming your commitment to its principles over the course of the last 22 years. I am particularly pleased that the resolution was adopted unanimously and I expect that this resolution, which remains in the interests of not only the subjugated nations but also the entire free world, will be an integral component of the United States foreign policy.

Allow me to express my heartfelt appreciation to the Hon. Edward J. Derwinski, the Hon. Samuel Stratton and to Dr. Dobriansky for organizing today's commemoration of the 40th Anniversary of the declaration of the re-establishment of the independent Ukrainian State. I would also like to convey my sincere gratitude to the Hon. William Green for introducing a resolution in the House of Representatives designating June 30, 1981 as Ukrainian Independence Day. The future will justify the support that you are demonstrating today for the liberation of Ukraine by commemorating the latest period of Ukrainian Statehood which began with the re-establishment of the independent Ukrainian State on June 30, 1941 and lasting through 1951.

It is my conviction that the events of June 30, 1941 were of historical significance not only for my own nation, but also for all other subjugated

nations. The proclamation of the restoration of Ukrainian Statehood of June 30, 1941 marked the beginning of a period in our history known as the *Ukrainian Underground State*. As a result of this proclamation the Ukrainian nation launched a two-front war of liberation against Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia — two of the Greatest imperialistic, totalitarian and military powers of the twentieth century. The act of June 30, 1941 and the subsequent struggle to consolidate the renewal of Ukrainian Statehood are a manifestation of the unshakable will of the Ukrainian Nation to achieve the restoration of its freedom and independence.

The Ukrainian Government, created following the proclamation of independence, included not only representatives of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, but also National Democrats, Socialists, Social Revolutionaries and individuals not affiliated with any party. On the initiative of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists a Parliamentary body was formed under the Chairmanship of Dr. Konstantyn Levytskyj, A National Democrat and former Prime Minister of the Western Ukrainian National Republic of 1918. The present Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Cardinal Josyph Slipyj, was a leading member of parliament, while Metropolitan Count Andreas Sheptytskyj was elected Honorary President. Both the Primate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and Metropolitan Polikarp Sikorskyj of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church issued Pastoral Letters in support of the newly formed Government. The new Ukrainian Government enjoyed the total support and loyalty of all strata of the Ukrainian Nation. This was the only Democratic Government and Parliament in continental Europe at that time.

The ideological and political foundation upon which Ukrainian Statehood was restored in 1941 was contained in a manifesto issued in 1940 by the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, which stated: "We Ukrainians have raised the banner of struggle for the freedom of nations and man . . . We struggle for the dignity and freedom of man, for the right to openly profess one's beliefs, for freedom of all religious denominations and full freedom of conscience . . . We struggle for the right of the working man to openly profess his political convictions . . . For freedom of assembly and the establishment of political, social and professional organizations . . ." Furthermore, the manifesto called upon the revolutionaries of other subjugated nations to join forces with the Ukrainian Nationalists in the struggle to destroy the Soviet Russian Empire. This was the origin of ABN. It also stood as a challenge to Nazi Germany at the time when both totalitarian powers, having divided Europe between themselves, were at the zenith of their might.

The newly-formed Government had the support of the Ukrainian Nationalist Military Formation and numerous insurgent units throughout Ukraine, which immediately engaged the Soviet Army on the field of battle. Having secured the main radio station in Lviv, the Revolutionary Government informed the nation of the restoration of Ukrainian Statehood. Upon learning of these momentous developments, the Ukrainian population

openly and enthusiastically endorsed the new Government at mass assemblies in towns and villages throughout the country.

Consequently, the Nazis were forced to divulge their imperio-colonial aims. Following a period of tempestuous activity of consolidation of the newly-formed state, myself and other members of our Government, as well as several leading members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, including its leader Stepan Bandera, were arrested by the Gestapo and sent into the concentration camps. Later, the Gestapo murdered three members of the Government. Subsequently, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists went underground to continue the struggle for Ukraine's independence.

On behalf of our Government, I sent my last letter of protest against the Nazi military occupation of Ukraine to the German Reich's Chancellor in October, 1941 from the police prison in Berlin. In that letter I warned that Germany's war in the East would be lost within three years, resulting in the Russian Communist occupation of vast areas of Central Europe. (Despite this projection, I openly stated that Ukraine and the other freedom-loving subjugated nations would never cease their just struggle for liberty and independence.

On three separate occasions I was confronted with an ultimatum from the highest levels of the German Reich to revoke the Declaration of Ukrainian State Independence, to resign as Prime Minister and to dismiss the Government. Each of these demands were adamantly rejected.

A state of war existed between Germany and Ukraine. Many thousands of Ukrainian Nationalists and other patriots were executed upon capture, hundreds of thousands were put in prisons and concentration camps. A two-front war against the Russian and German occupiers of Ukraine was fought by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. Operating underground, the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council continued the work of the arrested Government.

By autumn of 1941, thousands of members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists were executed, many more thousands were imprisoned by the Nazis who were acting on orders from Berlin such as these:

From the
Service Command of the
Security Police and of
The Security Service S/5
Command Log-book No. 1232/41

Headquarters
November 25, 1941

To the advanced posts of
Kyiv, Dnipropetrovsk,
Rivne, Mykolyaiv,
Zhytomyr, Vinnitsia,

Subject. OUN (Bandera Movement)

It has been ascertained that the Bandera Movement is preparing a revolt in the Reichs Commissariat which has as its ultimate aim the establishment of an independent Ukraine. All functionaries of the Bandera Movement must be arrested at once and, after through interrogation, are to be liquidated secretly as marauders.

Records of such interrogations must be forwarded to the Service Command C/5.

Heads of commands must destroy these instructions on having made a due note of them.

(signature — illegible)
SS — Obersturmbannführer.”

The Ukrainian Underground State and the mass armed struggle continued from 1941 to 1951. The Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council, as the natural extension of the Ukrainian Government, exercised national authority for a decade on various parts of Ukrainian territory. The sovereignty of revolutionary authority was preserved through the military underground of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

The scope of the struggle had even been acknowledged by the Russians and Germans alike. For example, Nikita Khrushchev wrote in his memoirs that, and I quote: “During the second half of the war he (Stepan Bandera, leader of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement — Y. S.) fought against both us and the Germans. Later, After the war, we lost thousands of men in a bitter struggle between the Ukrainian nationalists and the forces of Soviet power”.

A German general, Ernst Koestring, also reported that, and I quote again: “The military organization known as the Ukrainiska Povstanska Armiya (the Ukrainian Insurgent Army) was formed with the aim of establishing an independent Ukraine, controlled neither by Moscow, nor by Germany . . . When Western Ukraine was recaptured by the Red Army the OUN and the UPA called upon the Ukrainian masses to fight against the Bolsheviks — the Russian enemy. German officers who fought their way back to us in 1945 reported that the plight of the Red Army was similar to ours: It controlled only the towns and the main communication routes, while the country itself remained in the hands of the resistance movement”.

The contemporary international situation is particularly grave. The expansion of Russian Imperialism is well known to us all. Policies of friendship, appeasement, containment, convergence and detente have proven to be useless in stemming the centuries old brazen Russian imperialism which aims at complete world domination.

But the West must realize that within the Russian Empire there exists a new ideological and political revolutionary superpower — the subjugated nations, which is destroying the empire from within. The processes of the disintegration of the Russian Empire are at different stages in the various subjugated nations: Afghanistan, Ukraine, Poland, Lithuania, Turkestan among others.

Taking this factor into consideration, the following points should be including in Western Political and military strategy:

- 1) The free world should engage Soviet Russia in the struggle of ideas and ideologies by recognizing the liberation of the subjugated nations as the legitimate representatives of these countries at all international forums including the United Nations;
- 2) The West should provide access to the national liberation movements

to the various forms of mass media to facilitate communication with their countrymen behind the Iron Curtain on a mass scale;

- 3) Assistance should also be provided in the form of military training as well as other political, material and technological means of support;
- 4) All of the nations of the free world should proclaim a great charter of independence for all of the nations subjugated by Russian Imperialism and Communism.

The danger of nuclear holocaust cannot be negotiated away. Soviet Russia has skillfully exploited western fears of nuclear war by blackmailing the West into meekly acquiescing to ever-increasing conquests. Our strategic alternative is based on the knowledge that the subjugated nations within the Russian Empire represent a vast untapped force, which in a common front with the nations of the Free World provides the strategic *raison d'être* for defeating the last remaining empire. Synchronized national liberation revolutions within the Russian colonial Empire is the only alternative.

I would like to end my address to you, Ladies and Gentlemen, with the words of an unforgettable personal friend of mine and an outstanding British military thinker, Major General J. F. C. Fuller, who wrote: "Only the unity of the western nations and their agreement with the National Liberation Movements behind the Iron Curtain can ensure final victory... The reason should be obvious. It is that the Kremlin is living on a volcano, and it knows that the most explosive force in the world is not to be found in the hydrogen bomb, but in the hearts of the subjugated peoples crushed under its iron heel..."

Washington, D.C.

July 15, 1981

COMMEMORATION OF THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF LVIV PROCLAMATION

HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD
OF MICHIGAN IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 8, 1981

Mr. Speaker, 4 days prior to our own celebration of our 205th anniversary of this nation's Declaration of Independence, our Ukrainian neighbours, on June 30, commemorated another very important occasion, the 40th anniversary of the Lviv Proclamation declaring the restoration of Ukrainian independence.

After Nazi Germany invaded Russia in June 1941, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists took advantage of the destabilization caused by the ensuing war to mount an attempt at reestablishing Ukrainian independence. On June 30, 1941, an independence proclamation was issued by the Organiza-

tion of Ukrainian Nationalists together with a representative assembly of prominent Ukrainian leaders. A democratic provisional Ukrainian government was set up in Lviv, with Yaroslav Stetsko elected as its Prime Minister. Both the proclamation and the new government received enthusiastic support from the Ukrainian people.

Tragically, the return to free Ukraine was short lived. The Gestapo quickly arrested members of the new government, and tortured Prime Minister Stetsko and O.U.N. leader Stepan Bandera in an attempt to get them to rescind the liberation proclamation. When Stetsko and Bandera refused, they were deported to a Nazi concentration camp. Other prominent Ukrainians were imprisoned and murdered by the Gestapo as part of their brutal response to the Ukrainian liberation attempt.

Although constituting only a very brief period in Ukrainian history, the 1941 restoration of Ukrainian independence is a very significant event. It symbolizes the struggle and commitment of the Ukrainian people to regaining their far too long denied right to self-determination. More generally, it is an important date for all freedom-loving peoples, and serves to remind us of the continuing struggle of many peoples to secure their right to national sovereignty.

The Ukrainian people deserve praise and admiration for the fortitude and perseverance they have demonstrated throughout their long and costly struggle for freedom, a struggle which they have fought mostly while suffering under Soviet subjugation.

Prime Minister Stetsko, who was specifically honoured by the Ukrainian community of southeastern Michigan on this 40th anniversary of the 1941 restoration of Ukrainian independence, exemplifies this unrelenting Ukrainian commitment to liberty.

Mr. Speaker, as we recall our own struggle for independence and show our thankfulness for the freedom it brought us, our hearts and our prayers should also go out to the Ukrainian people as they continue their struggle to secure the rights which are being denied them.

UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. BILL GREEN

OF NEW YORK IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 9, 1981

Mr. Speaker, I would like to introduce a resolution designating June 30, 1981, as Ukrainian Independence Day. This date is the 40th anniversary of the renewal of Ukrainian independence by proclamation in Lviv, the capital of western Ukraine.

On June 30, 1981, the Ukrainians proclaimed their resistance to the Soviet aggressors who had previously annexed the Ukraine, and denounced the Nazi Germans who had also attempted to conquer the region. Although independence was shortlived, this renewal of independence has become the

symbol of the continuous struggle of the Ukrainian people for freedom. It is significant to Americans of Ukrainian origins, and also to all other Americans who treasure their own freedom and respect the desire for freedom among others.

I believe this is a very appropriate holiday for the U.S. Congress to designate, and I am pleased to have the opportunity to introduce this resolution. I hope my colleagues will join me in reaffirming our commitment to freedom by supporting Ukrainian Independence Day.

To provide for the designation of the 40th anniversary of the renewal of Ukrainian independence, June 30, 1981, as Ukrainian Independence Day.

Whereas the American people's deep commitment to freedom and independence has instilled within us a great respect for the aspiration for freedom of other people and nations throughout the world;

Whereas this year marks the 40th anniversary of the renewal of Ukrainian independence which occurred on June 30, 1941, and which, although short-lived, has become the symbol of the Ukrainian people's ongoing struggle for freedom;

Whereas the Ukrainian people look to the people of the United States, whose country is the world's citadel of freedom, for assistance and inspiration in their struggle for the recovery of their freedom and independence; and

Whereas it is appropriate that we, the people of the United States, demonstrate to the Ukrainian people that we, who benefit daily from our freedom, share their aspirations for freedom and independence, and that, being free, we are not indifferent to the cause of freedom elsewhere: Now, therefore, be it: —

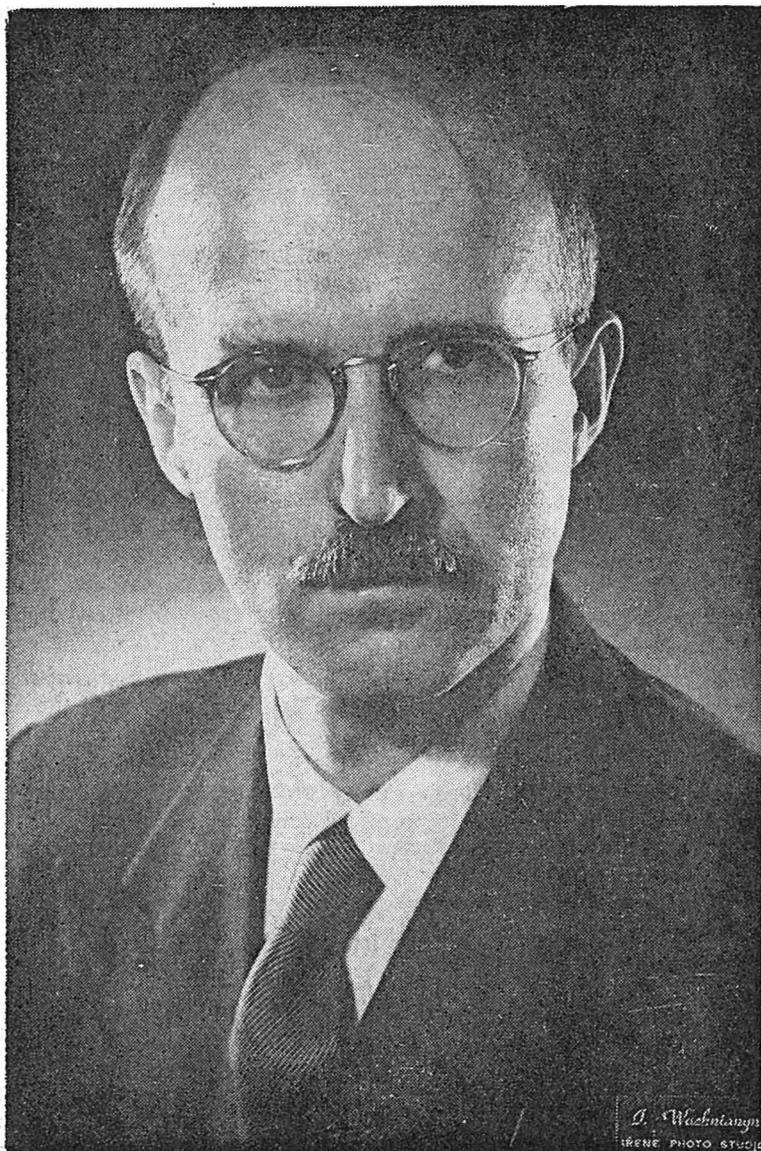
Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the 40th anniversary of the renewal of Ukrainian independence, June 30, 1981, is designated as "Ukrainian Independence Day" and the President of the United States is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation calling upon the people of the United States to observe that day with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

COMMENTS BY YAROSLAV STETSKO

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 28, 1981

Mr. Speaker, in 1941, Yaroslav Stetsko and other members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists led a revolt against the Soviets, and convened a national assembly. The assembly appointed Stetsko prime minister of the newly independent government. Two weeks later, because of his lack of cooperation with Hitler, he was arrested by the Nazis and jailed in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp.



Yaroslav Stetsko

Now a resident of Munich, Mr. Stetsko recently visited Washington; D.C., and addressed Members of Congress at a luncheon held in honour of Captive Nations Week and the 40th anniversary of this Ukrainian national state. I include his address along with an article that appeared in the Washington Post July 21 :

“YAROSLAV STETSKO, THE LONELY PATRIOT
(By *Maria Ricardi*)

The small, thin man introduces himself simply as “Stetsko, prime minister of Ukraine”.

Nearly 40 years ago, at age 28, Yaroslav Stetsko and other members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists seized Lviv, then capital of Ukraine, from the Soviets, and convened a national assembly. The assembly appointed Stetsko prime minister of the new independent government. But on the day he took office he knew what awaited him. Two weeks later, because of his lack of cooperation with Hitler, he says, the Germans arrested him and put him in Sachsenhausen concentration camp.

Stetsko spent the next three years in “the bunker” — the prison he says the Germans reserved for “the serious cases”. Slowly and carefully, he describes the solitary confinement, the physical and mental torture. “I was alone with only my spirit telling me to continue”, he says, shaking his head. “I couldn’t give up no matter what happened to me”.

The prime minister and his wife, Slava, were in Washington last week for the 23rd observance of Captive Nations Week, celebrating the 40th anniversary of renewed Ukrainian statehood. “It is something so important to us”, says Slava Stetsko, who was imprisoned for nine months by the Nazis. “We have dedicated our total selves to our country”.

They return to stories of the war, their voices at times shaking with emotion. In the concentration camp, Stetsko says he refused to resign his office even when he knew that 65 of the 70 prisoners in that camp had died. He couldn’t give up, he explains, his troops were still fighting for Ukrainian freedom.

Once the war was over, he says, “The one thing in my mind was to conquer that Communist empire”.

In 1946 he became president of the anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, and still holds the office. Today 33 subjugated countries, including Poland, Lithuania and Afghanistan, belong to the group. He is also head of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement.

His involvement in these organizations, he says has placed him in danger. In 1959, the man who admitted to the murder of Stefan Bandera, Stetsko’s friend and chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, said he was about to assassinate Stetsko in Munich which is his home.

“There is always someone on our heels”, says Slava. “We have to travel in such secrecy. We cannot live openly. We cannot live secure lives because of what we believe”.

They travel widely, visiting Ukrainian emigrants gathering moral and political support. When the Ukrainian nationalist army "was completely crushed" in 1951 by the Soviets, Stetsko says the country was defeated only physically. "It was not a moral defeat", he insists. "We can't be squashed. We are fighting for the great ideal — the liquidation of Soviet supremacy".

He sighs deeply. For a moment, the 68-year-old man's eyes sadden. He picks up a copy of the speech he gave to members of Congress at a luncheon. Suddenly, his energy returns. "Synchronized national liberation revolutions within the Russian colonial empire are the only alternative", he reads aloud with power in his words. "Soviet Russia has skillfully exploited western fear of nuclear war by blackmailing the West into meekly acquiescing to ever-increasing conquests".

Another pause. He has faith that the youth of subjugated countries will carry on this war against communism. "In our country, the younger generation has found strength in the graves of our heroes", says Slava. "They take pride in our great historical past".

The Stetskos do not have children. "We have put all of our strength to Ukraine", the woman says, fingering the gold cross around her neck.

"I have given everything", her husband adds, "and I will continue to fight until my death".

Yaroslav STETSKO — last Prime Minister of Free Ukraine

IS U.S. READY TO PLAY THE WINNING CARD?

On the scale of current historical reality there stand 2 super powers in the technological and military sense — the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. Until now the eternal political idea of every American Government has been to keep the appropriate balance of military power, particularly thermonuclear and missile, between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. However, in its official policy the indisputable fact of the existence of a new ideological and political superpower inside the Russian Empire has been and is still disregarded by the U.S.A. Nixon defined the idea of balance of power as a guarantee of peace — Nixon ended his career with Watergate and the defeat in Vietnam. On the other hand the policy of Carter was filled with Quaker illusions, who in his lack of foreign affairs knowledge, admitted that only Afghanistan made him realize the Russian danger.

However, despite the failures of U.S.A. presidents, it would be erroneous to evaluate America as anything other than a superpower. For though the U.S.S.R. is currently superior in respect of thermonuclear and missile armaments, land forces and navy, a comparison of the military power of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. indicated 3 conclusive factors:

(a) the entire complex of technology and economy of the U.S.A. in comparison with the continuous backwardness of technology and economy of the U.S.S.R., (b) the initiative resourcefulness and inventiveness of a free individual in comparison to a robot acting under the dictates of the governmental and party apparatus, (c) the most important factor, still ignored by official U.S. policy — the subjugated nations headed by Ukraine which are breaking down the empire from inside. This factor must especially be considered in its strategy if there is to be western victory.

It is also noteworthy that in the face of crisis the American nation displayed more political national instinct, honour, dignity and patriotism, than any nations of Western Europe.

Were the U.S.A. to embark upon a change in policy with the U.S.S.R., it would receive strong opposition from France and Germany who adhere to be policy of detente and cooperation on the basis of a non-existent military balance of power — even though Russia, under the shadow of detente, literally occupied Angola, Ethiopia, Yemen, Mozambique and Afghanistan.

Until now Washington steadfastly stood upon conservation of the positions of Yalta and Potsdam Agreements, conforming said position inseparably at Helsinki, going even further than Yalta, outdoing the peace agreement and finally acknowledging the inviolability of the Russian Empire, including the satellite nations. As a result of respecting the principles of divisions of spheres of influence, including severing the live bodies of divided nations — the U.S.A. suffered defeat in Vietnam.

Encompassing the direction the U.S. should take in its attempt toward liberation and national independence of the Captive nations, the Captive Nations resolution, adopted unanimously in 1959 by the U.S. Congress during the Eisenhower (Dulles) administration, remains exclusively for internal utilization by various national groups in the U.S., without having any influence on the official policy. The situation for the Captive Nations of the U.S.S.R is seemingly improving. Moscow, having gained temporary superiority, decided upon continuation of its expansion, occupying Afghanistan on its way toward the Persian Gulf and oil fields, which in turn caused the U.S. to realize that it cannot continue to hide its head in the sand.

However the U.S. is not ready to play the winning card — the Captive Nations — due to: (1) it might provoke atomic war, (2) the collapse of the Russian Empire would open the way for invasion of Europe by Chinese masses, etc. and (3) the belief that capitalist trade is more convenient and easier with one large complex than with numerous national states. These and other arguments are unjustified. The only alternatives to atomic war are national revolutions of subjugated nations, which will cause the collapse of the Russian Empire from within, since no one will dropping atomic bombs on revolutionaries, because such bombs would also fall, as a matter of pure logic, upon the occupational forces and colonisers. Slaves or prisoners will never defend slavery in their prison.

The impasse in which the West found itself resulted from its disregard

of the mightiest force of our time — National Liberation Movements of Captive Nations during the epoch of collapse of empires.

Before the U.S. now stands a decisive task — to realize the change of the epoch — to stand in the vanguard of national and religious crusade against imperialistic and atheistic Russian aggression, or to be a reactionary force, which will defend the status quo as it did in the past — and suffer defeat.

The way out for the U.S. is to clear and openly proclaim a Magna Carta of independence of all nations enslaved in the Russian Empire and the imperative collapse of this last and most cruel empire in the world; and to proceed not on the road of a policy of detente and balance of power, but rather to bring forth a new conception — of liberation. Western victory depends upon whether it will fall in with the world revolution of nationalism in national — liberational and social aspects no other power except nationalistic power will save the world from bolshevisation because nationalism is akin to a nation.

The U.S. and Western Europe face an ill-fated dilemma of choice — to stand on the side of the imperialistic or the nationalistic ideal in the whole world because mankind is facing a great revolution of nations — which cannot be stopped. It will be a nationalistic revolution, universal in character, which will also encompass heroic religious components.

In accordance with its great freedom-loving traditions, we believe that the U.S. has to reverse its position of defending the reactionary imperialistic, colonial systems, which go against the grain of American soul, and must take a national revolutionary stand in the spirit of great American traditions. It is the U.S. which should constitute hope for all the subjugated nations in the world and especially for nations enslaved in the Russian Empire — Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Armenians, Northern Caucasians, Azerbaijanis, Idel-Uralis, Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Karelo Fins, Turkistanis, Siberians, Poles, Bulgarians, Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks, Eastern Germans, Rumanians, Albanians, and others enslaved by Russian Bolshevism. Therefore, based upon different international resolutions, regulations, declarations of the United Nations and the International Red Cross with reference to insurgent armies, as well as United Nations resolution with reference to the legality and obligation of aid in armed struggles of enslaved nations against colonial oppression and enslavement, in accordance with the principles of the great American anti-colonial war, in accordance with the U.S. Congressional resolution of 1959, the Government and Congress of the United States should proclaim as the aim of American Policy — a revolutionary change of the “order” of coercion in the world, into an order of national independence, individual freedom, and social justice through the collapse and division of the most reactionary, totalitarian, nation-killing, colonial Russian Empire of all colours and act in the spirit of such proclamation. This aim should become an integral factor of American foreign policy, in the same way as “Proletarian Internationalism, National Liberation Struggle and class upheavals” are principal integral factors of

Russian foreign policy. The West cannot stand upon its antiquated position of "Holy" or rather "Unholy" alliance of olden times. In revolutionary times there must be revolutionary changes in all spheres of life and struggle. New revolutionary laws of international relations must and are being created.

Afghanistan presented before the U.S. and NATO the central problem of our time with complete clarity. The future of the world depends upon the solution. Moscow faces a persistent and long-lasting conflict in Afghanistan, because a strike against Pakistan will create a state of war with the U.S. and, on the other hand, the possibility of armed conflict with China, which currently is in the possession of ballistic long-range missiles. The U.S.S.R. will be compelled to send additional thousands of soldiers without sufficient equipment, thereby increasing its own dangerous implications. This in turn will create ever increasing mobilization against Russia not only of Slavonic Nations of the Free World, but also the Third World and nations of the West, Japan and China. Afghanistan could become a prologue to another Konotop, in the event the U.S. would decide to increase its pressure upon the U.S.S.R. If the U.S. and other western nations do not help to save the empire then Afghanistan may become the beginning of the end of the Russian Empire. By the weapon of insurgent guerrilla war, Russia will have every opportunity to be defeated. Upon the toughness and decisiveness of the U.S. depends the further development of events, and also Russia's lack of success in separating Western Europe from the U.S.

The role of Ukraine, the key country among enslaved nations, is growing ever greater. Our ideas are finding more understanding in the world, our views and propositions are even being partially adopted by official bodies — that is (1) boycott of the Olympics in Moscow which gained victory in the U.S., West Germany and other countries, (2) a string of resolutions on the part of the UN about decolonization, (3) Captive Nations resolution passed in 1959 by the US Congress. Our spokesmen throughout the U.S. had positive results with lectures, press conferences and the mass media of communication. World public opinion is changing to our advantage, including that of Jews and the Islamic World, who realize the danger posed by Russian Imperialism. In the West novels were published about Ukraine's UPA and O.U.N. — indicating the struggle for collapse of the empire.

In view of all this, there is no basis for pessimism, but to the contrary, our time is nearing and we in Ukraine, in the Russian Empire and in the Free World, must be prepared for the active participation of the creation of a new and just world order.

* * *

Many other tributes flowed in from American and Canadian politicians who in various ways wanted to commemorate Ukraine's declaration of independence. These tributes are too numerous to print in full but there

follows a list of some of those who officially logged their commemoration of the anniversary in congressional records, mayoral proclamations etc.

William Milliken, Governor of the State of Michigan; Carl Levin, US Senate, Michigan; William S. Broomfield, Congress; Mr. Brodhead, Congress; Dennis M. Hertel, Congress, Michigan; William D. Ford, Congress, Michigan; Robert A. Roe, Congress, New Jersey; Mr. D. Amato, Congress; Bill Green, Congress, New York; Edward J. Derwinski, Congress, Detroit; Don Ritter, Congress, Pennsylvania; Alfonse D'Amato, Congress;

Ted Bates, Mayor, City of Warren; Louis D. Belcher, Mayor, City of Ann Arbor, John B. O'Reilly, Mayor, Dearborn; Edward H. McNamara, Mayor, City of Livonia; Coleman A. Young, Mayor, City of Detroit; Robert Koza- ren, Mayor, City of Hamtramck; Frank J. Lada, Mayor, City of Allen Park; Anthony Dobry, Mayor, City of Sterling Heights.

William G. Davis, Premier of Ontario sent the following message to Mr. Stetsko at a gathering in Canada in June: —

Our province is honoured by the presence of the Honourable Yaroslav Stetsko, a man whose tenure as Prime Minister of the Free Ukrainian Government was marked by a firm belief and commitment to democracy, and whose courage and leadership lives on in the memory of the Ukrainian Diaspora throughout the free world.

To all who are gathered on this occasion may I express my congratulations, and acknowledge the importance to all Canadians of your observance of this significant milestone in the history of Ukraine. For it is a reminder to all our people of the need to remain steadfast in the defence of Canada, to cherish and preserve for our coming generations this land which enshrines freedom, tolerance and the democratic ideals which guarantee our human rights and dignity.

May I also extend to our Ukrainian Canadian community grateful recognition of the meaningful role that you have long played in the building of this great country, and my very best wishes to all for continued peace, happiness and prosperity.

In English translation

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PASTORAL LETTER
BY THE PATRIARCH OF THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH
METROPOLITAN YOSYF CARDINAL SLIPIYI ON THE 40TH
ANNIVERSARY OF THE ACT OF RESTORATION OF THE
UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENT STATE

In the first half of the troubled twentieth century the Ukrainian nation twice found itself in the midst of dreadful wars which shook the world, changed its political face and created new and complicated circumstances with tensions and crises in the economic, cultural and even church life. Empires and states fell, small humbled peoples rose, ruling social classes vanished, new both healthy and damaging trends and ideologies came into being. This, in fact, is the image of man who has gone through history carrying the burden of the wound of the original sin while with his troubled searched for the highest good, which is God. But, unfortunately, man frequently substituted God for his theories, selfishness, and dreams about a paradise on earth.

After two centuries of existence on their land under foreign and enemy occupation, the Ukrainian people in those two wars could say in the words of priest Mathias, the father of the famous Maccabees: "Is there a nation that has not usurped her sovereignty, a people that has not plundered her? She has been stripped of all her adornment, no longer free, but a slave" (I Mac. 2:10-11). It is for this reason that on the stormy sea of history because of wars, our people wanted to secure a free harbour of their own, a state on their own land with their own Church and their own rights, and based on their own truth and will — just as it is with other nations. This is why, like other neighbouring nations, our nation courageously plunged into the vortex of events ready to sacrifice the life of its sons in order to secure its own statehood.

The struggle for a nation's statehood has its roots in the natural law of man, who was created to lead a community life. The state has its roots in human nature which, in turn, has an inborn propensity to unite into larger communities for the purpose of safety and public order, for the progress and development of man. The state, as a need of human nature, is a requirement of that eternal moral law that the Creator instilled in the human heart and which we call the Natural Law. This is why the state and its respective authority do not derive from some casual circumstances, but rather from the Natural Law. In this context the Church teaches that both the state and the state authority come from God, the Creator of the Natural Order. Man as a person existed before the state and has his natural rights. This is why the individual cannot be discarded in a state organism because the



YOSYF CARDINAL SLIPIYI
PATRIARCH OF THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

state is neither an end in itself nor is it a goal for man. Rather, the goal and mission of the state is the welfare of the individual person, the defence of the natural law, moral principles and the observance of the Ten Commandments.

A state is for a people what home is for a family. The state is a spiritual edifice where a nation rears itself, leads a free life, fulfils freely and with dignity its duties with respect to God and fellow men, happily and justly arranges its earthly life and peacefully contributes its spiritual and material share to the coexistence of all the peoples of the world. Statehood is both a dream and a right of every nation. In the history of our salvation we see how God cares that a nation, through whom God's design for salvation was to be realized, has a land of its own, has a free existence in its own state for the observance of God's Commandments and God's word.

The worth of a nation can be judged precisely by this healthy desire to have its own home, its own state. Even the great nations in history fell and perished when they lost that will to be themselves and live a free life on their own land in peace and justice. How numerous are in history those peoples who became extinguished for having led a nomadic life of pillage living at the expense of others without ever thinking about a state of their own, about peace with other peoples, and about justice! Our nation, who, having been given by God a fertile and rich land, lived on that land, defended it, and always yearned to be its sovereign master. It is for this reason that when our nation became subjugated it defended its liberty and its land with courage and selflessness and built its state whenever it managed to secure it. However, not always did such endeavour meet with success. This happened not only because of man's historic wickedness and greed for the riches of others, but also because we ourselves lacked high and noble statesmanly Christian qualities which resulted in our historical humbling and which, nevertheless, God turned to our advantage: "It is good for me that I have been afflicted; that I might learn thy statutes" (Psalms, 119:71).

This year we observe the fortieth anniversary of our nation's second attempt in this century to regain and secure its own state with the Proclamation of Restoration of the Ukrainian State in June 1941. Those were hard times and the circumstances were cruel. But we did not surrender ourselves to a soulless drift on the waves of events hoping for man's pity. As soon as the right moment came we courageously declared before history and the world our desire for statehood. We proclaimed this statehood in order to emphasize our rights and our place amongst the nations of the world. That was a bold step taken by a nation whose spirit never perished during its long bondage. At the time when mad theories about race, "new Europe" and a "new world" with one people ruling over all others were on the march to enforce by fire and sword such an ideology, and on the other side the greatest tyranny in history oppressed our land and was implementing its godless and inhuman order at the cost of millions of victims of famine and terror, our nation proclaimed its natural right to independence and statehood. This is a great act which should educate us and make us better regard-

less of our personal thinking or different political beliefs. A nation ought to want a state of its own; a nation in bondage ought to think about it and strive for it if it wants to join the "community of free nations", if it does not want to be constantly a slave of its stronger or more clever neighbours.

Let us remember this event of the Restoration of our statehood in 1941 with gratefulness towards God who guarded us in the midst of menacing historical events and kept us for His great designs according to God's principle that "My strength is made perfect in weakness" (2 Cor. 12:9). Let us remember those great sons of our Ukraine who laid down their lives so that the entire nation may be free. This is a great offering of love and self-sacrifice. Let us remember in our prayers also those of our sons who in prisons and exile continue this great testimony on behalf of freedom, truth and justice, wishing only one thing — that we may be free.

May the observance of this event give us unity and a common wish to be a free nation in the family of free nations for the glory of God.

May God bless you!

June 1, 1981.

† YOSYF
Patriarch and Cardinal

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News from Ukraine

Below we reprint three articles from the British press which touch on different aspects of repression and the fight against it in Ukraine.

Mykola POHYBA

CAPITALIST RUSSIA VERSUS THE WORKERS

The author is a Ukrainian worker from Kyiv now serving a second term of imprisonment for campaigning for workers' rights. This account of his case has been received by Amnesty International in London in the form of an open letter to the Ukrainian Human Rights Movement and the United Nations' Human Rights Committee. It was written last November in a penal colony at Bucha in the Ukraine, and appeared in the "Observer" on August 16, 1981.

It is no secret that fundamental human rights have been consistently trampled on in the Soviet Union. The flouting and complete disregard of human rights is felt most acutely by the workers who are powerless to counter political and socio-economic oppression.

My life and my so-called 'slandorous activities' may well serve as examples. I am presently serving a second term of imprisonment. In 1975 I was charged under Article 187 and sentenced to three years' imprisonment by the Kyiv Oblast Court. In 1979 I was charged under Article 206 and sentenced to five years' imprisonment by the Kyiv People's Court.

As a worker relegated to the lowest rung of the Soviet social ladder, I personally have experienced economic, socio-political and national oppression. Understandably, I could not help but give thought to and consider the real reasons for this oppression. With time I realised that my fellow workers were also victims of exploitation and that this exploitation was greater the lower one found oneself on the social ladder.

I came to the conclusion that ultimately it is the state which is the exploiter along with the State-party bourgeoisie which is in its service and which is the one wielding the real power in the country. The socialism and internationalism of which one so often speaks in the Soviet Union is nothing more than a smokescreen for a means of production and distribution of material goods which is not in the least socialist.

In short, I have come to the conclusion that our country is actually a State capitalist society with a totalitarian form of government.

In informal conversations with fellow workers, I expressed some of my views regarding Soviet reality. I saw nothing wrong in so doing. Specially, I noted that the real causes for our impoverished condition are to be found

not in mistakes committed by the administrative apparatus but in the very system of production which, in actual fact, is capitalist.

In my conversations as well as in the leaflets which I wrote and then posted throughout Kyiv on bulletin boards, buses, monuments, etc. (for having posted my leaflets on a statue of Lenin, I was charged under Article 206 with hooliganism), I showed that Soviet labour unions (i.e. state-party organisations) neither constitute a separate autonomous organisation nor do they represent the rights and economic interests of the working class.

They are, in fact, an integral part of the party-State apparatus whose principal aim is to extract the utmost from the worker while keeping the working-class in blind obedience, checked and ensured by a system of meting out at first minor and then ever greater benefits. The dispensation of benefits depends on such factors as good behaviour, success in meeting the designated quotas and loyalty to the State.

Those workers who express dissatisfaction, be it outrightly or directly, are demoted to the lowest-paying jobs, lose any privileges and are put under the 'care' of Soviet penal authorities. All this is done with no objections raised by the labour union.

I believe that I am not alone in my endeavour, that the situation in the Soviet Union is ripe for the founding of independent labour unions (as opposed to party-state ones) which would prove effective in solving the problems with which the working class is faced. I explained to my fellow workers that we not only have the right to talk of independent labour unions but the right to organise them.

Throughout the course of my so-called 'slanderous' activity, I came to see that similar views are held by many workers who, as a rule, may be characterised as independent-minded. I became aware that their numbers are growing daily.

And even though the ruling class will go to any length to check independent-minded workers whose protest is born of spontaneity, repressions will no longer be able to suppress that awareness which has been awakened in the consciousness of the people.

The recent events in Poland have shown that the working-class is capable of leading the struggle for its rights and freedoms, for a feasible improvement of its well-being. The effectiveness of the struggle waged depends on the degree of solidarity of the working-class, on the degree of self-organisation.

This, in short, is the extent of the 'slanderous' activity for which I am being 'rehabilitated' behind barbed wires.

I ask that the Ukrainian human rights group make my letter known to the people of the Soviet Union and to world public opinion. But foremostly, to the labour unions throughout the world. Let them be the ones to determine who the real culprit is and what his true motives are.

Gabriel RONAY

WORKERS IN KYIV STRIKE AND WIN

Kyiv factory workers have staged three successful strikes in protest against higher work quotas and poor living conditions, according to an authoritative Soviet dissident journal.

Although strikes are illegal in the Soviet Union, the authorities conceded the strikers' demands after stoppages lasting less than two days in each incident. The strikes were organized by the factories' Communist Party and trade union officials.

The first strike at the machine building factory of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Livestock Breeding in Kyiv, took place at the beginning of April, according to the Soviet civil rights chronicle *Archiv Samizdata* No. 4354, a copy of which has now reached London.

The strike was called in protest against higher work quotas arbitrarily introduced by the factory management without higher rates of pay. After a stoppage lasting a day and a half, the old work quotas were reintroduced, according to the civil rights chronicle.

A more contentious second strike at the same factory later that month was in protest against chronic water shortages in Kyiv's Kyivo-Svyatoshynsky district, where the factory is situated. When the workers, led by their Communist Party officials, refused to report for work for the second day running, the local authorities carried out long-delayed waterworks repairs.

After the settlement of the strike, the factory's manager was dismissed and the party and union officials involved in the stoppage were swiftly replaced. The chronicle had no information as to whether the workers involved had also been punished.

Stephen ARIS

SILENT EXILE FOR CHORNOVIL

One of the main consequences of the present Soviet purge against its dissidents has been that the trickle of information reaching the West as to their fate has all but dried up. Only after months or, in some cases years does a letter or photograph come to testify that the victims are still alive. But such evidence is rare. In banishing its dissidents to the furthest parts of the empire, to Siberian labour camps, to hospitals for the insane or to prisons for the criminal or the deviant, the Soviet Union intends quite literally to place its domestic critics beyond the pale; to rob them of their identity and to expunge all trace of their existence. In short to make them non-people.

As a tactic it is unhappily all too successful. Of the thousands of political prisoners in Soviet camps or jails the names of only a handful are known in the West. A few like Bukovsky or Sakharov acquire international fame,

others like Chornovil gain brief prominence and are then forgotten. Vyacheslav Chornovil deserves a better fate.

Among his fellow dissidents, Chornovil's integrity and organisational ability — he is nicknamed "The General" — has earned him an almost legendary reputation. A Ukrainian by birth and a journalist by profession, he was one of the first openly to attack the Soviet authorities for perverting their own legal processes and he played a major part in founding the civil rights movement of the early 1970s. This in turn led to monitoring groups of the Helsinki agreement.

Though Chornovil has spent all but 18 months of the past 14 years in labour camps or exile, he has not hesitated, despite ill health, to speak out. While in exile in the Yakut, in the polar regions of Siberia, he wrote a series of articles, published in the underground press fiercely criticising the Soviets for their treatment of the local inhabitants.

In the West, however, Chornovil has all but disappeared from view. His name first became known outside Russia in 1968 with the publication by McGraw Hill of his 20,000-word exposé, describing the Soviet crack-down in the Ukraine a couple of years before.

As a young reporter Chornovil had been sent to cover the trials. A loyal member of the party, he was thought to be a reliable witness. But instead of testifying for the prosecution, as intended, Chornovil turned in a graphic and unvarnished account of KGB repression. Known as *The Chornovil Papers*, the book created a sensation and led in 1975 to its author winning the first Sunday Times Nicholas Tomalin Award for investigative reporting. His sponsor, Amnesty International, described it as "a classical product of investigative journalism".

The Soviets were less impressed. By the time Chornovil received his award he had already served three years of a nine-year sentence as a reprisal — six years in a labour camp in the Mordovian Autonomous Republic and three years' exile in Arctic Siberia which he later described in a letter to a friend. "It's already minus 40 to 50 degrees. An icy vapour hangs in the air and it's difficult to breathe. And it's going to get colder. It's in Yakutia that the northern magnetic pole is situated: temperatures fall as low as minus 71 degrees".

Chornovil has little confidence that he will ever regain his freedom. Six years ago in a letter to President Podgorny he wrote: "There is no guarantee that after the completion of my long term of imprisonment the KGB will not fabricate yet another 'case' and throw me behind barbed wire again".

This forecast has proved all too accurate. Last year, a few months before the end of his sentence, Chornovil was arrested again and sentenced to a further five years on a charge of attempted rape. The proceedings were, according to Amnesty, a travesty of justice: the case was heard in camera and the evidence fabricated by the KGB. In protest Chornovil staged a four-month hunger strike. Since when there has been silence.

Yevhen HRYCYAK

SHORT MEMOIRS — THE NORILSK UPRISING

Translated from Ukrainian by:

Taras Drozd

Natalia Garbera

Zena Matla-Rychtycka

FOREWORD

The memoirs of Yevhen Hrycyak about the uprising of political prisoners in the concentration camps of Norilsk in 1953, which were originally disseminated in *samvydav** form, were recently transmitted to the West. The detailed description of this uprising — is the latest important document about the savage, inhuman Russian-Bolshevik system of rule over subjugated nations, as well as about the courage of political prisoners of different nationalities, who, even in prisons and concentration camps, struggle against this system in defence of their human and national rights.

The author of the memoirs, Yevhen Hrycyak, was born in 1926, in the village of Stecev, Snyatyn County, Ivano-Frankivsk Province, was arrested in 1949 for his membership in the Ukrainian nationalist underground during Germany's occupation of Ukraine, and sentenced to death, later commuted to twenty-five years of imprisonment.

Yevhen Hrycyak is well known because of this 1976 declaration to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. (see Appendix "A"), which reached the West in 1977 and was disseminated widely in the Ukrainian press.

Yevhen Hrycyak's memoirs about the Norilsk uprising are valuable because of their documentary-autobiographical character, and because of their deep insight into the conditions of U.S.S.R. concentration camps and the beastiality of the creators and administrators of those camps.

I. THE KARAGANDA-NORILSK TRANSIT POINTS

August, 1952. Zone 8 of the Pishchan camp, MVS*, U.S.S.R., city of Karaganda.

"Attention prisoners! Fall in! Form up! Don't look back, don't talk, don't smoke, don't change from one row to another! One step to the right or left and we'll fire without warning! Hands behind your backs! Forward! March!"

Four hundred tired and hungry prisoners plodded heavily in their felt shoes over the hard Kazakhstan ground. The long workday at the construction site ended and we were led home — to the camp. We walked in the

*) Liberally "published by oneself", and refers to unauthorised publication and dissemination of handwritten, typed, mimeographed or printed material.

*) MVS — Ministry of Internal Affairs.

customary way demanded by the convey guards — in silence. Each one kept to himself with his own thoughts.

Several weeks ago, Stepan U. suggested to me the idea of organising a political strike throughout the entire *Gulag**. But in spite of being totally captivated by the idea, I declined it as impossible to accomplish and, instead, suggested organising such a strike in just our own zone. Hopefully, in time, this action would spread in a chain reaction throughout the entire *Gulag*.

Now, returning from work, I pondered (for the hundredth time) my position. In my opinion, a strike involving the entire *Gulag* was a utopian idea primarily of our own impenetrable isolation. We did not and could not have positive contact not only with camps distant from us, but even with the different zones in our own camp. We were just incapable of organizing any co-ordinated action. Besides, we would still have to overcome such subjective obstacles as the constant fear which enveloped, not without cause, all the prisoners, and the infectious inertia and the endless internal quarrels.

These difficulties were so vast, we had neither the strength nor the skill to overcome them even in one specific area. Only some particular external factor could rouse, unite and incite us — an incident which would deeply affect each of us.

Unfortunately, because we were not ready, advantage of such an incident was not taken.

This is how it happened — for some reason, only one brigade was being escorted from the work site. En route, the convoy guard behaved in such a brutal and vicious manner, the men stopped and sat down in protest. The convoy guards discharged several sub-machine gun volleys over the prisoners' heads, but no one got up. Then the guards released the dogs... Prisoners arrived at the camp torn and bloody.

This incident served as a good lesson to us, and now we were ready to capitalize on another such opportunity.

We came to the guardhouse and my thoughts were suddenly cut off. I was separated from the group of prisoners and, without any formal charges, thrown into a punishment cell. That same day, more than twenty men were placed in the punishment block J' all Ukrainians.

After that, events started unfolding quickly. The next day, one more Ukrainian was thrown into our cell, Vasyl B., who explained that he had purposely behaved in such a manner as to be placed among us, because he had an important message for us: "The prisoners here want you to announce a hunger-strike tomorrow morning, and then, as a sign of solidarity, they will begin their general strike".

The next morning, we announced our hunger-strike, but to our great disappointment, the general strike did not materialise. We waited another day, but, again — nothing. Completely losing hope, we discontinued our hunger-strike.

*) *Gulag* — the Soviet penal system under Stalin; an acronym for Chief Administration of Corrective Labour Camps.

As it became clear later, the entire zone was ready to act, but no one was willing to assume the responsibility. This served as another valuable lesson to us.

The next day we all were transported to zone 5, which served as a deportation point. In addition to ourselves, other prisoners, consisting mainly of Ukrainians and Lithuanians, were brought here from the entire *Pishchan* camp. We understood that we were being sent out of the Karaganda area, but no one could say where we would be taken and what would be awaiting us there.

In the meantime, our first surprise was being prepared for us. We, two hundred and fifty Ukrainians and Lithuanians were consigned to the second barrack. Forty other prisoners, of whom some were Ukrainians and the rest representatives of other nationalities, were placed in one section of the first barrack. After some time, eighteen more men were added to that section. These were members of the Mykola Vorobyov gang, well known in the entire *Pishchan* camp, because their function was to terrorise and to do away with Ukrainians.

The Vorobyov thugs arrived armed with knives and immediately began threatening the few Ukrainians who were in the first barrack.

From the window of the barrack, someone desperately called out to us: "Boys, the *suki** want to murder us!"

We jumped to our feet and feverishly tried to find a way out of our locked barrack. Some attempted to break the bars on the windows, while others tried to break down the door — but to no avail.

There was a large barrel of drinking water standing in the corridor. I poured the water out and, together with Bohdan M. started battering the door with it, but the door would not give way. Our only reward was the sound of the blows, which reminded us of distant cannon fire.

Meanwhile an exit was found. Some managed to pull a brick out from under one of the windows and a small opening was made through which we were all able to crawl outside.

Here, we all gathered and formed a quick plan of attack. We had old scores to settle with the Vorobyov gang members and were all fired up with the desire to settle with them. If only we could find a way of reaching them!

We all rushed to the door of their barrack, because we thought they would be easier to handle outside. We hoped to either pull off the door hinges or knock out the lock. Since, we could not manage it with our bare hands and did not want to show our helplessness, we had no choice but to continue pushing against that unbreakable door.

This door, differed from those in the other barracks, in that it opened onto the barbed barricade of the restricted zone instead of onto the centre of the camp. Close by was the guard tower on which stood not the customary one but two convoy guards. Soon an officer also appeared. I watched his every move. He took out his pistol and slowly aimed it at us. A shot was

*) *Suki* — "Bitches", term used for professional criminals who chose to collaborate with the authorities.

fired, then a second, and a third . . . Shattered bricks and mortar showered down on our heads, the officer was firing over our heads at the wall. We did not retreat. Finally, we heard submachine gun fire. With a cry of pain, Vasyl Shcherba fell to the ground, seriously wounded. We scattered. The wounded Shcherba was carried to the hospital.

The camp "hospital" was located in this very same first barrack. The section we were trying to break into was separated from the hospital by a reinforced wooden barricade. Discovering this, we entered the adjacent room and ordered the patients to leave.

Then we broke up a metal bed and, armed with pieces of it, started to batter down the barricade. After a few minutes, a man-size opening was created. We met the Vorobyov thugs face to face.

But the gang members defended themselves doggedly. Two of them, hiding behind a wall, stood at either side of the opening, ready to stab anyone who dared stick his head through. Others, having overturned the stove which stood in the middle of the room, started hurling bricks at us and, when the brick supply became exhausted, they threw chunks of crystal sugar.

The two defenders at the wall opening proved to be the most dangerous to us. We tried in every way possible to grab or at least chase them away, but we just could not manage to do this. Noticing two fire extinguishers on the wall, we took them down, and started spraying the two with the foam. The foam got into one man's eyes. He roared in pain and ran away, holding his hands to his eyes. However, another man immediately replaced him.

I realized that we would never overtake them in this manner and suggested that we climb up to the attic, break through the ceiling, and attack them from above. Everyone left the room and started searching for a way to the attic. Upon stepping outside, we were stopped dead. Armed soldiers were running directly toward us from the guardhouse. With them was the chief administrator of the *Pishchan* camp J Lieutenant-General Serhienko. That finished it!

On reaching us, Serhienko ordered us to immediately enter the barracks and allow ourselves to be locked up. When we protested, he threatened to use firearms. When we mentioned that he did not have the right to fire at us, since we were not posing a threat to him, he answered: "Oh, yes! We have the right. We know whom we are dealing with!"

We continued arguing with Serhienko for quite a while before reaching a compromise — we would re-enter our barracks and he would remove the Vorobyov gang.

We were locked up; the Vorobyov gang was removed. Night came and we all laid down to sleep, wherever we could.

The next evening, a red *echelon** left Karaganda, moving northward. Its freight cars were loaded with twelve hundred political prisoners, mainly Ukrainians and Lithuanians. At Petropavlovsk the train turned east and,

*) Red echelon — a train for transporting prisoners, consisting of freight cars painted red.

after a few days, it arrived at Krasnoyarsk. Here the train stopped for the entire night and in the morning, after slowly crossing the Yenisei, halted again. Perhaps we had arrived!

Yes, we had arrived. We were released from the cars and escorted to a tiny transit prison which, as we knew, provided prisoners for the Norilsk camps.

We were ordered to sit down in front of the guardhouse, since they were not ready to receive us as yet.

From the other side of the tall board fence of the restricted zone, we heard the following exchange between the *blatnye** prisoners of the punishment block:

“Prosecutor! Prosecutor! Is that you?”

“It’s me”.

“What’s new?”

“Oh, nothing. Just some new boys have arrived”.

“From where?”

“From Karaganda”.

“Are they rich?”

“No. India!”

We had not even entered the compound, no one there had seen us, but the *blatnye* prisoners inside already know that a fresh shipment of convicts had arrived from Karaganda, and that they were like residents of India, which, in their jargon, meant paupers who had nothing worth stealing.

The amount of information they had did not surprise us, because it was common knowledge that guards informed them of everything, as they always united with the *blatnye* prisoners against us — politicals.

We entered the compound, which was spread over a somewhat sloping terrain. On the left, the lower row of barracks was occupied by the *blatnye* prisoners and the upper row was assigned to us. The rows were separated from each other with a barbed wire barricade and a gatehouse, where a guard was always posted.

Before we even had a chance to get settled in the barracks, we found out that the *blatnye* prisoners were preparing to attack us. Since we knew that they could not do this without the blessings of the administration, we entered into negotiations with the transport chief. The result of these talks was that the chief threatened to use firearms against us. In answer to our claim that, in such cases, the guards did not have the right to fire at us, he said: “We do have the right, because we know who we have here!”

After getting settled in the barracks, we started going outside and gathering in small groups. In one group, someone began to sing:

*A girl took a pail**
And went for water,
When young fishermen
Of Cossack blood . . .*

*) Blatnye — literal slang translation “thieves”, but used throughout concentration camps and prisons in a broad sense, meaning criminal prisoners.

**) Popular Ukrainian folk song.

The song was picked up by others; the group of singers quickly grew. More and more men wanted to sing, so that another choral group was formed, again spontaneously. Probably for the first time in the history of the Yenisei river, the sound of Ukrainian songs flowed over it. When a singer tired, another took his place, and the singing continued until late in the evening. Our Lithuanian friends also could not control the urge to sing and formed their own choral group. Although we did not understand their language, we sensed that they, just as we, began by singing folk songs, and went on to nationalistic-patriotic songs.

I stepped aside from the group and listened. It seemed as though the song was coming from some giant, whom no one dared to restrain — and no one did. The guards did not attempt to disperse us, and the *blatnye* prisoners did not try to attack us. For four days no one bothered us.

On the fifth day, we were crammed into prison barges and transported down the Yenisei river.

Judging from the kinds of prisoners chosen for this trip and the manner in which General Serhienko at Karaganda and the transport chief at Minusinsk spoke to us, we easily surmised that we were not an ordinary group of prisoners to be used for some development project, but a group condemned to death. We were to be subdued and destroyed. Who could then say what kind of welcome we would receive at our destination, if indeed we ever reached it and were not instead drowned and lost, along with the barges, at the bottom of the Yenisei. There were many theories floating around, but no one knew anything for certain.

On March 8, 1952, we arrived safely at *Dudinka*. That same day, our train reached Norilsk. Here we were separated into two groups. The first, containing five hundred men, was led into zone 1 of *Gorlag*,* located on the *Vedmezha* Mountain or "*Vedmezha*"; the second, containing seven hundred men, was taken to zone 5, which was located close to town.

Thus ended the Karaganda-Norilsk stage of our imprisonment.

II. ACCLIMATISATION

The *Gorlag* camp was prepared for our reception. The barracks assigned to us were separated from the main area by barbed wire. All the camp *suki* had received knives for "self-defence", because, as was explained to them, a large transport of *Banderist*** cuthroats, who intended to wipe out all the camp activists, was arriving at Norilsk.

We were processed during the next four days. First we were thoroughly searched and given identification numbers. These numbers consisted of two parts — a letter of the Russian alphabet and three numerals. We received

*) *Gorlag* — Mountain Camp.

***) *Banderist* — in Ukrainian pronounced "banderivtsi", is a colloquial term derived from the name of the leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), Stepan Bandera (1909-1959), to describe members and sympathisers of the OUN.

numbers accompanied only by letters "U" or "F", which made it easy to identify us amid the crush of other prisoners.

After this initial phase was completed, we were then divided into brigades, each brigade being assigned an administration-trusted brigadier. Each brigadier wore an arm band on his left sleeve with the word "Brigadier" on it.

On the fifth day, we were taken out to work. To our surprise, we did not hear the traditional "Attention, prisoners!" The convoy guards were not leading us, but stood on both sides of our path, creating a living protective corridor. We walked down this corridor in our brigade units. Brigadiers, like army sergeants, walked alongside their brigades.

After moving about one hundred and fifty or two hundred meters, we were stopped before the gatehouse of the work zone, which was called *Gorstroy*. This was a huge tundra territory, surrounded by barbed wire and guards, inside which construction in various stages was taking place. The prisoners of *Gorlag* were building the city of Norilsk. All the work, from the conception of the projects to their completion, was carried out by prisoners.

We happened on this enormous construction at a time when the city's central plaza was being built. We had the job of levelling the land and moving wheelbarrows of gravel from one place to another.

During the hour long lunch break, we scattered in all directions, searching for countrymen and new acquaintances. Here, as opposed to the residence compound, we were not separated from the other prisoners by barbed wire. Furthermore, the workers here were not just from zone 5, but also from zone 4 and, next to us, although separated by a narrow barrier, were the women of zone 6. Through the prism of the barbed wire, these women seemed incredibly beautiful and alluring.

But above all, we were interested in the behaviour of our countrymen, who were afraid to approach us, when we called them to the barbed fence in the compound. Only a few of them returned our calls from a distance, and only in the Russian language.

Ukrainian was not officially forbidden, but it was very dangerous to use it. Our language exposed us as Ukrainians or, as we were contemptuously called "*Banderists*", and drew upon us the heavy burden of additional persecution and degradations. In Karaganda we had won the right to national pride, but here, in Norilsk, this right would still have to be fought for.

The countrymen whom we met here, asked us to moderate our behaviour and gradually blend in — if we wanted to survive. "You have no idea what Norilsk is like", they cautioned us.

After we returned from work, we were all thoroughly searched at the guardhouse and again escorted to the prison yard. Our brigadiers then returned to the "staff headquarters" to inform the administration of our behaviour and obtain new instructions.

The second working day differed in no way from the first.

On the third day, during the lunch hour, we again scattered over the

entire work zone. I was walking alone, when suddenly noticed a foreman's aid heading very decisively and aggressively toward me. I stepped aside, but he blocked my path, and asked in a threatening manner:

"You scum, what are you doing here? Where is your brigade?"

"We work on the site", I answered, "but this is our lunch hour and I have the right to be anywhere I want".

"I'll give you rights, you *Banderist*! You want to be a hero? We've seen worse than you and cut them down to size, and as for you, you snakes, we'll roast you like *shish-kebabs*!"

I did not answer, but went on my way.

Separation from one's brigade and wondering around the work zone, even during the lunch break, was considered a breach of discipline and evidence of an unrepentant attitude. The foreman's aid had come to the construction site specifically for the purpose of putting an end to such flagrant behaviour.

During the afternoon, the brigadier approached me with the complaint that we were not fulfilling our quota.

"Just look at us", I answered, "we are barely standing on our feet. What kind of quota do you expect from us? Have patience, don't be hostile. When we get back a little of our strength, which was exhausted during the transport, then you can demand work from us".

The work day ended. At the guardhouse, eight men were separated from us, handcuffed, and led to the punishment block. There, still handcuffed, they were beaten, thrown against the cement floor, kicked, and finally locked up in a separate cell.

Next day, before leaving for work, my brigadier pulled a note from his pocket, and read: "Hrycyak, Yevhen and Melnyk, Dmytro are to remain in camp".

We stayed behind and, after receiving the appropriate signal, went out for inspection.

"What's this?" the foreman's aid growled when he saw us. "Shirkers?"

"No", I answered assertively, "our brigadier left us behind".

"You are lying, you filth! The brigadier had no such orders from the administration".

"Check it".

We two and another of our countrymen were locked up in the corridor of the punishment block. We were not thrown in a cell, because we have not as yet passed through the *molotoboyka*,* since the *molotoboytsi*** were probably occupied elsewhere.

After two or three hours, the outer door suddenly opened and the chief of *Gorlag's* DD Section 1, Lieutenant Colonel Sarychev, entered, accompanied by one of the guards.

*) *Molotoboyka* — a prison slang term used to describe a system of beatings executed by a group of *suki*, same term is also used to describe the cell where beatings took place.

**) A group of *suki*, whose only function was to perform the beatings or "*molotoboyka*".

“Well, you scum”, he growled like one of the *blatnye* prisoners, “doesn’t the climate here appeal to you? Ha? Well, no matter! We’ll immunise you to the climate . . . Half of you bastards we will cut up and send to the devil’s mother!”

We looked him straight in the eye and kept silent.

“Open the cell”, he roared at the guard.

The guard first opened the metal plated doors and then the massive barred doors, and we all entered the cell, which was already overcrowded with different *blatnye* and other regular prisoners.

“Who is your ringleader?”, asked Sarychev.

“We don’t have a ringleader, it’s forbidden”, someone answered.

“Forbidden! I have brought some men here, so who is going to *accept** them, if there is no leader?”

“We accept only Russians — non-Russians we do not *accept*”, another voice threw in.

“These are Ukrainians”.

Apparently the cell occupants had no desire whatsoever to *accept* us. Sarychev understood this and began getting nervous.

“Mylovanov, are you in charge here?” he addressed a serious looking prisoner, standing in the centre of the cell, who did not at all resemble a *blatnye* prisoner.

“No”.

“This fellow here”, Sarychev pointed at me, “said that if you ever leave the punishment block, he’ll slash your throat”.

“That’s not true”, Mylovanov answered. “He doesn’t know me and I him. Why would he want to slash my throat?”

Sarychev angrily walked away. Some of the prisoners began asking him how long they were to be kept in the punishment block.

Before the work day ended and the prisoners of our section returned to camp, Sarychev armed himself against us. The guardhouse defence was strengthened by several dozen convoy guards armed with machine guns and sub-machine guns. Six *suki* stood at the gate, armed with knives and metal clubs.

The entry into camp began. The guards searched the first five prisoners very thoroughly. As soon as they passed inside, the *suki* knocked them down, beating them with clubs, kicking them, threatening them with knives, and chasing them through the mud to the barracks where they were immediately locked up. This was repeated with the next group of five, and so on until the end.

Sarychev was counting on the hope that the “mutinous *Banderists*” could not tolerate the pressure and would riot. Then, under the pretext of suppressing a riot, he could open fire and thus fulfil his assignment perfectly.

The punishment block that night was comparatively peaceful.

Next morning, the aid to the punishment block chief prisoner Ivan Gorozhan-

*) The word *accept*, in the prison dialect, meant the person to be accepted was to be beaten to unconsciousness and pushed underneath the sleeping berths.

kin burst into our cell. There were gleaming handcuffs visibly protruding from his pocket and a knife was thrust into his boot leg.

"You! You! You!" screamed Gorozhankin, pointing out individual prisoners. "To work! To work!"

Coming closer to us, he trembled with rage and began contemptuously:

"You *Banderists*, with your filthy mouths! How did you manage to get here still dry? Good, good! . . . Well, am I going to have fun with you. Now get to work! Move! Move!"

Seven men were led out of another cell. They had been there two days, their faces bruised and swollen. One of them stayed behind, because he could not get up.

Gorozhankin divided us (the ones originally from Karaganda) into two groups of five and handcuffed the members of each group to each other. Then he ordered us to sit. There were other groups of five behind us, but they were not handcuffed.

We sat. Gorozhankin stepped aside, critically observing us in silence for some time, then whipped out the knife from his boot leg (its blade was wrapped in heavy paper), grasped it with both hands and struck us at random with the handle.

Having vented his rage, Gorozhankin led us to the guardhouse. Suddenly, he again became crazed with anger and ordered us to stop. We all stopped together and sat down in the mud, because anyone who hesitated would have gotten beaten.

Here Gorozhankin had another outburst of rage, and then let us go on. I was in the first row on the right side. Gorozhankin walked a little behind, so I did not see him. Suddenly I felt a jarring blow at the back of my head, the pain rushing from my eyes, through my whole body, all the way down to the soles of my feet. Everything went black, and I thought I was going to faint. This was Gorozhankin giving me a generous taste of his knife handle.

Beyond the gate of the guardhouse, we walked accompanied by convoy guards. At a designated spot, Gorozhankin removed our handcuffs, distributed crowbars and shovels, and directed us to dig holes for utility posts. The holes were to be a meter square and a meter deep. The quota was ten holes per person.

I dug out few shovelfulls of softer soil and underneath found the ground frozen solid. Gorozhankin stood around with convoy guards and prodded us.

"Dig, dig you snakes! Chew that frozen ground! I want it to be one meter by one meter, or else . . ."

I dug out one corner of the hole, which instantly filled with water. Gorozhankin came up to me to see how much I had accomplished.

"Ah, yes", he said, feigning a pleasant, courteous manner, "just a little more, and it will be enough; we don't need it any wider here. Why should you wear yourself out unnecessarily?" Then he stepped back a safe distance and again screamed: "All right, you scum! Look alive! One meter by one meter!"

Later that afternoon, Gorozhankin suddenly separated us again into our groups of five, handcuffed us, and led us back to the compound. On the way, he sneered at us:

“Well my brave fellows, it appears that you are very delicate. And how they described you! Ho! Ho! Now you finally showed us what you’re really like. Yesterday six men were able to chase your whole brotherhood from the guardhouse gate all the way to the barracks, and not one bastard so much as raised his head. With such spirit, all you’re good for is to hide underneath your berths! Ha! Ha!”

“And now, boys, I will tell you why you were released so early from work today. You will be divided into two groups — three hundred fifty men will be sent to zone 4, and the other three hundred fifty will remain here. In zone 4 as well as here, you will be separated and assigned by twos and threes throughout different brigades. Then you won’t be able to make any moves. We will twist all of you into rams’ horns”.

That same evening we were marched through the tundra to zone 4, and the next morning were sent to work in our different brigades. In this manner, we left the internal isolation and found ourselves in the midst of prisoners of both zones 4 and 5.

Sometime during the next two weeks, the prisoners of both zones were shaken by the news: Gorozhankin had had his head chopped off!

III. CHANGE OF CLIMATE

A cold polar winter came. We worked in two shifts, with no days off. Each shift was twelve hours long, and we spent two hours travelling to and from the work site. At least two and sometimes four to five hours were spent waiting before the guardhouse in line to pass through search and inspection. The cold was bone chilling. We stood in line silently; no one spoke, because every bit of energy was precious. Time would sometimes pass more quickly, when we could watch the glimmering of the mysterious and overwhelming northern lights. We were so intent in following this heavenly play of fires, that it seemed we not only saw but heard them. I had the impression that the sensation created by these lights could be transmitted with the aid of music. No other art form would be powerful enough.

When we finally neared the guardhouse, we would reluctantly force our eyes away from the sky and lower them to the ground, at the same time falling to our knees and in this fashion creeping up to the guards who carried out the search and inspection. If anyone merely crouched or stooped, instead of actually kneeling, he would receive a blow on the head with a club. Sometimes, on impulse, the guards would club each of us. Special security guards were chosen for this work. The most infamous of them all was Officer Mykhnik.

In front of the guards, we clumsily unbuttoned our coats with our frozen fingers, and stood up. They searched us, sometimes thoroughly and at other times only perfunctorily. The most carefully searched were the prisoners

with an identification number beginning with letters "U" or "F". Often, we were kept out in the cold until one o'clock in the morning, and then at 6:00 a.m., we had to get up for work, because "work ennobles man!"

Some men were not permitted to work, but were placed in prison cells as a restraining and intimidating measure. The *Gorlag* prison was located in our zone. Here, as in all other Norilsk prisons, there was a deeply engraved tradition that all newcomers must pass through the *molotoboyka*, which was a cell occupied by well nourished *suki*, whose sole purpose was to beat up anyone thrown therein.

In addition, the *molotoboyka* was a hideout for those *suki* who had to avoid guard duty outside, in order to escape the vengeance of angered prisoners. So it was no wonder that they unleashed their hatred by punishing everyone who fell into their clutches.

Once, when the *molotoboytsi* were working over a new victim, the prisoners in the neighbouring cell created a tremendous uproar. They whistled, yelled, and pounded the door with boards removed from sleeping berths. Instantly, they were answered with a round of gun fire. My townsman, Stepan Fylypchuk, was in great danger there — it was a wonder that he survived. No one was killed, but they were all suppressed.

Suki wholeheartedly supported the camp regime and collaborated with the administration, because they could lead their debauched lives only under such a harsh regime and corruption. On the other hand, the administration always supported and protected the *suki*, because their help was crucial in maintaining the camp regime at the level prescribed for it.

Nonetheless, the *molotoboytsi* could not stay in their cells indefinitely, since it was, after all, a prison; so, when they believed things were safe for them, they would go out into the compound.

Under such conditions, one of the *molotoboytsi*, Sikorskyj, left his prison cell. He then, immediately, headed a brigade and led it out to work. But even before his brigade could begin its work, the brigadier was gone. He lay dead in the snow with no visible wounds.

The *molotoboytsi* somewhat moderated their brutality.

However, it was not Sikorskyj but Bukhtuyev, who constituted the greatest threat to the prisoners. This giant did not seek the hideout of the *molotoboyka*. He feared no one, but everyone feared him. Everyone gave him a wide berth and, if possible, avoided him altogether. But, eventually, some one was found who did not step out of his way, but sought him out . . .

Bukhtuyev was not killed. And even though he eventually regained his health, his psyche was irreversibly changed — he had learned to fear. To fear everyone!

The administration did not discard him altogether — he might still prove to be of some use, so they hid him in one of the punishment blocks in one of the zones of the Norilsk camps. In this way, Bukhtuyev ended up in a *dacha**, as the prisoners sarcastically called it. There, he appeared to set a

*) *Dacha* — literal translation "summer villa" — a cell in the *punishment block*, the location of which was unknown to the other prisoners, where some *molotoboytsi*, *suki* and *blatny* were hidden for their own safety.

trend. In his wake, the number of *dachnyky** increased until there were close to thirty.

After that, no one feared the brigadiers, no one concealed the use of his own language. A miracle like this had never occurred in Norilsk before. The climate which had been created and maintained throughout the "Solovkas" was visibly changed, but for Lieutenant Colonel Sarychev and others like him, this new climate was highly distasteful.

IV. THE UPRISING

We realized that the *Gulag* could not tolerate such a situation and would institute decisive action against us. We were prepared for anything, save for relinquishing our gains. The Russians proposed that we jointly make preparations for three prisoners to escape, who would cross the frontier and inform the world community of our plight.

Suddenly Stalin died. The prisoners celebrated — they hoped for amnesty. But in vain. As true Bolsheviks, Stalin's successor had not the slightest intention of leaning in the direction of rotten liberal reforms. The Soviet government remained firm, immovable and merciless.

We felt this on our own skins. They began to shoot at us without reservation. In the *Gostroy*, a convoy guard, for no reason whatsoever, shot a prisoner who was lifting a board to his work station. After some time, they took one prisoner and led him into the tundra, where he was shot while attempting to escape.

Yet, this was but a test of nerves or a minor skirmish. The principal attack began when General Semenov, chief of the *Gorlag* administration, returned from his trip to Moscow.

It started like this: In zone 5, they hastily separated several barracks as a penal sector and began to collect all the suspect and unrepentive prisoners to be suppressed. At the same time, they carried out a series of executions in several zones. In this manner, two men were shot in zone 1 (First Lieutenant Shiryayev did the shooting), one man, Petro Safroniuk, was shot in zone 4, and in zone 3, the hard labour zone, all of the barracks were unexpectedly machine-gunned. As a result, six prisoners were killed and fifteen wounded.

On the 25th day of May, 1953, we came out of the barracks, totally depressed. Suddenly, from zone 5, which lay adjacent to the *Gorstroy*, we heard the crackle of automatic weapons. Everyone's arms dropped. We were certain that this time, it would not pass without casualties. Finally we heard the news — one killed, six wounded.

Work at the *Gorstroy* stopped spontaneously. No one worked. People bustled about. The entire *Gorstroy* was filled with running prisoners, shouting: "We are being murdered! We will not work! we demand a commission from Moscow!"

But as the initial anger decreased, the enraged elements subsided. Some of the more fearful and cautious prisoners returned to work. Around the

*) *Dachnyky* — residents of the *dacha*.

entire *Gorstroy*, first here, then there, the grinding sound of the ubiquitous pneumatic hammers began biting into the permafrost, as though announcing to everyone to return to work.

We, the supporters of the strike, had to do something to halt the work, for after all, this was exactly the incident which touched everyone and for which we had been waiting since Karaganda. To allow such an opportunity to slip away would have been an unforgivable crime.

We dispersed in small groups throughout the entire construction area in order to stop those who were already working. The people listened to us, agreed with us, but, upon hearing the grinding of the pneumatic hammers, all of which could not be silenced at once, they again returned to work. All of our efforts seemed to be in vain. Finally, an idea struck me to proceed to the compressor station, which supplied compressed air for the entire *Gorstroy*, and shut it down. All of the pneumatic hammers became silent at once and work stopped everywhere. And this time it was final. In this manner, our spontaneous fury developed into an organised action.

The *Gorlag* administration fell silent. Now no one shot at us, no one even threatened us. But, they did decide to subdue us through hunger. There was no food brought to the *Gorstroy* the first day, the second, nor the third.

On the morning of the third day we were approached by Lieutenant Colonel Sarychev and several officers, accompanying Major General Paniukov, who had flown in especially from Krasnoyarsk. Authoritatively and self-assuredly he demanded that we immediately return to work and stated that he supposedly would investigate all of the illegalities that had occurred here.

We did not come to any agreement with him and told him that we would return to work only after a government commission arrived at Norilsk from Moscow.

“You are hampering the government plan!” Sarychev began to threaten.

“The *Gorstroy* has been idle for three days now! This is sabotage! If you don’t want to, the devil with you, don’t work! Go to your zones and wait for the commission there, and we will bring in other workers. We have plenty of people!”

“Hrycyak”, he turned to me in order to make it clear that I would be responsible for everything, “lead your people out of the *Gorstroy*!”

“There is no hampering of plans here”, I answered. “Let us be analytical — since the end of war (we won’t count the war), eight years have passed. During that entire time, the Norilsk prisoners have not had a single day off. It appears that we pre-empted the construction graphics by more than four hundred days. So, what kind of hampering of plans are you talking about?”

Sarychev remained silent for a minute, then turned to address all the prisoners: “Go into the camp”, he said. “Here you are hungry, but there your rations await you. Get going!”

We did not accept any compromise. However, many of the prisoners began to favour returning to the camp. As they say — hunger is nobody’s friend. And, in addition, the smokers had exhausted their supplies of tobacco, which bothered them more than hunger.

In order to somehow handle this weakness, a sign was placed on one of the buildings that we were erecting, which stated: "*We are being killed and starved!*"

The sign accomplished its purpose: that same day supper was brought. However, no one ate it. Most of the prisoners were pressing for an immediate return to the camp.

After reaching agreement with prisoners from zone 5 that we would continue the fight in the camp, we parted company.

In our own zone 4, we found the following situation. As a symbol of solidarity with us, all of the prisoners who remained in the zone announced a hunger strike and had also gone hungry for three days. We decided to discontinue the hunger strike, but not to come out for work in the morning.

The administration felt triumphant. In the morning, as though nothing had happened, the electric bells sounded in all the barracks, announcing which columns were to report to the guardhouse to be led to work. The zone was divided into four columns. The first column was to approach the guardhouse first, then the second and so forth. I was in the fourth column, which usually proceeded to the guardhouse last. In our barrack, as had been agreed, no one was preparing to go out to work and, we thought, that a similar situation existed everywhere. Suddenly, one prisoner ran up to me and told me that the first column was moving out to go to work. This constituted a total collapse. I ran to the guardhouse.

Seeing that twenty-five to thirty prisoners from the first column were already standing outside the open gate, with the remainder ready to leave, I approached the senior guard commanding the exodus and, unexpectedly, snapped at him:

"What's this?" I asked in an insistent tone. "Who gave you the right to let people out for work? What kind of self-rule is this? Close the gate!"

"And where do you think you are going, you sheep?" I turned to the prisoners. "To be slaughtered? March right into your barracks, so that not a soul is left here!"

Everyone scattered. Those who were already outside the gate returned. The gate closed; the work party was halted.

For years, the electric bells had called the prisoners of zone 4 out for work; they had replaced the command: "Every last one of you out!" So-called work refusers did not exist in Norilsk. All individual protests were smothered promptly, absolutely and brutally.

Once six prisoners, who had been brought under guard to the bathhouse in zone 5, refused to dress and leave the bathhouse until they met with the public prosecutor. But, instead of the public prosecutor, they were met by a first sergeant, who stood before them with a sub-machine gun in his hands.

"Here is your public prosecutor!" he said and shot all six on the spot.

In this manner in Norilsk — and not only in Norilsk — any notion of protest was crushed at its very inception. All attempts at opposition produced only negative results.

Therefore, it wasn't surprising that the prisoners, despite their wishes,

still left their barracks when they heard the ill-tiding signal to "*Get out!*"

Even on the fourth and fifth days of our strike, people would still dress for work. However, on the sixth day, we disconnected the electric bells and none of the prisoners even stirred.

The camp administration bolstered the external guards, but did not attempt any decisive action. Only in zone 5 did the administration try to let loose upon the prisoners soldiers armed with clubs. But the soldiers could not manage to do anything and were repulsed. Then General Semenov gathered all the officers of the Norilsk garrison and led them into the zone. The officers advanced, shooting off their pistols into the ground in front of them. When they neared the solid wall of prisoners, a fistfight erupted. The officers were also repulsed. Attempts to take the prisoners with bare hands failed. We totally paralyzed the internal camp administration and governed ourselves.

Taking advantage of this uncontrolled situation, we put on a performance of Taras Shevchenko's "Nazar Stodola" on the stage of the camp club. This play had been rehearsed prior to the strike, but, upon seeing the stage decorated for the first act, the chief of the cultural-educational section attempted to ban it, because, as he put it, the play contained too much Ukrainian patriotism. But this play enjoyed such tumultuous success among all the prisoners, it had to be performed six times . . .

On June 6th a group of important officials entered our zone. One of them, wearing the uniform of a colonel, stepped forward and said: "Moscow has become aware of the disorder going on in Norilsk, including your zone 4. In order to investigate the matter on the spot, Moscow has sent a governmental commission. I, Colonel Kuznyetsov, as chief of the prison administration of MVS of the U.S.S.R. and personal assistant of Lavrentiy Pavlovych Beria, have been placed in charge of the commission. Commission members are commander of the prison convoy guard forces of MVS of the U.S.S.R., Lieutenant-General Seryodkin, and representative of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R., comrade Kiselyov. Since we cannot speak with all of you, we suggest that you choose five representatives, who could present to us all of your grievances. We guarantee that none of your parliamentarians will be punished".

Shortly thereafter, each of the more numerous national groups in the camp named a single representative. The Ukrainians were represented by myself, the Russians by Volodymyr Nedorostkov, the Byelorussians by Hryhoriy Klymovich; the names of the Lithuanian and Latvian representatives are unknown to me.

In the meantime, near the guardhouse and, presumably for greater security, close to the watchtower, a red-covered table was placed, behind which were seated the members of the Moscow commission with their secretary.

Slowly, with our hands behind our backs, we approached the table. One of the commission members, whom Kuznyetsov had called comrade Kisselyov, pointed his finger at me and asked, "Name? Name?" I did not answer, just looked pointedly at my identification number. Kuznyetsov understood the

hint and said: "What do you need his name for? Don't you see his number, U-777? That is his name". Then, turning to me, he added: "That's okay. We will dispose of those numbers, they are not necessary for you nor for us. Sit down and talk. But, specifically, did you come on your own, or were you sent by the people?"

With my hand I indicated the prisoners, who stood as a solid wall at a distance of thirty to forty meters, and said: "Ask them".

"Very well, very well, we believe you", Kuznyetsov said, accepting us as rightful representatives. "Speak, we are listening". At this point, General Semenov came to the table; I stated that we would not talk in his presence. "Semenov", roared Kuznyetsov. "What are you doing here? Get out of here!"

I began with the most blatant incidents of illegality, which had taken place in 1946. Crimson with anger, Kuznyetsov cut me off. "What are you talking about? You yourself, when did you arrive here?" "Less than a year ago," I answered, "but I am relating to you the facts which, the people who are standing here before you, have mandated me to relate. This is what they are telling you".

Kuznyetsov did not interrupt me again and, after I had enumerated all of our grievances, I dictated to him our demands, which sounded approximately like this:

1. To stop the shootings and all other incidents of arbitrariness in the prisons and camps.
2. To change the entire administration of the *Gorlag*.
3. To shorten the work day in the *Gulag* camps to 8 hours.
4. To guarantee prisoners days off from work.
5. To improve prisoners' food.
6. To permit correspondence and visits with family.
7. To transfer all invalids from Norilsk to the mainland.
8. To remove locks and bars from the barracks and identification numbers from the people.
9. To revoke the decisions of the so-called Special Consultation Commission* as an unconstitutional organ.
10. To stop tortures during questioning, as well as the practice of closed trials.
11. To organize a review of individual cases of all of the political prisoners.

At the conclusion of the discussion, Kuznyetsov stated that he would bring all of our demands to the government's attention and, guaranteeing that we would no longer be shot at, recommended that we go back to work. We agreed.

Later Kuznyetsov held similar discussion with representatives of zones 5, 6 and 1 of the *Gorlag*. To his great amazement, he revealed that, despite being strictly isolated, all of the zones presented identical statements and demands.

*) Special Consultation Commission or OSO was a three-member commission created as an arm of the NKVD (Soviet secret police) in November, 1934, consisting of the two highest ranking NKVD officials and the Attorney General of the Soviet Union. This commission was empowered to impose penal sentences by administrative decree, initially for five year terms, then, from 1936 on, for terms of from three to twenty-five years. The said commission was finally liquidated in December, 1953, six months after the events related herein took place.

Zone 3, the hard labour zone, acted differently. The prisoners of this zone did not accept the mandate of the commission and did not enter into any discussions with it.

The women of zone 6, numbering over six thousand, proved themselves especially steadfast in the face of this unequal battle. In addition to refusing to work, they proclaimed a hunger strike, which lasted for six days before the arrival of the commission.

On the 9th day of June, all of the zones, except for zone 3, returned to work. That same day, Kuznyetsov related that the government had examined some of our grievances and had resolved the following: 1. To change the *Gorlag* administration. 2. To shorten the work day to 8 hours. 3. To guarantee days off from work. 4. To permit the prisoners to send up to two letters per month and to receive visits from families. 5. To remove locks and bars from the barracks and identification numbers from prisoners. 6. To transfer all of the invalids out of Norilsk.

"In addition to this", stated Kuznyetsov in conclusion, "the Soviet government gave assurances that, in time, all of the individual cases of the prisoners would be reviewed".

The first stage of our struggle ended with this great victory. The battle had progressed far beyond the limits of an ordinary strike in terms of its scope and its implications.

V. RESUMPTION OF STRUGGLE

We raised our heads high and our jailers hung theirs down. No matter what, but a promise to change the entire camp administration did not bode well for them. And indeed, in a short while, we were informed that Major-General Semenov was removed from the post of administration chief and re-assigned as second-in-command. The new chief became Lieutenant-General Tsaryov. In addition, we were told that First Lieutenant Shirayev and officer Beyner, whom we had accused of the murders of many prisoners, were themselves thrown into prison.

Yet all of this was done for show only, so we continued to be on our guard. We realized what our fate would be, after the commission returned to Moscow, and we would again find ourselves eye-to-eye with the old administration.

The commission, however, was in no rush to leave Norilsk. Zone 3 of hard labour prisoners continued its opposition. Enraged Kuznyetsov tried to subdue them through hunger. Food shipments into the zone were halted, the water was shut off. The prisoners decided to inform the city civilian population of this. It was discovered that prisoner Petro Mykolaychuk was able to pour out printers' type using tin. This type was set into a brief text and anchored into an appropriate frame. The people gathered all of their reserves of paper and leaflets were printed. The first series of leaflets informed the city's inhabitants that the prisoners were being starved and deprived of water.

The leaflets were distributed around the city in a most ingenious manner. For this task, seven paper kites were fashioned, which, when lifted into the air, carried with them three hundred leaflets apiece. The leaflets were rolled-up and tied with a thread underneath the kite. Beneath the thread hung a lit wadded wick. As the kites rose up, the wick smouldered, burned through the thread, and the leaflets floated down in all directions. The wind carried them throughout the city and even far beyond it.

As the kites rose into the air, the guards shot at them, at times even hitting the target, but to no avail — no harm came to the kites. In this manner about forty thousand leaflets were released over the city. Special *Komsomol** brigades were organised in the city to gather up the leaflets.

Nonetheless, the first series of leaflets accomplished their purpose; food was brought into the zone and the water was turned on.

Encouraged by their victory, the prisoners of zone 3, on a daily basis, informed the city population of their situation and their demands to the government.

But Kuznyetsov could not focus all of his attention on zone 3, because he feared that the other zones could again revolt; this time, as a sign of solidarity with the hard labour prisoners. Therefore, he decided to punish the initiators and activists of the opposition in those zones that had already abandoned their fight and only then would he deal with the hard labour prisoners.

In the meantime, Assistant Attorney General, State Legal Advisor Second Rank Vavilov arrived at Norilsk from Moscow.

The reprisals began in this manner: On June 22nd, seven hundred prisoners were being transferred from zone 3 to zone 4, "for economic reasons". The transfer list was compiled in such a way that it contained, in addition to the ordinary, unobtrusive prisoners, all of those who were to be subjected to immediate isolation. As usual, the prisoners were led by convoy guards, but not all together, rather in groups of about a hundred. And, they were led straight through the tundra. In the middle of the tundra, in a hollow where they could not be observed from any direction, the first group was met by Colonel Kuznyetsov, accompanied by members of his commission and a group of officers and guards from the *Gorlag*. Five prisoners were separated from the group and taken under special guard in an unknown direction. The rest were led into our zone 4. All seven groups of prisoners, before completing their transfer from zone 3, went through this weeding-out procedure.

In this mode, the reprisals, which we had expected only after the departure of the Moscow commission from Norilsk, began not only in its presence, but under its immediate direction. We realised that this was only the beginning, that this weeding-out process would unfailingly take place in all of the zones, and somehow we felt that the reprisals against us would be "wet".**

"They will all be shot!" I appealed to the prisoners who had arrived from

*) Komsomol — The Young Communist League.

***) KGB euphemism for murder.

zone 3. "We have to save them! Let us do this: You go to the guardhouse and demand that everyone be returned. If they are not returned — you will refuse to work and we, as a sign of solidarity, will also refuse to leave for work. We must make them understand that they simply cannot do with us whatever they wish".

Unfortunately, the prisoners of zone 3 rejected my proposal. Perhaps their attitude was prompted by their instinct for self-preservation. Now, when the storm had passed over their heads without touching them, they preferred to remain silent, rather than risk calling down misfortune upon themselves. No one wanted to place his life on the line.

Like it or not, we prepared to leave for work, but were still waiting for the return of the first shift. Suddenly the electric bell rang in each barrack, the guards ran up, quickly herding the people to the guardhouse.

I went to the guardhouse, but some of the prisoners climbed onto the roof of the tallest barrack, to scout out what was going on in the *Gorstroy*, where our first shift was working.

The guardhouse gate was already open; near it stood the commander of the zone, First Lieutenant Vlasov.

"What is going on, Vlasov?" I asked him.

"What do you mean? The usual work shift transfer", he answered.

"Why are you starting it early?"

"It's not early. It's time for you to leave".

"Do you know that, since the establishment of an eight hour work day, we leave for work only after the first shift returns from work?"

"The first shift is already on its way back. You will meet it".

In the meantime, the roof-top lookouts reported that no one has as yet left the *Gorstroy*.

"Not true", I contradicted Vlasov. "No one has as yet left the *Gorstroy*. So be advised that, until the first shift enters the zone, we will not leave for work!"

Vlasov went to the telephone and I remained on watch near the guardhouse. The next announcement came from the roof: A group of prisoners, approximately one hundred men, had left the *Gorstroy* and headed for the tundra.

Vlasov came up to me and said:

"Your people are coming now. Go out and convince yourselves of this".

"One hundred men left the *Gorstroy* and they are being led into the tundra, not towards the camp", I told Vlasov. "I am again informing you that we are not leaving for work until we see everyone here and become convinced that no harm has come to them".

Seeing that the first group of men was being led by the guards into the tundra, the rest of the prisoners of the first work shift refused to leave the *Gorstroy*. In this way, not only the plan to weed-out the prisoners of zone 4 collapse, but it sparked a new wave of organized protest.

Eventually the group of prisoners, that had originally been led from the

Gorstroy into the tundra, approached the guardhouse. This constituted the last attempt by the camp administration to correct the situation.

"Well, Hrycyak", Vlasov said, "the people have arrived, now get out to work!"

"One hundred men have returned", I answered, "but more than two thousand were at work. Where are the rest?"

"We are not even a hundred", some prisoners called out from beyond the gate, having overheard my conversation with Vlasov. "Seven of us were taken away in the tundra".

"In that case", I told Vlasov, "our conversation is ended. We are not leaving for work until you return the seven that were kidnapped from us in such a criminal fashion".

Then, turning to the prisoners who had gathered nearby, I explained the entire situation and advised them all to retreat from the guardhouse and not to go to work.

We all scattered. Ninety-three men from the first shift entered the zone. The second stage of our fight to live had begun. Along with us, the prisoners of men's zone 5 and women's zone 6 resumed their struggle.

The prisoners of the first work shift, who had remained at the *Gorstroy*, finally agreed to return to the camp, but only on the condition that they would not be led in separate groups, but all together.

We felt intuitively that we had to continue the fight at all costs, that our gains were not steadfast, that the concessions which Moscow had so easily agreed to were just a delaying manoeuvre, which inevitably would be followed by reprisals and renewed pressure by the regime.

For this, there were no lack of precedents. We knew very well that any attempts at organised or individual protest would end, for those who were protesting or complaining, tragically. Among us, rumours were circulating that in one of the camps near Salekhard four hundred men were shot for attempting to organise a protest.

My fellow countryman, Borys Horbulevych, related to us that in 1947, in one of the zones of the *Ivdel-lag**, the following occurrence took place:

A former Colonel of the Red Army, prisoner Vyshniakov, in some way expressed his indignation against the high-handedness and outrages to which the camp administration subjected the prisoners. He was immediately placed under guard and put through the investigation process. Along with him, the investigation involved an additional twenty-nine former army officers and two prisoners, who had never served in the army. One of the latter two was Borys Horbulevych. This entire group, the leader of which was considered to be Colonel Vyshniakov, was accused of maintaining contacts with foreign intelligence agencies and having had as its purpose no more and no less than the overthrow of the Soviet government. The plan for this overthrow was absolutely simple — Vyshniakov's group would organize an attack on the guards of their zone, disarm them, and distribute the weapons to the

*) *Ivdel-lag* — a camp, providing labour for the logging industry, located in the *Ivdel* region.

prisoners. The armed prisoners would then attack the neighbouring zones, again disarming the guards, arming the freed prisoners, and then, having joined forces, would conquer the city of Sverdlovsk. In Sverdlovsk, Vyshniakov would announce a provisional government, an organise a march on Moscow.

Moscow was immediately informed of Vyshniakov's plan. The investigators were given the task of obtaining confessions from the entire group as soon as possible. Of course, the investigators performed their task well — all thirty-two prisoners not only confessed their guilt, but indicated where, when, and from whom they received their orders.

Inasmuch as no one was able to resist the tortures of the interrogation, they all decided to "confess" and deliberately told absurdities, so that afterwards, during the trial, these could be contradicted and the entire investigation placed in an idiotic position.

Thus, Colonel Vyshniakov recalled an episode from a detective novel and utilised it in his "confession". He named a restaurant in the city of Gdansk and the name of an agent who gave him his orders. The names of the restaurant and the agent were taken from the novel.

Another prisoner, former Comintern* courier Trybrat, gave the name and Viennese address of a real person — the Secretary General of the Austrian Communist Party, to whom he, Trybrat, had at one time relayed Comintern mail. In this manner, the chief of the Austrian communists was transformed, at least in Trybrat's testimony, into an agent of the CIA.

The investigation was concluded. A special commission from Moscow arrived at Ivdel to look first-hand at these dangerous rebels.

Finally the trial began. But to the great surprise of the accused, the court accepted all of their confessions as credible and utilised them as basic of the trial. They were all sentenced to twenty-five years of incarceration (at that time, the death penalty had been abolished).

Well, what were we up against, now that we had stirred up all of Norilsk and challenged Moscow itself?

No matter what dangers threatened us, we decided to fight as long as our strength lasted. The first step in our resumption of struggle was the proclamation of a period of mourning for those who had been taken away from us for punishment. As a sign of mourning, a black banner was placed atop each of our two tallest barracks. Black banners also appeared atop the barracks of zone 5.

These banners distressed the administration more than our refusal to work. Many prisoners also objected to them. Numerous prisoners approached me with questions as to the significance of the black flags. I explained that this was a symbol of mourning for those who had been taken from us, as well as a symbol of our sorrowful existence. There were arguments:

*) Communist International — an international forum dominated by Soviet Russia, dedicated to the spread of world communism by concerted activities of the various Communist Parties that were members of the Comintern. Actually and historically this was a Soviet Russian rubber-stamp organisation.

“This is the anarchist flag. What are you doing, proclaiming anarchy? The flag of mourning is red with a black border!”

“The anarchists have a skull-and-cross-bones on their flag”, I rebounded, “and a red flag with a black border is a bolshevik flag. We will not rally underneath such a flag. Our flag is black, as black as our existence”.

We could not come to any agreement, the lack of which resulted in division into two groups — the first in favour of the black banner, the second — against it. However, this was only the outward expression of our differences, the roots of which were hidden far deeper. The group which was against the black banner included those prisoners who were against continuing the struggle, believing that by it we would simply strengthen Moscow’s anger and bring down upon ourselves even greater misfortune.

This group was headed by Ivan Klachenko-Bozhko. He was an old man, a former communist, who by then had completed his twenty-first year of imprisonment (such persons were scarce at the time). He was well known and respected by all the prisoners in our camp. In his twenty-one years of imprisonment, Klachenko-Bozhko had seen everything, thereby having good reason not to believe in the potential of success of any kind of fight. Since this group was in the minority, it limited itself to the status of opposition.

After a short time, a conversation took place between Klachenko and myself. “Why are you doing this? Klachenko asked me.

“In order to make it more difficult for them to finish off those who were taken from us and to caution them against further repressions against us. We must convince them that, at the slightest attempt at additional pressure, we will rebel again”.

“They’ll shoot all of us, and then be absolutely certain that there won’t be any more rebellions”. “They won’t shoot us!” I rashly cut him off. “And what will they do, maybe feel ashamed? Haven’t you heard what happened in East Berlin? Before the eyes of all of Europe, they crushed German workers with tanks; but, of course, here, in the uninhabited tundra, they will be ashamed to shoot their own political prisoners? Are you thinking about what you are saying?”

“They won’t be ashamed and they won’t be afraid”, I answered. “We know what they are capable of doing. But I say once again, we rebelled in order to put a stop to the shootings, not to induce them. I will not force any one into a bullet’s path, and I will not allow them to shoot at us. For the time being, we have no reason whatsoever to fear and capitulate”.

Klachenko remained dissatisfied by our conversation, and we coldly went our separate ways.

I was called to the guardhouse. I went together with Volodymyr Nedorostkov. Kuznyetsov and Vavilov entered the zone, accompanied by the members of the Moscow commission and senior officers of the *Gorlag* administration.

“What’s this!” Kuznyetsov barked angrily. “This is how you come to terms with me? Thank you! I obtained such grand improvements for you, I was successful in getting the Soviet government to promise to review all

of your individual cases. And this is how you repay me? Into what kind of position are you placing me?"

After this general introduction, he appealed to Nedorostkov and me:

"What do you want?" "We want you to return all those who have been taken from us, because we have reason to fear that you have taken them to be shot". "Where did you get that idea from?" Vavilov interjected. "Tell the truth, now, have you heard even one shot fired since the Moscow commission arrived here?"

"No, we haven't. But explain to us, why do you grab people in the tundra and take them away to unknown parts?" "They were transferred", Kuznyetsov explained. "The camp administration always has the right to do this".

"We were not born yesterday and we know how transfers are carried out. For transfers, people are taken directly from the zone, not grabbed in the tundra". "We assure you that no harm has come to them. Now go back to work".

"So return them all and we'll go", I said. "Again we assure you", said Kuznyetsov, "that they are quite safe. Here before you stands the Assistant Attorney General. He has come here to ascertain that there have been no violation of socialist legality here at Norilsk. We will take whomever we need; we have an absolute right to do this".

"In that case", I said, "let's compromise. We will choose a delegation from among us that will go with you and see where those people are and what their condition is. When the delegates return and assure us that everything is in order, and if you agree never to repeat this kind of behaviour, then we will come out in an organized fashion to work".

Kuznyetsov did not accept my proposal and left the zone. Now, he decided to leave us without water, which was supplied to the zone from the tundra via a water pumping station. A prisoner was always stationed there, watched by two convoy guards. During the work shift of a prisoner called Lev, an officer approached him and ordered him to shut off the water. Lev categorically refused. The officer became threatening. Then Lev told the officer. "Have you considered what could happen if we shut off the water? A fire will immediately start in the zone. The prisoners will burn all the barracks. Who will answer for that? If you will take all of the responsibility upon yourself, then write it down in the log, and I'll carry out your order". The officer returned empty-handed.

At first glance, it would appear that Lev acted absolutely logically and that there was nothing unusual in his action. But actually, this was an extremely heroic deed, since Lev realized very well in whose hands he was and that, for such insubordination to a guard officer, he could have been shot on the spot.

I was acquainted with this man, who was Polish, born in Zhytomyr, Ukraine, and studied at the Taras Shevchenko University in Kyiv. This is all that I know of him. Of the other heroes, I don't even know that much. Weren't those heroes, who picketed the guardhouse to prevent the entry of

camp guards, convoy guards and officers into the zone? They steadfastly stood there at a distance of fifteen to twenty metres from the barrel of a machine gun that was pointed at them, which, at any moment, could spit death-bearing fire. Nonetheless, they stood firm.

Others, more cautious, were stopping me at every step of the way, questioning, what more were we demanding, why the black banners, and whether this struggle was worth being shot for.

"It's worth it", I answered. "We rebelled in order to stop the shootings, not to induce them. Who can say how many thousands of our brothers have been laid to rest at the foot of the *Schmidtykha** for no reason at all? One way or another, death awaits each of us daily. Why, you who are not afraid of dying individually, are so afraid of dying together? After all, no one is forcing anyone to die. If I see that a critical point has been reached, we will stop the fight, and there won't be any shootings". Again I went to the guardhouse, because a messenger informed me that Vlasov wanted to see me.

He stood on the threshold of the open door, intentionally awaiting me there, so that I would be forced to approach as close as possible. But I stopped at a safe distance — with two prisoners guarding me on either side — and asked what he wanted.

"Come with me to headquarters", Vlasov said, gesturing with his head. "Vavilov wants to speak with you". "Let him come to me", I replied "He can't, because he is ill". "That's too bad", I said, "but there's no hurry. When he is feeling better, let him come. I'll wait".

In the meantime, the guards watching Lev at the water pumping station told him, "Soon this will all be at an end. Your leader has been arrested. He has been called to headquarters on the pretext of negotiations and the idiot believed that we really wanted to talk with him, so he went. But as soon as he crossed the threshold of the guardhouse, he was seized, handcuffed and thrown into a car. Now you won't last even two more days".

Kuznyetsov had spread this rumour among the soldiers, probably because he was certain that his plan would be successful. Also, he had to give the tired and worried soldiers at least some hope in order to bolster their morale.

We didn't ignore the soldiers either; we threw notes to them in which we explained who we were and what we were demanding, and called to them not to shoot at us.

The commanders could no longer depend on such spoiled soldiers, so they were all replaced by others. This change put us on our guard. New soldiers, who didn't know us at all, were very dangerous to us.

As a result of this change, the opposition among the prisoners began to grow and became more active. It was reported to me that the Lithuanians, Byelorussians, and even some of the Ukrainians who had followed Klachenko, were threatening to return to work as an organised group. Sad but true.

*) Schmidtykha — Schmidt Mountain.

I sought out Klachenko, who was at the time laying on his berth in the barrack. Upon seeing me, he asked, "Why did you come here?" "I want to talk with you", I replied.

"I have nothing to say to you, and don't wish to. Get out!" I left him and met the Byelorussian Klymovych. "Hrisha", I said to him, "I want to talk to you". "I have nothing to talk to you about", was his answer.

After this, I didn't even go to the Lithuanians. So, ultimately, we divided into two opposing camps — for and against continuing the struggle. The supporters of the struggle were still considerably more numerous.

Now we began to expect that the soldiers would burst into the zone and engage us in fistfights, as happened in zone 5; so we prepared our defence.

In the face of the danger hanging over us, people's feelings of blood-unity sharpened and everyone began to group more closely by nationality. However, this did not mean that we splintered. On the contrary.

Three Estonians came up to me and said, "We are Estonians. In this dangerous time, we want to be together with everyone. For this reason, we would like you to keep us informed, in detail, of your negotiations with Kuznyetsov and of the situation in general. We also want you, in time of need, to completely depend on us. There aren't many of us, but we are all former Estonian military officers. We assure you that we will do everything that you ask of us. We ask that you do not forget about us. Here is our representative, through whom we will be maintaining constant contact with you".

The Latvians behaved the same way, as did the Poles and the Germans. With the other national groups, I was in personal contact from the very beginning. After all this, yet another delegation approached me in order to establish contact.

"We are Germans", they said. I scrutinized them and explained that there must be some misunderstanding, that Germans had already been to see me and that I was already in contact with them.

"Who could that have been?" the Germans asked, bewildered. After I explained, they laughed.

"What kind of Germans are those? They are German Germans. We are the true Germans — Russian Germans". In this manner, each national group expressed its willingness to unitedly carry on our fight.

At the same time, the prisoner opposition groups consolidated. With increasing forcefulness, they demanded a stop to the fight. Leaflets appeared calling on the prisoners to concede. In addition, the administration was successful in spreading among the prisoners the rumour that the "disorder" at Norilsk was created by the Ukrainians, wanting to take advantage of this situation to break away the Soviet transpolar region from Russia and annexe it to Ukraine. Idiotic? Yes. But the more idiotic the rumour, the more difficult it was to contradict.

In the meantime, the Ukrainians were led to believe that they could wipe their slates clean, if they themselves would liquidate their leader.

Our guess was that the administration was spreading these rumours among

the prisoners through the female doctors, who were not only permitted into the clinic, but were guaranteed complete safety.

Again Kuznyetsov entered the zone and called me out. Again I went with Nedorostkov. "Who gave you the authority?" Kuznyetsov asked derisively. "How is it, that you can be the representatives of a working people? Come on, show me your hands, let me see your callouses".

I did not show my hands, but Nedorostkov somehow reflexively pushed his forward. Nedorostkov was an invalid with a weak heart and, therefore, did not go out to work; his hands were soft and smooth.

Kuznyetsov looked at them and began again. "So, what kind of labourers are you? There aren't even any callouses on your hands. Now everything is clear to me! The people want to work, but Hrycyak is holding a knife to them. We will talk with the people yet, and without Hrycyak".

I raised the flaps of my field jacket and said. "Look, no knives! If you want to talk with the people, then please, approach closer and speak. If the people express a desire to go back to work, then let them. No one will prevent them".

Kuznyetsov did not indicate the slightest desire to approach the prisoners, who stood in a throng at a distance of thirty to forty metres from us. First Lieutenant Vlasov glanced at Kuznyetsov, then turned his gaze to me and said, "Come on! I'll go and speak with them".

After nearing the prisoners, Vlasov asked in a weak and somewhat trembling voice, "Well, boys, are we going back to work?" "Until the Attorney General arrives at Norilsk, no one is going to work", was the answer given by Stepan Venhryn, whose voice I recognised

"So, you see, Hrycyak, how it is?" Vlasov spoke up with more certainty. "Someone here needs the Attorney General, and five thousand refrain from work. Leave them be, let them go; the people want to work".

"Work?" the prisoners answered in a chorus. "You work. We have worked enough for you. You are asking for our callouses? What kind of callouses do you need? Bloody ones? You bloodthirsty devils!"

Kuznyetsov immediately rushed beyond the guardhouse, but Vlasov at first fearfully retreated backwards, then turned and also ran to the guardhouse.

We felt that Kuznyetsov had used up all of his patience and that Moscow was not exactly patting his head over the fact that he was taking such a long time to deal with us. We knew that the end for us was near, but we did not want to give in. We were pleased that we had forced Moscow to deal seriously with us.

Although on the surface we appeared to be united, internally the debate among us never ended, not for a moment, Should we continue the fight or should we end it?

Some of the prisoners asked me, "Well, are we going back to work?" "What work? Who told you that?" "Klachenko. We have known Klachenko for a long time, but you only briefly. Klachenko says to go back to work, and you — not to. Who are we to listen to?"

“Listen to whomever you wish”, I answered, because I saw that the reason they were asking was because they would rather listen to Klachenko. These types of conversations between me and many other prisoners were taking place ever more frequently. Some of the prisoners even began to act more aggressively toward me, and some questioned, “All right, at first we rebelled against the shootings and demanded a commission from Moscow. The commission arrived, reviewed our grievances, gave us great concessions... so what more can we demand?”

In the meantime, a group of highly educated prisoners wrote an appeal from the prisoners of zone 4 of the *Gorlag* to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., to the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., and to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R.

The appeal began with criticism of the socio-economic structures which led to the formulation of the most favourable conditions for the trampling of all of the basic human rights and freedoms. Then they explained the plight of political prisoners in the prisons and camps of the *Gulag* and finally they repeated and expanded on the demands which we had orally presented before the commission. Contained in this appeal were clearly stated demands to halt throughout the country the practice of closed trials and tortures during pre-trial investigations, to abolish all of the decisions of the Special Consultation Commission or OSO, so-called “triumvirate”, as an uncstitutional organ, to halt the arbitrary shootings in prisons and camps and, finally, to review the individual cases of all the political prisoners.

However, regardless of such open criticism of the existing order and the protests against the pressures to which we were constantly subjected, we did not take a hostile stand in relation to the central government itself, because we expected that, after Stalin’s death, the newly formed government would at least attempt to lead the country onto the straight and narrow path. Therefore, we declared to the government: “Our goal is freedom...” and “We want to be talked to not though sub-machine guns, but in a language of father and son”. The appeal ended with a warning to the government: “If our demands are not realized, we will continue our present tactics, no matter where we may find ourselves”.

Then, we had to somehow manage to read this appeal to all of the prisoners and obtain their acceptance. However, I did not dare call a meeting, because I was afraid that my opponents would break it up. But, if there is a will, there is a way. I asked two young boys to carry out of the club a table and a podium and set them up on the dais in front of the doors to the library; then cover the table with a blanket, place a glass of water on it, and step aside. I revealed my plan only to Volodymyr Nedorostkov.

When the construction of this improvised tribune was completed, I locked myself in the club and observed through the window the behaviour of the prisoners. The people gathered in no time, as though drawn by some irresistible magnetic force. Everyone understood, of course, that something very important was about to happen — someone was going to speak. Speculation

spread as to who would be doing the talking; perhaps it would be Kuznytsov himself.

At that time, our zone numbered 5,221 men. And, undoubtedly there was no one who wouldn't come to find out for himself what was going to be said.

When the gathering was completed, I left the club and, together with Nedorostkov, who was already waiting for me, climbed onto the dais. Nedorostkov opened the meeting and gave me the floor.

"Dear friends!" I began. "Everything that is taking place today in Norilsk is not a separate or isolated matter, but part of a great struggle of all our people for their dignity and human rights . . ."

The people all around had been transformed into attention itself. Everyone stood silent and poised, as though turned to stone. It was easy to speak. It was obvious that everyone was listening attentively. This deathly silence and tension were the result of two factors. Firstly, everyone wanted to hear something new and, secondly, everyone was afraid that the guards might not tolerate such a large gathering of people and open fire.

As it happened, in a moment of the greatest tension, one of the prisoners unexpectedly, in a whisper, warned me, "Hide, they are shooting!"

The irreparable happened — in a second all of the prisoners fell face-down to the ground. The panic spread even to the soldiers, who stood grouped near the barbed wire, and they all began to run away. I became lost and did not know how to behave — should I also hide, or should I somehow try to correct the situation?

I had placed a lot of faith in this meeting, because I was somehow certain that it would unify, that here we would be able to overcome all of our differences. I had even prepared the convening of this meeting so very carefully, that no one could disrupt it. And now? Everything was lost.

In order to somehow salvage the situation, I stepped down from the dais and tried to lift one or two prisoners to their feet, so that the others, seeing them, would get up. However, I was not successful; it was as though the people had frozen to the ground. Upon returning to the dais, I stepped back to my original place and, leaning my elbows on the podium, began to watch calmly to see what would come of all this.

Finally, some of the prisoners, who were in the back rows, one by one, began to get up and flee to the barracks. But the others, who had risen earlier, tried to stop them, "Cowards, where are you off to? Get back here, all of you!"

The people quickly quieted down and again started to wait tensely. I continued my speech and this time completed it successfully. The prisoners listened with their previous attentiveness and tension, as though nothing had happened.

After I had finished reading the appeal, all of the prisoners answered with a joyous "Hurrah!", throwing their caps into the air. Everyone was as happy, as though we had already attained our goals.

As I was stepping off the dais, a courier came up to me and handed me a message. I was reading the note and saw, from the corner of my eye, an

aged man, by appearance an Asian, who was not taking his eyes off me and edging ever closer. When I put the note in my pocket, the Asian removed the cap from his gray head, shook my hand and said:

"Well, dear brother, permit me to thank you for all that you have done for us!" and, squeezing my hand tightly, he added "I am Chinese". "I am Ukrainian", I answered, also strongly squeezing his hand. Many other prisoners followed the example of this old Chinese.

"I am Estonian!" "I am Polish!" "I am German!" "I am Byelorussian!" I have to admit that I could not suppress my national pride and replied to everyone that I was Ukrainian.

My close acquaintances and friends greeted me silently. Lastly, Ivan Klachenko-Bozhko came up to me. He also shook my hand and said, "Greetings! I too wish to tell you that I have known this regime since its inception and, I can assure you with certainty, that since its establishment in Russia, a freer meeting on its territory has never been held. Greetings!" Our hostility ended. My relations with Hryhoriy Klymovych also improved considerably.

However, this meeting also had some negative results; some even began to avoid me, to escape bringing some sort of evil down upon themselves. One of my countrymen, Stepan S. called me aside for a secret conversation. It seems that even today I recall every word.

"What are you doing?" he asked contritely. "Do you know that they will shoot you?" "I know". "So why don't you watch out for yourself? What's with you, don't you know how many of us have already been destroyed? No other nation has suffered as much as we. Now let some others sacrifice themselves a little".

"I am not sending anyone to be sacrificed", I replied to him. "But I have the right to sacrifice myself. And besides, what is the meaning of one more life in comparison to all those losses which we have sustained? If you see me doing something bad — tell me and I will listen to you".

"No, I don't see anything bad, on the contrary, everything is commendable, but I am worried for you".

"There is no reason to be afraid now. What I had done at the *Gorstroy* was enough reason for them to shoot me. Now I do not fear anything, except perhaps inactivity. The more I annoy them, the easier it will be to die".

Another similar meeting took place with two Latvians, who told me the following, "We see that one of our young, fair-haired boys often talks to you. We beg you not to allow him near you, send him away. You don't know what kind of boy he is. He is our nation's pride and all of our hope! We can't allow him to risk his life but, because he meets with you so often, he could be shot. We will be very grateful to you!"

I explained to them that their young countryman gave me many helpful suggestions, that he helped me quite a bit, and that I had no reason for turning away from him. However, I calmed them by the fact that I understood their anxiety and that in the future I would try to avoid him. I thought

to myself, "My dear Latvians! Your small nation will never die when you so carefully watch over your prominent people!"

The next day, which was, as I recall, June 29, a messenger from the picketers at the guardhouse ran up to me and said that administration officials had entered the zone and were headed directly for the people. The picketers did not know what to do.

"Form a wall and do not let them pass", I said and headed for the guardhouse. Suddenly — machine gun fire. I ran. Along the way I saw a prisoner, his face covered with blood. The shooting quickly ended, the people quieted down. There was no panic, everyone stood his ground. This incident happened when Kuznyetsov, together with his retinue, approached the people and the picketers tried to stop them by shouting stop! But he paid no attention and came closer. Then one of the picketers lost control and angrily threw a rock which hit Colonel Mykhaylov in the head. Mykhaylov grabbed his head and also angrily gave the command: "Convoy guards, fire!" The soldiers opened fire and wounded twenty persons. There were no dead.

Kuznyetsov retreated with his retinue back to the guardhouse, from where he silently began to watch us. We, for our part, silently watched him. A deathly silence descended. Finally, General Seryodkin couldn't stand the silence and, cupping his hands, shouted, "Soviet youth! Drop everything and come over to us!"

The prisoners burst out laughing; witty and not-so-witty remarks showered down. When everything had quietened down, I shouted to Seryodkin, "Why are you conversing with your youth from such a distance? Come here and talk. Who knows? Maybe the Soviet youth is really sick of this place and will gladly go with you".

"How am I supposed to come nearer?" Seryodkin replied in a trembling voice. "They have busted the Colonel's head; they could even kill me!" Again there was a burst of laughter.

The commission left the zone and we broke up. I went to surgeon Omelchuk to determine the condition of the severely injured. One of them was already lying on the operating table. The surgeon was preparing himself for the operation.

Leaving the clinic, I met a young German, who was being accompanied by two older prisoners, also Germans. Inasmuch as they did not speak Russian very well, nor I German, we communicated in a mixture of Russian and German. Here is our conversation, almost word-for-word, "Oh, it's good that I met you", said the young German.

"How may I serve you?" "I heard that there are seriously wounded here. Is this true?" "Yes". "I want to donate my blood. Don't refuse to accept it. I am young, healthy, and I cannot help in any other way. I would like to be with you in this, but, unfortunately, I haven't got the courage nor the fortitude. Therefore, I ask you to accept my blood, so that at least in this small way I can be of assistance in your battle".

"In that case, go see the doctor", I advised him. The German became

visibly happy and, darting past me, quickly disappeared into the dark corridor of the clinic. I never saw him again and don't know his name.

It was as though the people had been reborn, their souls having been uplifted. Examples of self-dedication occurred at every step of the way. Some were visible, others passed unnoticed. The characteristic trait of nearly all the people was the prominent feeling of responsibility and individual accountability. Everyone felt that the entire brunt of the battle lay specifically on his shoulders, that on him alone "the status of millions depends".* And this was true. For without a deep understanding of the issue by each and every one of us individually, we couldn't have lasted even one day.

Here I would like to point out yet another striking example of dedication from zone 3. The term of incarceration ended for one of the hard labour prisoners, a former Captain in the Romanian army, at the precise time that our battle sparked. He was summoned to have his papers drawn up. When he came to the guardhouse, he declared, "Inasmuch as my term of imprisonment has ended, I am not participating in this fight. However, until it comes to an end, I cannot leave the zone, so as not to breach the principle of insubordination established by my comrades and so as not to induce envy in those who remain here behind the barbed wire".

Incidents of returns of prodigal sons also occurred. Serving his term of punishment in our zone was a prisoner, Popov, who held the post of manager of the construction operations. He was very insolent toward the prisoners and everyone hated him. Similarly, the prisoners hated his lackey, our countryman, Pavluk, who served Popov faithfully and trustingly, as Sancho Panza did the courageous Don Quixote.

This happened on June 22, when our first shift returned from the *Gorstroy*. Seeing Popov and Pavluk standing side-by-side at the head of the column, the prisoners began shouting from the zone, "Popov, don't try to enter the zone, we will kill you! Stay there with your beloved superiors!" Popov gladly stepped aside. "And you, Pavluk, why did you stop? Get over there with your lord and master, so you can serve him further!"

Pavluk angrily looked at Popov and, waving his hand, headed straight for the gates. "Pavluk, go back! Pavluk, we'll kill you, go back!" Pavluk did not stop. When he had come closer, the crowd opened up to allow him to get further inside the zone. I rushed after him, in order to prevent mob-law court. "You scoundrel, why did you come here? Where is your place?" the enraged prisoners shouted at him.

"My place is here, among you", Pavluk said and sat down on the ground. "If you don't want me alive, then kill me on the spot, so that at least in death I can be with you!" . . .

After the June 29th incident, a complete lull set in. Kuznyetsov left and did not appear again. On June 30, we noticed that none of the officers of our camp could be seen beyond the zone. What did this all mean? Perhaps they were holding a council of war . . . The quiet put us on our guard.

*) A quotation from a poem entitled *Preparation for the Great Moment*, by Ukrainian poet Ivan Franko.

On the morning of the 1st of July, 1953, the prisoners of zone 5 were fired upon by sub-machine guns and automatic rifles. As a result, twenty-seven men were killed and an unknown number wounded.

They had begun to talk with us in the language of sub-machine gun fire.

From the roofs of our barracks we could only see the roofs of the barracks of zone 5. Everything that took place below was invisible. We only heard the sub-machine gun fire and the angry, despairing cries of the men and women.

The men's zone 5 and the women's zone 6 were situated side-by-side. When they began to shoot at the prisoners of zone 5, the women approached the forbidden zone and, with pleading outstretched arms (many of which held babies), shouted, "Do not shoot at them, shoot at us!" Finally everything quieted down. The banners disappeared from the barracks.

"Again the blood of our brothers has been spilled". I appealed to the prisoners of our zone. "Let us commemorate this incident on our banner!"

After about a half hour, a huge black flag with a red stripe in the middle floated from the tall chimney of our bakery.

Someone had even composed a hymn of the Norilsk prisoners, written in Russian, and ending in these words:

"And the black flag with the blood-red stripe
Will point out the path in our righteous fight!"

On July 2nd, the young fair-haired Latvian approached me and said that two loudspeakers had been affixed to the soldiers' barracks, aimed at our zone.

"This is a dangerous development", he explained. "With sub-machine guns they will only bring us closer together, but with words they can corrupt us completely. But I have an idea how to prevent this. The electricity for them is supplied by our transformer. We must cut off their energy".

I sought out the electrician. He began to beg off, saying that he had only six months of his term left to serve and was afraid to jeopardise his position by fooling around with the electricity. However, he gladly gave me the key to the shack, and I assured him that, if asked about this, I would tell them that I took the key away from him by force.

Spontaneously, the people started to gather closer to the loudspeakers, not unlike several days ago — to my improvised tribune. Kuznyetsov arrived from the city. The radio-announcement began, "Attention, attention! This is an important announcement from the administration of the Mountain Camp! Repeat! . . ."

At the word "repeat", I shut off the electricity. The transmission was cut off. The prisoners began to scorn, "Well, let's go, let's go, repeat it. Why did you shut up?" After waiting a while longer and seeing that the transmission would not resume, the people dispersed.

Then, after about two hours, the lookouts reported that soldiers were laying a cable through the tundra. I entered the shack and switched on the electricity. When they saw that the power was restored, they probably

thought, as I had anticipated, that we, interested in hearing what they had to say, decided not to hinder them further.

The soldiers stopped laying the cable. The announcer made an adjustment and the transmission resumed, "Attention, attention! This is an important announcement from the administration of the Mountain Camp! Repeating..." At the word "repeating", the transmission was again cut off, although the electricity remained unimpaired. The announcer blew into the microphone, made an adjustment, and again, "Attention, attention! Repeating..." At the word "repeating", the transmission was again cut off, again the lines were checked, another adjustment, and again, "Attention, attention!..." The same thing again. The prisoners burst into uncontrollable laughter. But, undoubtedly, the poor announcer did not see the humour. However, there was nothing he could do, while I sat in the shack and, after each "repeating", snapped off the feeder, then, in order to confuse them, turned it back on immediately.

Only after the fifth attempt to continue the transmission, did Kuznyetsov understand that he had been made a fool of. He climbed into his car and drove off.

The soldiers again took to laying the cable and this time completed the task. In the morning on July 3, Kuznyetsov came back. The announcement began, "Attention, attention! ... You will now hear the list of people who had been designated for transfer..." A thousand people were named. After reading the entire list, the announcer added, "All those who have been designated for transfer should appear immediately at the guardhouse with their personal belongings!"

No one moved. Then the announcer started to attack me personally, calling on the prisoners not to fear me or to listen to me.

Afterwards, a list of some seven hundred invalids, who had supposedly been designated for transfer to the mainland, was read.

The invalids bustled about and began to gather. In response to my warning that it was only a provocation and that, at this time, no transfer to the mainland could take place, they started to complain that the administration wanted to transfer them from here and that I was preventing their going.

I did not contradict them and they quickly gathered and headed for the guardhouse. The gate opened; the inspector of the special formation entered the zone with a list in his hand. I came up to him to make arrangements for the exit of the invalids out of the zone. At that instant, a messenger ran up to me and stated that the soldiers had cut through the barbed wire at the rear of the zone, making a wide opening in the barrier.

"What's this?" I asked the inspector. "What did you do, dream up this transport so that, while we were involved with the transfer of the invalids, you could hit us from behind?"

"What are they doing there? I cannot function under such conditions!" the inspector stated angrily and left the zone.

"Now you understand to what mainland they were transferring you?" I turned to the invalids. "We stated our demands to Moscow that you should

be transferred from here and we will continue to insist on this. But you've got to understand that you are not going anywhere at this time. If you don't want to stand firm with us, go to your barracks, lay down on your berths, and stay there; just don't cause any trouble!"

Obviously unhappy, the invalids dispersed. The gate did not close and the path to the forbidden zone also remained open. Our defences became vulnerable from both sides.

In the meantime, the announcer had begun to attack me and my close friends ever more vehemently, "We know", he kept repeating continuously, "that the honest people here are innocent, that they are being enticed and terrorised by a small band of trouble makers, such as Yevhen Hrycyak, Ivan Klachenko-Bozhko, Ivan Halchynskyj, Volodymyr Nedorostkov, and Ivan Strygin. Prisoners, don't be afraid of them and don't listen to them. Break down windows, doors, come over to us through the guardhouse gate or through the opening to the forbidden zone. We will welcome you gladly".

"Do you hear what they are saying about you?" asked my good Georgian friend Chubuk, "I hear". "And what are you thinging of doing now?" "The same". "I think, that it would be better for you to go to the guardhouse and declare the following, 'You say that I started everything. Here I am in front of you; take me away and you will see that nothing in the zone will ease your fate'. 'No! I will never do this!'"

The announcer ever more pointedly repeated his hypnotic formula, "Break down windows and doors, come over to us". The announcer's voice, magnified by two loudspeakers, fell on the heads of the prisoners, not unlike blows, the prisoners squirmed and became ever smaller.

Suddenly — shouts and whistles were heard from the vicinity of the guardhouse gates. What happened? One of the prisoners had heeded the announcer's call and escaped to the guardhouse. After some time, shouting began near the passage through the barrier — again someone had escaped. Finally, three more openings were cut into the forbidden zone and the gate to the recreation yard was opened. Our defences became vulnerable from all sides. Each passage was guarded from outside by a reinforced detachment of convoy guards, and from the inside — by us. We had to defend the passage ways not only from the soldiers, but also from potential escapees.

However, the soldiers did not enter the zone and it was impossible to stop the escapees because, anyone deciding to escape would join the front line of defenders and then, having chosen the right moment, would break away from the rest of the prisoners and run as fast as possible to the passage, where soldiers were waiting.

But, at one point I was told that one escapee was nonetheless caught and was being beaten in the second barrack. I ran there. "Stop!" Everyone stepped aside. The terrified prisoner was sitting on the floor.

"What happened?" I asked him. "Why were you running away? Perhaps you noticed that we were doing something wrong?"

"Oh, no!" he said. "On the contrary, I like it here, but believe me, I've never been in such a situation before and my nerves simply can't take it".

I ordered the prisoners not to touch him, and told him not to be afraid, because what would happen to everyone would also happen to him.

Former activists of the camp were given the opportunity to rehabilitate themselves. We did not remind them of their past and we did not push them aside, when they wanted to stand next to us. Many of them were successful in finding the strength within themselves to make a stand on the side of the majority. Others remained faithful servants of the regime.

At one point, after the scape of two activists from the fourth column, the announcer commented, "We have become aware that among you are many prisoners, who would like to come over to us, but are afraid of reprisals from the current mutineers. Don't be afraid of them! Come on over! We guarantee that not one of these bandits will ever be together with you again. Break down the windows, doors . . .!"

The announcer would periodically call on us to break down windows and doors, solely to create disorder among us. No one, regardless of whether they wanted or did not want to escape, was locked in the barracks. On the contrary, all of the barracks were empty, not a living soul in them. The first barrack constituted the only exception, being occupied by the engineering and technical workers, or, as they were called by the prisoners, "half-wits".

As foreman or skilled labourers directly involved in the construction, most of them were afraid of losing their favourable positions and did not wish to take part in the struggle with the rest of us. Also, they did not flee, but only lolled around on their berths reading books.

But, among them were also such who actively participated in the fight and placed their lives on the line as did the other prisoners. One of these was the Estonian engineer Skeyres. At the very time that our situation had become most difficult, he grabbed some sort of stick, flew into the barrack, and began to hammer each and every one within his reach.

"Oh, you, you mercenaries!" Skeyres insulted them. "Now when our fate is being decided, when the people have placed their bare chests against sub-machine guns, you loll around and read books? Let's go, march outside!"

There were very few escapees. But at one point a prisoner approached me and told me that a handful of Poles, whose actions aroused suspicion, were gathered near the second barrack. It appeared that they were planning something.

"We have very good contact with them", I answered. "I'll go find their representative right away and get an explanation for everything. I meet with him very often. It is true that lately he has disappeared from my view and, for some reason, doesn't show himself. But, there he is now!"

At that very moment, the Polish representative Yura, as he was called in the Russian fashion, was walking past us. He threw a not very friendly glance in my direction and went on.

"Yura, hold on! What's happened? How are your people?" "So, so", replied evasively. "They are standing over there near the second barrack,

but what each of them is thinking — I cannot tell. You cannot enter into a person's soul!"

We parted coldly. Suddenly, near the second barrack, we heard violent screaming, whistling and hooting. I ran over there only to find that fifty-two Poles, headed by Dr. Matoshko, with a sudden bolt, darted out of the zone.

The people had already overextended themselves and were hardpressed to withstand such great tension. After all, since the prisoners of zone 5 had been shot at, none of us had slept a wink, no one entered the barracks; everyone remained on his feet and waited for them to begin shooting at us. We could not expect anything else.

Nonetheless, escapes from the zone became more infrequent. Kuznyetsov realized that he could not defeat us in this manner, so, amending his tactics, he changed from persuasion to ultimatum.

"All prisoners are to take their personal belongings and prepare to vacate the zone!" echoed his harsh voice over the loudspeakers. Afterwards the loudspeakers fell silent. We realized that this was Kuznyetsov's final demand and that he would not talk with us any further.

I called Nedorostkov and went with him to the guardhouse, where I announced that I wanted to talk with Kuznyetsov. Following us, almost stepping on our heels, were several dozen warmly dressed prisoners.

Kuznyetsov asked angrily, "What are we going to talk about? Didn't you hear my order for everyone to leave the zone?" I replied "We heard it", "Tomorrow we will pack up and leave". "No tomorrows", stated Kuznyetsov. "Today or never!"

In the meantime, a prisoner on my left, pushed forward and said in a frightened voice, "Citizen Commander! Citizen Commander!" (This was the official mode of address of a prisoner to any commander.) "Permit me to speak, permit me to speak!" "So speak up", Kuznyetsov snapped contemptuously.

But the prisoner did not say anything more, he just rushed, past Kuznyetsov, to the guardhouse. From my right side, another prisoner took to fleeing, and after him yet another. "Why are you doing this? Isn't there a time for everything? Return to your barracks, take your things, and quietly and calmly cross into the jurisdiction of the administration".

Kuznyetsov froze, for he had worked out a totally different plan — in two and a half hours we were to be shot.

Now, after all the prisoners had already dispersed to their barracks, I considered what I was to do. Should I give myself up, or, perhaps, go for my things which, I was certain, would be of no further use to me?

"Oh! No, boy", I said to myself thoughtfully, "go gather your things for, after all, you should be the last one to leave the zone". And — slowly I went off in the direction of my barrack.

People with bags on their backs were continually coming to meet me. They walked quickly and silently. When suddenly one of my countrymen blocked my path and asked me very emotionally, "What have you done?" "And what else could I do? There is no other way out". "There is a way

out — fight to our deaths!” “But the people don’t want to die, they are fleeing”.

“How many of them have fled? Even if it had been one hundred fifty, okay, I’ll even grant you two hundred. But how many more remained? Five thousand! Out of these five thousand, let even four thousand flee, then a thousand of the kind that could not be defeated will fight until we have all been killed. We will gather together and we will show them that we know how to die!”

“No”, I answered him. “I will not lead anyone to certain death. You need to live! Farewell!”

Having neared my barrack and seeing that people were still departing it, I went to the clinic to say good-bye to my good friend Vasyl Rykov. After leaving him, I went to my barrack, where I came across two prisoners who were swiftly packing their things. After gathering my things, I accompanied them to the guardhouse. The zone became quiet and empty.

As I was walking toward the guardhouse, I saw a guard climbing up the ladder of the bakery chimney. I stopped to watch as he took down the flag. To my great amazement, the guard did not drop it from above, but took it under his arm and carefully descended with it to the ground.

At the guardhouse, I met a small group of prisoners and, together with them, crossed the threshold of the gate.

Now, everything was behind me.

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,
200, Liverpool Road, London, N1 1LF.

1969

48 pp. + 37 illustrations.

Price: £2.00 (USA and Canada) \$5.00

order from:

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KANDYBA DECLARATION (Part 3)

Here again, “no violations of law were determined”. By the same token, the Prosecutor, instead of demanding that “the law be carried out strictly”, which he is obligated to do in accordance with Article 164 of the Soviet Constitution, ignored the Constitution completely and upheld the authors of arbitrariness and lawlessness.

It would have been absolutely correct if the answer of the Prosecutor were: “no violations of arbitrariness and lawlessness were determined”, in which event I would not have any grounds for dissatisfaction. Once, however, the Prosecutor states that the law was not violated, then I was unable to agree with his decision and decided to accuse him, which I had a right to do under Article 8 of the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., dated April 12, 1968, which states in connection with “Rules of review of propositions, applications, appeals and charged of citizens”:

“Citizen who does not agree with the decision taken in connection with his or her application, appeal or charge, has the right to appeal said decision to a higher organ, to which the state organ involved, entity, establishment or organization, which has made the decision being appealed, is directly subordinated”.

This means that I had the right to appeal to a higher organ, namely to Lviv Oblast Prosecutor, the decision of Pustomyty Regional Prosecutor, Class 1 Jurist I. M. Horbulko, dated April 25, 1978, that I did not agree which action I did take.

And what happened? Again nothing. The Lviv Oblast Prosecutor for the third time, without any explanation, transferred my appeal for “review” to the same Pustomyty Regional Prosecutor, the impropriety of whose actions I was appealing. This is completely contrary to Soviet law, with which assuredly the Lviv Oblast Prosecutor is familiar.

Then why is he acting this way? Why is he violating Soviet law? Maybe because said Soviet law protects a non-Soviet person one hundred percent, a degenerate, enemy No. One, as I was described by Assistance Prosecutor Rudenko.

It is written in Article 5 of the above mentioned Decree:

“It is forbidden to transfer a citizen's appeal for review or decision to the official whose actions are being appealed”.

And not only is it forbidden, it is punishable, in accordance with Article 15 of said Decree:

“Violation of the prescribed rule regarding propositions, applications, appeals and charges of citizens, procrastination, bureaucratic red tape in connection with such propositions, applications, appeals and charges, by officials make such officials liable for disciplinary responsibility in accordance with the appropriate regulations”.

Will the Lviv Oblast Prosecutor be held accountable for his actions? I am sure that he will not.

For the last 18 years Soviet laws, including the principal one, namely the Constitution of the Soviet Union, were completely on the side of the non-Soviet person, myself, and during all that time, I was deprived of freedom and all other rights, was forced into Soviet concentration camps and prisons, and finally was placed under Soviet administrative surveillance. However, not one person was ever found liable or was ever punished for all of the above violations against me and, therefore, the Lviv Oblast Prosecutor as well will not be held liable for the violation of law in regard to me.

Then how should the Pustomyty Regional Prosecutor I. M. Horbulko act in these circumstances, namely in connection with my appeal? Once Article 5 of the above mentioned Decree forbids the transference of appeals to persons, whose actions are being appealed, then, in my view, Prosecutor Horbulko does not have the right to review my appeal, since said appeal consists of charges against him. Prosecutor Horbulko should have returned my appeal to Lviv Oblast Prosecutor in accordance with Article 5 of the above mentioned Decree. However, he did not take this action and himself “reviewed” my charges in connection with his actions, finally transmitting to me the following empty reply:

*“Pustomyty Regional Prosecutor, Lviv Oblast,
April 12, 1978, No. 190, village of Pustomyty.*

*Citizen Kandyba, Ivan Oleksiyovych, village of Pustomyty,
302 Shevchenko Street.*

Your appeal addressed to Lviv Oblast Prosecutor with reference to allegedly illegal extension of administrative surveillance over you was reviewed by the undersigned and refused.

Your contention of the illegality of the extension of administrative surveillance over you has been found groundless.

*Pustomyty Regional Prosecutor
Class 1 Jurist
Signature — I. M. Horbulko”*

This was the third answer of Prosecutor Horbulko to my appeals in several months. The first thing that I noted was the fact that all of the answers were form answers each one exactly the same as the others. From

that above it could be derived that Prosecutor Horbulko answers all charges and appeals by previously prepared, standard form replies, sanctioned by higher authorities.

I was thinking about appealing to the General Prosecutor, but decided not to, since I was sure that to such an appeal I would also receive the "classic" answer of Prosecutor Horbulko.

Having been convinced by the harshest teacher of all — experience — that I, together with my one ally, The Law, am absolutely impotent to fight against the "guardians" of the law with their allies' Power, Lawlessness and Arbitrariness, I decided to do nothing and wait, arming myself in a cloak of patience, for the conclusion of the term of the administrative surveillance over me.

During that time, the "instructional influence" of the militia and the KGB continued to manifest itself in different forms.

On April 24, 1978, I was visited by my brother. Ten minutes after he walked into my quarters, Chief of the Detective Service of Pustomyty First Lieutenant Bohdan Petrowych Machurad burst into my quarters without knocking, (it seems, his agents informed him that some one was visiting me), approached my brother and demanded to see his documents. At that time, my brother did not have any documents with him. Then First Lieutenant Machurad searched our wallets and ordered my brother to accompany him to the Militia Headquarters. Neither mine nor my landlady's assurances that the visitor was indeed my brother were believed. He took my brother along to his office at the Militia Headquarters. There they met Chief of Pustomyty KGB Captain Polishchuk. Both of them took statements from my brother, and then Captain Polishchuk asked my brother to help in influencing me to reject my hostile, nationalistic views, and become a Soviet person. Afterwards my brother was allowed to leave.

In June, 1978, seven photographs, taken by me in the Carpathian Mountains the year before, were sent to me from Ivano-Frankivsk. However, with the cooperation of the Chief of Pustomyty Regional Communications Hub B. Krehel, the KGB got its hands on them. In addition, two letters addressed to me from Raisa Rudenko (wife of sentenced Mykola Rudenko) were lost, one letter from Vasyl Stus and one letter from me to him were lost, my letter to Vyacheslav Chornovil was lost (the latter two were former political prisoners and presently are political exiles), and to and from others. Here we see in practice the privacy of postal communications, which is protected by Article 56 of the Constitution of the Soviet Union.

On July 11, 1978, the newspaper of Lviv Komsomol Headquarters "Lenin Youth" published an article about the sentenced Ivan Dykyj entitled "Place a thief on a pedestal". In this article, completely irrelevant and very insulting mention could be found about Lev Lukyanenko, Petro Hryhorenko and myself. The credit for this could only be placed at the KGB's door.

On August 3, 1978, in a newspaper of Pustomyty Region "Lenin's Flag", appeared an article entitled "Through dark glasses". This article started with the criticism of the actions of the above mentioned Mychajlo Medvid,

who was imprisoned during the war for a period of ten years for desertion. However, this article also stated that I was somehow responsible for his wrongful actions, since I seemed to be his "idealistic mentor", and then continued to paint me in the blackest colours and monstrous innuendos. Andriy Sakharov, Yuriy Orlov, Volodymyr Bukowskyj, Mykola Rudenko and Oleksa Tykhyj, some of the best of our times, this article called "traitors of the Soviet nations". All this was done by the KGB in order to compromise me and others in the eyes of the general public, however, I do not believe that the KGB accomplished its aim in this instance.

On July 19, 1978, Chief of Pustomyty KGB Captain Polishchuk visited me at my place of employment. He was interested about my decision as far as the propositions of Assistant Prosecutor Rudenko and General Poluden were concerned, namely whether I was ready to publicly renounce my views and beliefs and accuse my friends who continued to share similar views. In addition, he urged me, not for the first time, to cease all communications with my friends who were in prisons, concentration camps, exile or in similar circumstances to mine, accompanying his urgings with insults of these friends of mine. He also tried to convince me to terminate my association with the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. For complying with all of the above, he promised to amply reward me.

On August 15, 1978, I was called in by Chief of Pustomyty Detective Service First Lieutenant Machurad to his office. He suggested that I move my permanent residence any place I wished, even Siberia, as long as it would be outside the borders of Lviv Oblast. In the event I complied with his suggestion, the administrative surveillance over me would be discontinued. They wished to get rid of me, since I had proved myself to be a nuisance to them. He gave me until September 10 to decide. I answered him that I would not wish to move any place outside Lviv Oblast, because for me even Kyiv was "foreign", however, I would give it a great deal of thought.

After thinking about his proposition, I decided to agree to move to Kyiv and submitted a statement of my decision to the Chief of the Regional Militia of Pustomyty.

About a week later, I was called in again by Chief of Pustomyty Detective Service First Lieutenant Machurad, who advised me that I would be unable to reside in Kyiv due to the fact that I would be unable to obtain a residence visa there. In addition, he informed me that I would not be allowed to live in any Oblast centre, but only in one of the small towns of one of Ukraine's eastern Oblasts, for example in Vinnytsya Oblast, but only in a small town where no one knew me. Upon hearing this, I advised First Lieutenant Machurad that in that case I would continue to live in Pustomyty and not move anywhere else. This clearly indicated the rights I possessed as far as travelling through my own country or choosing my residence.

My decision regarding my move was very much disliked by my "protectors" and afterwards I was called in to see Chief of Pustomyty KGB Captain Polishchuk several times, however, we were unable to come to any agreement about my moving.

In the meantime, the fourth six-month term of administrative surveillance over me was nearing its end.

On September 22, 1978, I was called in by Chief of Pustomyty Detective Service First Lieutenant Machurad who presented me with an Ordinance extending the administrative surveillance over me for another six months. The motives for said extension in accordance with said Ordinance were as follows:

“Due to the fact that the person under administrative surveillance, Kandyba, I. A., did not enter upon the road to reformation, said administrative surveillance over him was extended several times.

To date I A. Kandyba has not entered upon the road to reformation and consciously does not desire to do so”.

Since I did not renounce my views and beliefs, did not spit upon myself and others like me, thereby I did not “... enter upon the road to reformation”.

Again and again the question arises. In accordance with the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Pact covering socio-political rights and the Helsinki Accords, I have the right to my own views and beliefs and to express them freely. Yes, I have such rights on paper, but not in practical application, because it is evident that such rights exist only for show to the world and for idiots.

But even in accordance with the “Statute encompassing administrative surveillance”, said surveillance should not have been extended over me, because not even once during the last six months did I violate the surveillance regime and, therefore, in accordance with Article 13 of said Statute, said surveillance was to have been stopped.

Administrative surveillance may be terminated even before the term of said surveillance is completed if it is established that the person under administrative surveillance is leading an honest, productive life and is positively characterized by his employment and general conduct.

The militia had all necessary bases to terminate the administrative surveillance over me (not during the present term only) before its expiration, since my actions in connection with my “employment and general conduct” had been exemplary.

Although in this instance also the law was completely on my side, my “teachers” did not wish to notice my exemplary conduct, what they wanted was for me to renounce my ideological and political views and beliefs.

Therefore, from the above again it is clearly evident that the administrative surveillance over me was and is being established completely without any grounds and illegally.

With reference to me and others like me, a statute would be applicable which would clearly foresee the establishment of administrative surveillance for heterodoxy, views and beliefs differing from the ruling ideology and practices of U.S.S.R. However, such a statute does not exist in the U.S.S.R., and since it does not, then the administrative surveillance over me entering it a third year is completely without grounds and illegal.

Logic tells me to appeal against this illegal Militia Ordinance, but practical reality, life tell me to the contrary. As noted above, the results of my charges and appeals were such, that I decided not to file anymore charges or appeals, considering them naive and humiliating, giving rise to mockery from my "teachers-protectors".

From the above it could be surmised that I would be fated to remain under administrative surveillance as long as my "teachers-protectors" wished it, or even during the remainder of my days. Proof of the accuracy of this statement is in the following:

Article 8 of the "Statute encompassing administrative surveillance" states:

"Administrative surveillance may be established for a period of from six months to one year. In urgent circumstances, administrative surveillance may be extended every time for another six months, however, not for more six-month terms than is foreseen by law as punishment for a particular crime".

As noted, no place is there concretely stated when and for what violations administrative surveillance may be extended, only that such extension is applicable "In urgent circumstances . . ." This means in fact that said extension is applicable every time the KGB wishes it to be. This vagueness is a most Auspicious loophole for wide manoeuvring. As is widely known administrative surveillance over dissidents is established only for their views and beliefs which do not correspond to the official ideology and politics of the U.S.S.R. So, the administrative surveillance over me was extended for the fourth time because I "... did not enter upon the road to reformation and consciously did not desire to . . .", however, the administrative surveillance over former political prisoner Yaroslav Lesiv, for example, was extended because he "incorrectly assimilated Soviet reality"

And so such administrative surveillance may be continuously extended forever. Paragraph 8, Article 55 of the Criminal Code of Ukrainian S.S.R. states the following in connection with this matter:

"If persons sentenced to ten or more years of imprisonment (as I was) do not commit new crimes during the eight years following the completion of their sentences (original and additional) and if the court establishes that said person has reformed, then said person's conviction may be lifted".

Therefore, if during eight years after my release from imprisonment I do not "reform", namely change my views and beliefs, then the court will not lift my conviction even after said eight years and I will be burdened by it for the rest of my days. And since it is so, then the administrative surveillance over me may be continued for the rest of my life in accordance with Article 8 of the "Statute encompassing administrative surveillance".

Most likely that will happen because I will never go against my conscience for some gratuity from the KGB and, quoting our genius poet-martyr Taras Shevchenko, "I suffer, endure, but do not repent!", I will not change my

views and beliefs, whatever the pressure upon me, whatever rewards from the KGB, or whatever cost — even my life.

I always followed my own views and beliefs, I am doing so now, and until the end of my days, I will follow only my own views and beliefs. If, during the process of my life, I find some of my views and beliefs inaccurate, I will change them only pursuant to the demands of my conscience and in accordance with my own individual desires.

Therefore, I wish to conduct myself in accordance with my personal views and beliefs and have the right to freely express them. Such international judicial documents as the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights of December 10, 1948, the Pact covering the socio-political rights of 1966, and the Helsinki Accords of August 1, 1975 have bestowed upon me the right for this kind of conduct, namely life in accordance with my personal convictions.

The principal positions of said documents are as follows :

I. United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Principle 2 — Every person possesses all the rights and all the freedoms, without any differentiality, proclaimed by this Declaration, such as . . . political or other convictions . . .

Principle 4 — No person shall be kept in slavery or in a status of bondage.

Principle 13 — Every person possesses the right to freely move about and travel, as well as choose his place of residence inside the borders of any country.

(2) Every person possesses the right to leave any country, including said person's own country.

Principle 19 — Every person possesses the right to his own personal convictions and free expression of said convictions; this right includes free and unrestricted right to hold such convictions, freedom to search for, receive and disseminate information and ideas in whatever manner, regardless of any political or territorial borders.

Principle 90 — Every person possesses a right to free non-violent assembly and association.

Principle 21 —

(1) Every person possesses a right to take part in the running of the government of his country, either directly or through his elected representatives.

(2) Every person possesses the right of equal access to any governmental agency of his country.

Principle 23 —

(1) Every person possesses the right to work, free choice of employment . . .

(4) Every person possesses the right to establish professional or labour unions and to join existing professional or labour unions for the purpose of guaranteeing the security of said person's interests, or for any other purpose.

II. The Pact covering the socio-political rights

Statute 2 1 Every country taking part in this Pact is obligated to respect and secure for everyone who lives within its borders and under its jurisdiction, all the rights, without any differentiability, contained in this Pact.

Statute 8 (3) (a) No person may be forced or obliged to labour or work.

Statute 12 (1) Every person who legally resides inside the territory of whatever country has the right to freely move and travel through said country and the unrestricted choice of place of residence.

(2) Every person has the right to leave any country, including his own.

Statute 19 (1) Every person has the right to unrestrictedly hold his own personal views and convictions.

(2) Every person has the right to free and unencumbered expression of his views; this right includes free and unrestricted right to search or, receive and disseminate all kinds of information and ideas, regardless of political or territorial borders, verbally, in writing or through print, or artistic forms of expression, or through other means of his choice.

The Soviet Union has acknowledged the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights and joined its signatories, and ratified the International Pact covering the socio-political rights on September 18, 1973, which took effect on March 23, 1976, and which through this ratification became the obligatory law for practical application in the U.S.S.R.

At various international forums, the Soviet Union always staunchly defends the above mentioned documents, and calls for their implementation into practical use.

So, for example, the Soviet Union, together with other nation-signatories of the above documents, pledged to uphold them at the Helsinki Conference. On page 7, paragraph 1 of the Helsinki Accords there is written:

“In the sphere of human rights and personal freedoms, the nations-signatories are to act responsibly in accordance with the aims and principles of the Statute of United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights. They will also be obligated to execute their pledges in accordance with international declarations and agreements in this field, including among them the ‘International Pact covering the socio-political rights’, if said nations are associated therewith”.

The Soviet Union is associated with said documents and thereby is obligated to implement them in practice.

In addition, the Soviet Union is even an author of a project, in which it demands the implementation of all human rights in accordance with the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Pact covering the socio-political rights, and other international agreements and documents.

In accordance with the proposal of the U.S.S.R., the United Nations General Assembly adopted on December 20, 1977, the “Declaration for

Deepening and Strengthening of Alleviation of International Tensions” which states the following in its Article 8 :

“Encouragement and assistance in implementation of human rights and basic freedoms for all in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other appropriate international agreements and documents, including international pacts covering human rights, is to be extended”.

I just mentioned briefly the particular human rights which are secured by international legal documents and which are actively defended and upheld by the Soviet Union at various international forums.

However, completely contrary policy is being practiced by the Soviet Union internally. For example, often it can read in the Soviet press that the above mentioned Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international pacts do not pertain to the Soviet people, since Soviet people for a long time have had the advantages of all the rights enumerated and guaranteed by said documents in connection with human rights. The only reason that the Soviet Union joined in the adoption of said documents was for the purpose of solidarity with nations not possessing the advantages of such human rights, existing under colonialism or the hardships of dictatorial regimes.

Similar notions could be found in an article by I. Melnikov, entitled “In the name of peace and happiness of men”, citing portions of declarations of the Soviet Union at sessions of the Human Rights Commission, appearing in the newspaper “Pravda” of October 25, 1978. Below I cite a section thereof :

“The Human Rights Commission is continuing its secession in the Geneva Branch of the organization of the United Nations. During today’s morning session, the Soviet delegate spoke about the Soviet success of introducing into practice in the Soviet Union the postulates of the International Pact on socio-political rights.

“Five years ago, the Soviet Union was first to ratify this important document. Let it be known as an outstanding fact about Soviet justice that the ratification of this treaty by the Soviet Union in 1973 and its implementation in 1976 did not require any changes or additions in the laws of our country.

“According to existing policy, the Soviet Union presented this case to attorneys from eighteen countries, members of the Commission. In this presentation, the Soviet Union showed very precisely how, in Soviet laws, the social and personal rights described by the above mentioned international treaty are safeguarded and guaranteed”.

What contradiction! “... the Soviet delegate spoke about the Soviet success of introducing into practice the postulates of the International

Pact . . .” and simultaneously this “success” is declared null and void, because it has never taken place, since “ . . . ratification of this treaty by the Soviet Union . . . and its implementation . . . did not require any changes or additions in the laws of our country”.

These statements do not conform to reality, but on the contrary — it is absolutely imperative to implement changes in and additions to Soviet laws in order for at least the laws themselves to comply with International Pacts covering the social and political rights, since even the laws (of course, completely ignored by the authorities) do not reflect many of the provisions of such documents.

For example, nowhere in Soviet law can there be found a provision prohibiting the authorities from forcing anyone to work. To the contrary, in the Soviet Union work is obligatory and not working is punishable under criminal processes for a parasitic way of life, sponging, begging, etc. I was accused of “continuously refusing to work”.

Nowhere in Soviet law can there be found a provision that every Soviet citizen has a right to not only his or her own view and beliefs, but to a free and unencumbered expression of said views and beliefs, through receipt and dissemination of various information and ideas, regardless of national borders, verbally and in writing through the printed word. To the contrary, expression of a person’s views and beliefs which do not comply with the official ideology and policy of the U.S.S.R. is considered as being hostile and qualified as anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, punishable under criminal processes.

Nowhere in Soviet law can there be found a provision allowing any Soviet citizen to freely emigrate or leave the U.S.S.R.

Nowhere in Soviet law can there be found a provision that every Soviet citizen has a right to free assembly, to freedom of association with others, including the right to establish free (not governmentally controlled) professional unions and to join such unions for security and protection of individual rights. In the U.S.S.R., such actions are considered unlawful, punishable under criminal processes.

Above are just some, certainly not all, instances, which prove conclusively the inaccuracy and falsehood of Soviet representatives in the Commission of Human Rights.

From the above, it could be concluded that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as well as the International Pact covering the socio-political rights in the U.S.S.R. are in fact dead.

The International Pact covering the socio-political rights, which was published in the “Register of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.”, No. 17 for the year 1976, was placed in the archives where it gathers mould and dust, and in this way its mission is considered accomplished.

The fate of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is even sadder. I have no knowledge whether the Declaration was published in the U.S.S.R. as part of an official process for public consumption. I only saw the Declara-

tion typed in private or in handwritten texts. In addition, it should be remembered that the Declaration was confiscated from me and others every time it was found. It was confiscated from me three times in places of incarceration, namely on December 6, 1966 in concentration camp No. 11 (Yavas), on November 2, 1973 in concentration camp No. 36 (Ural) and on the day of my release, January 20, 1976. Concentration camp and prison administrations confiscated the Declaration also from other political prisoners. Bibles were also confiscated.

To our inquiries as to why the Declaration was being confiscated, concentration camp and prison administrators as well as prosecutors advised us that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights does not possess the strength of a law and that it only reflects "good intentions", that it was not adopted for general use, but only for negroes. No matter how far fetched, it still might be understood, why the Declaration was confiscated in concentration camps or prisons, a lot more severe harm was being done there. But how could it be understood and explained when the Declaration was being constantly confiscated in freedom.

On December 13, 1977, namely on the date of the arrest of member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group Lev Lukyanenko, my quarters and my person were thoroughly searched by Lviv KGB officers Senior Prosecuting Major Yaresko and Captain Shumeyko, together with Chief of Postumyty KGB Captain Polishchuk. The report containing the purpose of the search read in part as follows:

"It was proposed to Kandyba, Ivan Oleksiyovych, that he deliver all documents of anti-Soviet and slanderous contents in forms of manuscripts, typewritten publications of so-called 'samvydav' (self-publishing), photographic films, photographs, as well as other forms, together with any dynamite or firearms, etc".

But what in fact was confiscated from me? The confiscated documents consisted of a few personal, intimate letters and a handwritten text of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Therefore, it seems that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is an anti-Soviet document. How else can the above be explained?

Since such attitude is taken with respect to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, then certainly a similar attitude is held by representatives of Soviet power in connection with the International Pact of socio-political rights, which reflects many of the provisions and legal norms of the Declaration. This is most likely, since "... its implementation in 1976 did not require any changes or additions in the laws of our country".

In this manner, Soviet citizens are deprived of the opportunity to use all the rights which are contained in the above mentioned documents. Their rights to freely express their views and beliefs and to disseminate them, if such views and beliefs do not comply with the official ideology and policy, are considered as crimes of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda or slander, and are punishable by long years of harsh incarceration.

In the event such a person, during his or her long years of incarceration, did not change his or her views and beliefs, such a person remains most dangerous and it is impossible for such a person to escape the further punishment of administrative surveillance, as in mine and other cases. For example, in only the one republic of Ukraine, there is an unbelievably high number of persons under administrative surveillance. Here are some of them who have completed their punishment by incarceration and are suffering under administrative surveillance: Nina Strokata-Karavanska, after serving a four year sentence, was for close to three years under administrative surveillance; Vitaliy Kalynenko, after serving a ten year sentence, is presently starting his fourth year under administrative surveillance in the village of Vasylivka, Dnipropetrovsk Oblast (both of the above mentioned are members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group); Vasyl Ovsiyenko, after serving a four year sentence, is presently starting his third year under administrative surveillance in the village of Lenin, Zhytomyr Oblast. Administrative surveillance was established even over Dmytro Basarab, who a few months ago was released after completing a twenty-five year sentence, and is presently living in Stryj, Lviv Oblast. After being released in October, 1978, Yuriy Dzyuba, residing at 346A Klochkivska Street, Apt. 16, Kharkiv, was placed under administrative surveillance.

Therefore, from the above, it can be concluded that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and International Pact covering the socio-political rights endow me with numerous rights and privileges of which I am in reality deprived.

So, with what rights does the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. endow me? As a sample, let us peruse some of the Articles thereof:

"Article 1. U.S.S.R. is a socialist multi-national country, which expresses the will and interest of the workers, peasants and intelligensia, the toiling members of all nations and peoples of the country".

However it might be, but with certainty the U.S.S.R. does not express my will or interest as a dissident, but to the contrary persecutes me and places me under various repressions.

"Article 34. Citizens of the U.S.S.R. are equal before the law regardless of descent, 'race' or nationality . . . and other circumstances".

Above I enumerated many instances where I, as a dissident, was persecuted and discriminated against in my choice of place of residence, employment, etc. In the matter of emigration from the Soviet Union, citizens of Russian nationality are able much more easily to leave the U.S.S.R., as compared to members of any other nationalities.

"Article 39. Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have all the social, economic, political, individual and personal rights and freedoms".

I am deprived of the right even over my own person.

"Article 40. Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to employment . . . including the right to choose their employment or profession in accordance with their ability, talents, professional experience and education".

I have the right to work where directed by the KGB.

“Article 48. Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to take part in the conduct of the governmental and administrative affairs of the contry . . .”

I am certain that I am guaranteed the right to conduct such affairs with a shovel, measuring gauge, crow bar and similar implements.

“Article 49. Each citizen has the right to contribute to governmental organs and social organizations his or her proposals with respect to improving its activities, or criticizing its failures in the performance of their functions”.

“Article 50. Pursuant to interests of the people and with the aim of strengthening the development of socialist order, the citizens of the U.S.S.R. are guaranteed freedoms of speech, print, assembly, meetings, street demonstrations . . .”.

For me as a dissident, the guarantee of such freedoms, with particular pre-conditions, means deprivation of such freedoms.

Article 51. Pursuant to the aims of Communist progress, citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to unite into social organizations”.

Such pre-conditions upon my right of joining any organization as a dissident, means that I am deprived of such a right.

Article 55. Citizens of the U.S.S.R. are guaranteed the inviolability of their places of residence . . .”

In December, 1960 (before I was arrested), a KGB agent, illegally, in my absence, entered my Lviv residence at 57/38 Dekabrist Street, where he was discovered. Many similar incidents occurred in connection with quarters of other dissidents.

“Article 56. Secrecy and privacy of correspondence, telephone conversations . . . are protected by law”.

Previously, I have already explained that for the KGB no secrecy, nor privacy, nor any laws exist.

“Article 57. Respect for the individual, defence of the rights and freedoms of citizens — are the obligations of all governmental organs, social organizations and officials”.

I have already mentioned above how my person is being respected and how my rights and freedom are being protected.

“Article 58. Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to appeal against the actions of officials, governmental and social organs”.

The result of my using such a right was clearly explained above.

“Article 72. Each Soviet Republic has a right of free secession from the U.S.S.R.”.

My attempt to put this right to a test has already cost me 15 years of incarceration in concentration camps and prisons and more than two years of virtual enslavement under administrative surveillance.

“Article 158. An accused has the right to a defence”.

In matter of political nature, accused, as a matter of fact, are actually deprived of such a right. An accused does not possess the right to employ a defence counsel not only from outside the U.S.S.R., but not even from a judicial consortium of the U.S.S.R. of his choice; such accused may only employ a counsel from a group of 10 or 15 attorneys, who are certified to

defend such suits by the Party Oblast Committee. They are, as a rule, members of the Communist Party and their "defence" of a "traitor" is only a mere formality. Such an attorney looks upon his "client" as an "enemy of the people" and his defence is pure hypocrisy. This has been proven to me in my own case.

From the above, it can be clearly concluded that the U.S.S.R. Constitution deprives me of the fundamental rights and freedoms due to my dissidence or heterodoxy.

Therefore, taking into consideration that I am deprived from actually benefiting from such fundamental rights as are proclaimed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and by the International Pact covering the socio-political rights, the U.S.S.R. Constitution in fact deprives me of such rights, and the law of criminal processes and other judicial acts are gravely violated by the militia, the KGB, prosecutors and courts — I find myself in reality outside any laws.

What an enormous price I have to pay for my views and beliefs. Having been imprisoned for long years and having been kept under constant administrative surveillance with house arrest, in addition, I am forced, for God knows how long, to submit to persecution, discrimination, blackmail, cruelty, insults to my human dignity, and political and ideological terror. I am placed completely outside any socio-political life and am limited to a minimum of spiritual, cultural and socio-economic life.

As a result, my life here in "freedom" differs very little from the one I was leading in concentration camps and prisons, it might even be considered harder to bear.

For example, I was forced to live inside zones in the different places of incarceration, and similarly I am forced to live inside a zone consisting of the village of Pustimty in "freedom"; when incarcerated, I was not allowed to remain outside my barrack from 10:00 p.m. to 6:00 a.m., and similarly here I am not allowed to remain outside my quarters from 7:00 p.m. to 7:00 a.m. — there during eight hours and here during twelve hours out of every twenty-four, namely here, in "freedom" my house arrest was increased by four hours; in concentration camps, the camp officials have the right anytime to enter and search the barracks, and here the militia has the same right as far as my living quarters are concerned; in concentration camps I was deprived of the right to work in my profession, I am also deprived of that right here in "freedom"; during incarceration, my correspondence was censored by the authorities, and here it is being censored by the KGB. In concentration camps or prisons, the authorities always informed me about a letter that was confiscated, here in "freedom" my letters simply get "lost"; in concentration camp I was allowed to see my family when they came to visit me, here in "freedom" I am also allowed to see my family only when they come to visit me — I am not allowed to visit them. There are many more parallels that could be pointed out, however, I believe that the ones mentioned above clearly indicate the circumstances of life created for me and for others like me here in "freedom".

My life in my own country became unbearable, but I did not consider the question of emigration from the U.S.S.R. immediately upon my release from imprisonment. For me, my homeland was dearer than anything and I believed that I would have a chance to acquire a right to life in freedom. Therefore, about two months after the establishment of administrative surveillance over me, namely March 7, 1976, I transmitted a lengthy statement to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union asking it to direct the appropriate authorities to lift from me the illegally established administrative surveillance, because in the event that such administrative surveillance were not lifted or revoked, I would be forced to consider emigrating to one of the countries in the West, since I would be deprived of life in freedom in my own homeland.

On July 3, 1976, Assistant to the Chief of Oblast Administration of Interior Affairs Rehurskyj arrived in Pustomyty and answered my statement to the Politburo. He said that the administrative surveillance over me was established lawfully and added that, if I continued to write similar statements, I would end up back in the place from where I came, namely concentration camp.

Thereafter, I decided to use all my resources to emigrate from the Soviet Union, since it became clear that I would not be allowed to live freely in my own country.

I started to ask different persons in the Soviet Union as well as in the West to aid me in my quest.

The authorities found out about my inquiries and gave me to understand that they were against my leaving the Soviet Union, as evidenced by the following instances.

For example, during the above mentioned search of my living quarters, which took place on December 13, 1977, Captain Shumeyko stated, "See, he (namely I) is trying to get to the West, regardless of the cost, in order to reach the easy life". This is how my hopelessness is being explained, the hopelessness that is forcing me to leave my enslaved and unfortunate homeland, because Shumeyko and his "brothers" Polishchuk, Poluden, Horbulko, Rudenko and others deprived me of my inherent rights and freedom in my own country.

On January 30, 1978, I was called in to see Captain Polishchuk, who informed me that two Austrian citizens appealed to the government of the Soviet Union to allow me to leave the U.S.S.R. He asked me whether I knew them and whether I asked them for their intervention on my behalf. He suggested that I write a statement to the effect that I did not know them and did not ask them for anything. I declined to write such a statement.

In practice, it is almost impossible for dissidents to emigrate from the U.S.S.R.

After two years, I received a request-invitation from the West through unofficial channels, to emigrate.

The authorities will not even transmit these kinds of invitations to us, but confiscate them on the spot.

Here it should be noted that, as soon as the authorities found out about my being in possession of a request-invitation and that I was making arrangements for the preparation of documents for emigration from the U.S.S.R., I was called in on November 16, 1978 to see Lviv Oblast Assistant Prosecutor Rudenko (with whom I had dealings on September 23, 1977, mentioned above). Two KGB representatives, Major Ruzhynskij and Captain Cherniak were also present. The conversation started with a comment by Assistant Prosecutor Rudenko to the effect that I was looking for a second homeland. Then the conversation continued about my four letters, which were taken by force from recipient Oksana Meshko during a search of her quarters by representatives of Kyiv KGB in April of 1978. During their searches, the KGB representatives believe everything they find to be anti-Soviet. For example, during a search of my residence on December 24, 1976, the KGB confiscated a photograph of six year old Yarema (son of Nadia Svitlychna) with his godfather Opanas Zalyvakha — a painter and former political prisoner.

So, my four letters to Oksana Meshko were conveniently remembered at the time when I was attempting to obtain a permit to leave the U.S.S.R., in order to blackmail and frighten me. It is possible that I might have changed my mind about emigration if only the authorities would have lifted the administrative surveillance over me and allowed me to live freely with all the rights and freedoms of a full-fledged citizen. But not so. They have only one method — power, blackmail, terror. Assistant Prosecutor Rudenko then picked up a copy of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R. and advised me that my letters constituted a violation of Article 62 of the Code, namely anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, that in the event I did not cease such correspondence, I would have only prison to look forward to, and in the event I did not change my views and beliefs and become a Soviet person, I would remain under administrative surveillance for the rest of my days. Further, with a raised voice, he proclaimed that persons such as I constituted only a miserly group which could be mercilessly crushed at his whim. At the conclusion, he advised me to think carefully about my fate and use my brains.

As can be clearly seen, everything is decided from the position of power, not according to law.

However, a completely contrary attitude of the authorities is found in connection with emigration from the U.S.S.R. of persons of Russian nationality, particularly Moscovites. Almost all Russians who request such are given permits to leave the Soviet Union, pursuant to invitations from the West. In addition, there were many instances when the authorities suggested, proposed or even demanded that a Russian leave the Soviet Union. Some of these Russians were my acquaintances, therefore my information is accurate. I do not envy them, I am glad that they have had the opportunity to pursue better lives in the West.

However, we Ukrainians do not have any choices. We are forced to live either outside of the protection of the law, namely under illegal administrative surveillance, or in concentration camps or prisons.

Therefore, I have no faith in my being allowed to emigrate from the Soviet Union, because I realize that Soviet authorities still consider me gravely dangerous and would do anything to allow me to emigrate to Siberia, Mordovia or the Volodymyr prison, in lieu of the West. I have already heard many innuendoes to that effect.

It would certainly take minimal effort on their part to fabricate a violation of anti-Soviet agitation or propaganda or slander provisions in connection with me — just a few false documents.

If they want to make a greater effort, they can also, through provocation, fabricate the crime of hooliganism, assault, attempted rape, possession of firearms, possession of foreign currency or other compromising materials, and in this manner “prove” me a “criminal”.

I proclaim herein that my aims were not and are not violent opposition to Soviet authority, regardless of the fact that I dislike it and do not agree with its policy. I only, through lawful means, request the return to me of the rights and freedoms, which are my due in accordance with the law and of which I was groundlessly and illegally deprived.

During my entire life I have not committed any crime, and have not violated any laws presently. My participation and membership in the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and the authorship of the Declaration of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group I do not consider as crimes against Soviet authorities. Through these actions, I am only attempting to exercise my rightful social and political rights and freedoms in accordance with domestic and international laws, of which I am in reality deprived.

Through my conduct and actions I will not commit any crime in the future.

Any anti-Soviet acts were, are and will be against my nature and beliefs.

Therefore, in the event that the KGB, the militia or prosecuting authorities were to accuse me of any crime or violation of proper conduct, then such an accusation would only be the result of deliberate fabrication or provocation on the part of the KGB against me, constituting their revenge upon me for not submitting, for remaining a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, and for my adherence to my views and beliefs.

Knowing the nature of the KGB, I expect their revenge to take the form of strengthening of the administrative surveillance over me, blackmail, discrimination, cruel treatment, fabrication of materials with the aim of compromising me (such as took place in 1977), inclusive of physical abuse and torture with the help of various KGB undercover agents.

I admit that even during my youth I was critical of Soviet authorities and their Marxist-Leninist ideology. For this reason I never truly considered myself a Soviet person. After my and others' arrests and so-called “trial”, I came to consider Soviet authority and its Marxist-Leninist ideology not only foreign but hostile.

To date, I consider myself formally a citizen of the Soviet Union, but in reality I never felt like one. I always considered and presently consider myself a citizen of Ukraine, not the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Therefore, the Soviet government is alien to me and it considers me a

hostile alien also. In such circumstances, I consider it imperative to emigrate from the U.S.S.R and establish permanent residence in the United States, pursuant to the request-invitation of my first cousin Maria Zarytska, residing at 26019 Canindham Street, Warren, Michigan, 48091, United States of America.

In the event I will not be allowed to realize my desire to emigrate, I will have no choice but to attempt the final act — starvation until death. I would rather die than continue living until the end of my days under total persecution, discrimination, cruel treatment, insult to my human dignity, and ideological and political terror, all resulting from absolute lawlessness and arbitrariness.

January, 1979.

(signed) *Kandyba*

(Translated from Ukrainian
by *Zena Matla-Rychtycka*)

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Volodymyr T. Zyla

DON JUAN THROUGH UKRAINIAN EYES

The theme of Don Juan has been treated by poets and writers all over the world. In this short criticism Volodymyr T. Zyla of Texas Tech University examines how one of Ukraine's most respected poets, Lesia Ukrainka, approached the theme which has captured so many people's imaginations.

When Lesia Ukrainka decided to take up the Don Juan theme near the beginning of this century, she faced a problem that any writer must face when dealing with a mythical or traditional subject: how does one rewrite what is already well known? This problem or question involves a number of others. What characters are absolutely essential to the tradition? What features of these characters must remain unchanged? What elements of the plot are necessary? Can the setting (either the place or time) be changed? What are the cultural and time barriers that must be accounted for when the older tradition from an entirely different culture is transplanted? These and other questions can constitute very real problems for any writer who attempts to revive a mythical or traditional legend.

But Lesia Ukrainka was not unaccustomed to confronting such problems, for she had dealt with legends involving both the Christian and Greek traditions (the dramatic poem *Cassandra* is a good example). And by the time she turned to the Don Juan theme, she was quite expert in re-creation and creation. The following observations are aimed toward pointing out what traditions from the legend she decided to re-create in her version, and what new creations, or, said another way, what new twists she added to the familiar story.¹

1) Some recent studies that have dealt with Lesia Ukrainka's *Kamenny hospodar* are Volodymyr T. Zyla, "A Ukrainian Version of Don Juan", *The South Central Bulletin*, 30 (Winter 1970), 238-39; Jurij Bojko-Blochyn, "Lesia Ukrainka's 'Der steinerne Herr' (Kamenny hospodar)". *Gegen Den Strom* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag, 1979), pp. 281-314; Robert Karpiak, "Lesia Ukrainka's 'The Stone Host' and 'The Don Juan Myth'." *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, 22, No. 1 (March 1980), 249-61; Marija Ovcharenko, "Dva Don Zhuany — dvi ideje: 'Kamenny hospodar' L. Ukrainky i 'Kamenny gost', A. Pushkina", *Lesia Ukrainka, 1871-1971: Essays on the Poetess' Works* (Philadelphia: The Permanent Conference of Ukrainian Studies at Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1971-1980), pp. 89-108; Sofija Naumovych, "'Kamenny hospodar' i 'Don Zhuan'." *Lesia Ukrainka, 1871-1971 . . .*, pp. 109-23; and Wendell Aycock, "Lesia Ukrainka and the Don Juan Legend", *Lesia Ukrainka, 1871-1971 . . .*, pp. 124-43 (with accompanying translation by W. T. Zyla).

First, we might observe that she decided to retain much of the traditional material insofar as plot is concerned. The traditional plot involves a Spanish nobleman, a libertine, who sets aside both legal and moral boundaries in order to engage, or trick, a young lady or ladies, into a shameful affair that brings dishonour to her and her family. Because of this dishonour, the Commander, a male family member (traditionally her father, but Pushkin changed him into her husband), must avenge the disgrace. He is killed by Don Juan, who continues his escapades until the ghost of the Commander visits him, invites him to his house for dinner and there kills him. Various authors changed particular parts of this plot in various ways, but generally most of the plays prior to Lesia Ukrainka's version followed the plot in its basic outline. There were, however, exceptions, authors who recreated Don Juan without having really used this basic plot. Perhaps Byron's *Don Juan* was the most famous example of such a practice by the time Ukrainka began her version of the Don Juan story. Byron's rambling and delightful work deals with almost everything except the traditional plot of Don Juan, as anyone who has read the poem can attest. Leo Weinstein, in his *The Metamorphoses of Don Juan*, says that "Byron opened the way to what amounts to License. Henceforth Don Juan becomes a name that an author may freely bestow on any hero, just so long as he has some adventure with women — and even this will not always be necessary".²

George Bernard Shaw, also eschewed the traditional plot, but I doubt that Ukrainka knew Shaw's work (since it was published in 1903, whereas Ukrainka's was published in 1912). There are other examples of such Don Juans, but I will refer to only one more. Ronald Duncan, in 1954, wrote a play called *The Death of Satan*.³ It is interesting only in that it reflects the changing attitudes that the modern world has toward man-woman relationships. In it, Don Juan, a resident of hell, is sent by Satan to earth to practice once again his talent of seduction. To his surprise, however, he finds that neither wives nor husbands are concerned about safeguarding what had been in Don Juan's day "woman's virtue". Such is the nature of the world nowadays, Duncan seems to say, and he uses the traditional Don Juan as a means of indicating the change.

But Lesia Ukrainka did not choose to deviate so drastically in her version, and the point I wish to make insofar as the basic plot of the legend is concerned is that she followed the traditional story line and attempted to give her Ukrainian reading public a version that was not unlike those already written in Spanish, French, Italian, English and Russian. She did, in effect, create the Ukrainian version of Don Juan and she did so by re-creating the general plot of the legend. For a time it was believed that she depended heavily upon Pushkin's *Kamennyj gost'*, but both external and internal evidence about the

2) Leo Weinstein, *The Metamorphoses of Don Juan* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1959), pp. 80-82.

3) Oscar Mandel, ed., *The Theatre of Don Juan: A Collection of Plays and Views, 1630-1963* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1963), p. 726, gives the date of 1954. The play is reprinted in *Satan, Socialities, and Solly Gold: Three New Plays from England* (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1961), pp. 9-110.

play indicate otherwise.⁴ For instance, she apparently knew of Moliere's *Dom Juan*, for she does not follow Pushkin (or in this matter the famous Mozart) in naming Don Juan's servant Leporello; instead she uses the name Sganarel, a name that was made famous in Moliere's work. In short, her work does not reveal a heavy debt to any single version of the legend.

Since she does re-create the general plot of the legend, it is not surprising that Lesia Ukrainka also sets the action in the traditional time period and general place of the legend. She does not actually specify the date, but, because of our knowledge of the tradition, we can determine that the action took place during the late medieval or early Renaissance period. And the original setting was Seville (Tirso's version involved Naples for the first two scenes, then moved to a beach in Spain, and then to Seville), though that was changed as early as 1665, by Moliere, to Sicily, then moved by various writers to selected sites, almost always in Spain or Italy (Mozart's *Don Giovanni* takes place simply in a Spanish city; Grabbe's *Don Juan and Faust* occurs in Rome; Zorrilla's in Seville; and Pushkin's in Madrid). Because Lesia Ukrainka's work is set in both Seville and Madrid, she is recreating or following the legend. But, at the same time, she adds a touch of creativity by her use of these settings. The first two acts are set in Seville, and the tone is light and gay. They take place in a cemetery and at a masquerade. The description of the cemetery involves "white headstones" and "many brilliant tropical flowers".⁵ The masquerade, of course, is gay; it is a party. This direct contrast — and apparently was meant to be in direct contrast — to setting, divided by Act III (set in a cave on the seashore near Cadiz), is in the setting in Acts IV and V, cold, somber Madrid. The cemetery there, according to the stage directions, contains monuments that are "mostly made from dark stone in a heavy style"; it lacks flowers, and the day is cold and dry (p. 126). Instead of the gay masquerade, the Madrid scenes involve the dinner in which Don Juan meets his fate when he confronts the Commander's ghost. Lesia Ukrainka's creation, then, insofar as setting is concerned, reflects a fundamental bifurcation inherent in life itself — gaiety, happiness, youth, hope in contrast to somber pessimism, death and despair.

Another traditional feature of the legend that Lesia Ukrainka uses in her play is the dinner invitation. This invitation is basic to the legend, for, according to Oscar Mandel, Tirso's play — the first identifiable work involving Don Juan — was a blend of two tales. He says: "The first is that of a perfectly accidental injury done to the dead (a skull kicked by an unwary pedestrian) which the spirit savagely avenges by killing the offender; the second deals with a conscious and consciously sarcastic invitation to a dead

4) Je. Nenadkevyc said that she only had available Pushkin's version when she wrote *Kaminnyj hospodar* (cited by Zyla, p. 237), but Robert Karpiak has pointed out (p. 251) that she was "well aware of the literary history of Don Juan" and that she owned the two-volume edition of Gendarme de Bevette's *La Legende de Don Juan*, published in 1911.

5) Lesia Ukrainka, "The Stone Host", *Lesia Ukrainka*, trans. Vera Rich, intro. Constantine Bida (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1968), p. 87. Further references to "The Stone Host" are from this edition and are cited parenthetically in the text.

man to a supper, again avenged by the spirit but this time at a fatal meal offered in return".⁶ But, perhaps because Tirso knew he could depend upon his audience's knowledge of the older story, he did not explain why Catalinon, Don Juan's servant, decided to invite a stone statue to eat dinner at Don Juan's home. In other words, what was his motive for inviting a statue to eat? Why not invite him to drink, or fight, or engage in some other activity? Other writers who took up the legend either continued the invitation, more or less as it was originally issued, or simply dropped. At first in fact it was a double invitation. The statue visits Don Juan, and then Don Juan is invited to sup with him. When Don Juan visits him, he is dragged to hell. Moliere continued with the double invitation. Mozart's version omits the second invitation, but his Don Juan still invites the statue to dinner. Pushkin leaves out the dinner invitation entirely; his hero simply invites the statue to witness his former wife's seduction (a reasonable solution, but not a part of the tradition). Zorrilla revives both the dinner invitation and the return invitation. But Lesia Ukrainka re-creates the invitation and adds a new twist. She provides a reason for inviting a statue to dinner. When, in Act V, Don Juan encounters Donna on her visit to her husband's grave in the Madrid cemetery she invites Don Juan to dinner at her home on the next evening. She says that she will also entertain other guests. All of the action of this scene takes place before the statue of the Commander. After Donna Anna leaves, Sganarel, aware of the statue's presence, observes that Don Juan may be eating from the statue's own dish. Like the Spanish gracioso or archetypical servant in literature, Sganarel is both superstitious and afraid. When Don Juan chides him for his fear, Sganarel says:

Nevertheless you won't invite him to
Tomorrow's supper.

Don Juan replies: For they don't invite
The host himself.

Sganarel says: At least they should inform him.

Don Juan, rising to the challenge, tells Sganarel to inform the statue of the dinner. The nervous Sganarel gives a formal statement about the event to the statue. Thus Lesia Ukrainka contributes a new creation to the legend — a logical dramatic motivation for inviting the statue to dinner.

The statue, or Commander, as was indicated earlier by the quotation from Oscar Mandel, is one of the oldest features of legend. And Lesia Ukrainka re-creates the Commander and creates a new feature in him. In the older versions of the legend (ie., the works of Tirso, Moliere, Mozart, and even in Zorrilla's work), the Commander is the father of the heroine. But Lesia Ukrainka, like Pushkin, makes him the husband of Donna Anna. In both versions, the statute therefore has an additional motive for killing Don Juan. Not only does he seek revenge for his murder, but he also wants to interrupt the blossoming affair between Don Juan and his widow. But Lesia Ukrainka's Commander has even another motive for getting revenge. The Don Juan of the Ukrainian version is attempting to install himself into the position that

⁶ Mandel, p. 7.

the Commander formerly occupied. Therefore the Commander in Lesia Ukrainka's play has the same motives for revenge that the Ghost in Shakespeare's *Hamlet* had. When that Ghost asks Hamlet to take revenge, he specifies quite clearly what he has lost; he says: "Thus was I, sleeping, by a brother's hand / Of life, of crown, of queen, at once dispatch'd (I. v. 74-75). Both the Ghost of *Hamlet* and the Commander seek revenge for the loss of their lives, the loss of their loves, and the loss of their positions. By adding, or creating, this third motivation for revenge, Lesia Ukrainka strengthens the characterization of the Commander. In fact, no other version offers such an extensive depiction of the Commander before his death (in the works of Moliere and Pushkin, he dies even before action of the play begins). Lesia Ukrainka seems to mean to put him in direct opposition to Don Juan, for he is quite rigid in his concern for duty, whereas Don Juan flaunts his unconcern for responsibility.

Lesia Ukrainka also enlarges upon the Don Juan legend's traditional imagery involving stone and the motif of disguise. Stone imagery is usually associated with the statue itself, and the most familiar image is that of the handshake that the Commander gives to Don Juan; once Don Juan is in his grip, he cannot escape and is dragged to hell. The stone imagery of Tirso's original work helps to emphasize the basic point of the play: that the day of our reckoning is inevitable. In the Ukrainian version of the legend, the poetess enlarges upon the fateful nature of stone and makes the stone imagery an important feature of the play. Constantine Bida tells us that, when Lesia Ukrainka was polishing the work, she took care in "endowing it with certain 'stony features'" (p. 82). The image is early associated with the Commander. In Act One, Donna Anna speaks of her dream of being a princess atop an impregnable stone mountain. She associates the mountain with the Commander, her protector. She calls him a mountain two more times within this act and again at the beginning of Act II. And the Commander himself is truly rigid insofar as his attitudes toward society and his duties are concerned. In insisting on the Commander's nature, Ukrainka follows Tirso's treatment of the legend. Tirso, in fact, brought the stone statue of the ballad to life before having him killed (only to return again), and Ukrainka, by emphasizing his stony nature, suggests something of the ballad origin.⁷ But stone imagery is not limited to the Commander alone (as it usually is in other plays). Donna Anna's servant, in comparing Seville with Madrid, maintains that the very air in Madrid is stony (p. 122). There are certainly other examples of stone imagery in the play and Lesia Ukrainka may be credited with having re-created and further enhanced the use of this imagery from the legend.⁸

7) Tirso's sources for his play are talked about in various works, but Raymond R. MacCurdy gives a succinct and sane account in his introduction to his paperback edition of the Spanish text (*Tirso de Molina: "El burlador de Sevilla y convidado de piedra" and "La prudencia en la mujer"* intro. Raymond R. MacCurdy [New York: Dell, 1965]). See especially his comments about the ballad *el convidado de piedra*, pp. 15-16.

8) For further discussion of the stone imagery, see my "Lesia Ukrainka and the Don Juan Legend", pp. 134-35.

The motif of disguise has also important to the legend. The first Don Juan drama, Tirso's *El Burlador de Sevilla*, begins with Don Juan accomplishing a seduction while pretending to be someone else. He does the same thing later in the play. And Pushkin's hero disguises himself as a monk and a nobleman (Don Diego). One of Don Juan's his tricks throughout the legend thus involved involving the using of disguises. Lesia Ukrainka's Don Juan might be said to disguise himself twice in her play: once at the masquerade and later when he attempts to be someone that he is not, the Commander. Dolores also makes use of a disguise in the play; she pretends to be a monk.

But Lesia Ukrainka does more than simply re-create the motif of disguise. She goes beyond the use of physical disguises and explores the tendency of humans to try to mask their moral or inner selves, or to try to change or avoid what they really are. Don Juan, for instance, does not want to accept responsibility or duty (as is indicated by his responses to Donna Anna in Act II), yet he is willing to accept the position, not rightfully his, that the Commander had occupied. He sits at the Commander's place at the table, drinks from the Commander's goblet, and wears the Commander's coat. When he looks at himself in the mirror, however he is shocked to see the Commander who then comes out to take revenge. And the motif of disguise, in this larger sense, may also be applied to the women of the play, who have some difficulty with self-identity.

And it is perhaps in this matter, the roles of women in the play, that Lesia Ukrainka makes her greatest contribution to the legend. Women dominate this play. As Constantine Bida has pointed out, Don Juan is no longer the "chief figure of the drama" (p. 80). He is still the rake and lover of the tradition. That fact is made apparent in Act I when Dolores describes the women that he has ruined. And he is capable of tempting women into love, as is made apparent by the love of Dolores and Donna Anna. The fact that he is powerful is indicated by the poetess' own description of him as "the knight of the will" (p. 82). But he is not the overpowering hero that he is in most of the other versions, and the reason is simple: he has confronted some extremely sophisticated and complex women. The situation is much the same as what occurs in "The Wife of Bath's Tale", in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. There the knight commits an indiscretion at the beginning of the tale, and from that point forward, all of the action is controlled by women. Throughout most of Lesia Ukrainka's play, the action is controlled by women: Don Juan does not himself cause much action. He fails to win Donna Anna in Act II because he will not give up the ring that Dolores has given him; Donna Anna chooses to marry the more upright Commander. In Act III, Dolores is in control. She sacrifices herself to gain him amnesty. Act III is really devoted to her, not Don Juan. Don Juan makes his comeback in Act IV. He intrudes in Donna Anna's life again and kills her husband; he seems to regain control of the action, but only temporarily, for the remainder of the play is dominated by Donna Anna. From her setting up of the dinner to her insistence that Don Juan wear her husband's coat, she

is in control. The effect, however, is not so much a matter of weakening Don Juan's character or nature as it is of indicating the power of Donna Anna.

The two women in the play are certainly new creations. Although Donna Anna appears in many of the previous versions, she is changed so drastically in *Kaminnyj Hospodar* that she might be regarded as being an essentially new character. Dolores, of course had not appeared in any other version.

The name Dolores (in Spanish the word means sorrow) perfectly suits the character, for she does suffer much sorrow in the course of the dream. But her originality lies not only in her name (although no one had used the name Dolores before, Don Juan had certainly left a trail of sorrowful women), but also in her character. She is truly unselfish. Her love is pure. Even though she has the opportunity, finally, to commit an indiscretion with Don Juan, she does not do so. She, in fact, sacrifices herself so that Don Juan may have his freedom, and she asks for no favour in return. This spirit of martyrdom is not really apparent in most of the female protagonists of the Don Juan legend. MacCurdy observes about Tirso's heroines: "Don Juan's women victims are partially responsible for their fate because of their own moral flaws" (p. 20). The same observation might be made about other versions of the legend. Thus Dolores, because of her purity, her lack of moral imperfections, is a new addition to the legend.

Donna Anna is a contrast to Dolores in that she does, as MacCurdy says, help to bring about her downfall. Lesia Ukrainka describes her as "spiritually divided, proud, and egotistical" (p. 82). And Donna Anna's division is indicated in her relationships with Don Gonzago, the Commander, and Don Juan. Don Gonzago represents the stern, demanding, but honourable way of life. Donna Anna's marriage to him gives her honour in society, but this honour is rigid, confining, and oppressive to her. Her attraction to Don Juan also has its drawback. He is dashing, gay, and free, but his freedom does not carry the weight of what is socially acceptable; she cannot have freedom with him and also have honour. During Act II, she rejects him because she recognizes that he would destroy her honour. Later in the play she must again choose.

Her dilemma stems from the fact that she finds her choices equally appealing and unappealing. If she chooses Don Juan, she will, she thinks, be free and loved, but will also be an outcast. If she chooses Don Gonzago (or continues to reject Juan), she will be an honoured figure of nobility, but her life will be determined by her duties. She has a choice, but her choice, whichever man she chooses, will not lead to happiness. Her tragedy is that she cannot fuse the two states. The very fact that she does, however, manage to elicit an amazing control over both men suggests her will power. She differs from the previous heroines of the legend in that she is not really a victim of Don Juan so much as a victim of fate.

What, then, did Lesia Ukrainka re-create, and what did she create? She re-created the traditional plot of the Don Juan legend, but she did so with her own interesting variations and thus created the first Ukrainian

version of Don Juan. She re-created the traditional setting, yet, by using settings of both Seville and Madrid, she created a bi-parted setting that matches both the gaiety and sadness of life itself and also the divided nature of her heroine, Donna Anna. She re-created the traditional dinner invitation, yet she created a logical reason for inviting a stone statue to eat. She re-created the Commander himself, yet, by making him Donna Anna's husband rather than father and by presenting a Don Juan who threatens to take over the position of the Commander, she creates new motivations for his actions. She re-creates the traditional stone imagery and the motif of disguise, yet, by enlarging upon and developing further both of these elements, she creates new dimensions for both. And finally, she re-creates the heroines of the legends, but she creates heroines who are themselves powerful characters, not creatures that Don Juan can use and then discard. The process of re-creating any work creatively is not an easy one; it requires a special talent, one which Lesia Ukrainka clearly manifested in her Ukrainian version of the Don Juan legend.

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FOURTEENTH WACL CONFERENCE

The 14th Conference of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), the 27th Conference of the Asian People's Anti-Communist League (APACL) and the 3rd Conference of the Asian Youth Anti-Communist League ((AYACL) jointly took place in Taipei, Republic of China, on August 3-7, 1981. The delegates and observers from 105 countries and territories throughout the world discussed ways and means to promote justice and to attain the final victory of freedom over Communism in the decade of 1980s.

A thorough examination of the current international situation was made. The participants agreed that President Ronald Regan's staunch stand against Communism and Soviet Russia serves to cement free nations toward greater unity and cooperation against Communist aggression.

The participants unanimously express their firm support to the Polish workers' struggle for freedom, and to the subjugated peoples of Ukraine, Lithuania, Georgia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Croatia and others in their struggle for national independence. The North Atlantic Treaty must be revised and strengthened to be able to ward off various forms of offensives, including possible military invasion of the Eastern European countries by Soviet Russia.

The participants strongly support the heroic fighting by the Afghans against the Soviet Russian aggressors. They also appeal to all the Middle East nations to overcome religious and racial differences to achieve unity against Communist aggression in this strategically important area.

The participants urge the free nations not to harbour any illusion of lucrative markets in trading with Communist countries, but, on the other hand, to develop mutual trade and economic cooperation among themselves. Positive steps should be taken to defeat the Communist economic united front offensive so that free world economy may grow more prosperously.

The participants also expressed their hope that the UN Human Rights Commission and the Organization of American States ask the government of Nicaragua to grant a safe conduct pass to Chester Escobar, Chairman of World Youth Anti-Communist League (WYACL), who is presently living in asylum at Guatemalan Embassy in Nicaragua.

All the participants wish to express their profound gratitude to the China Chapter and, in particular, to Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, WACL Honorary Chairman, for the gracious hospitality and the most effective arrangement which made this Conference a great success.

ABN RESOLUTION FOR THE 14TH WACL CONFERENCE

Whereas the policy of "détente" has proven to be an unequivocal failure and significant setback for the Free World, it has not only weakened the resolve of the citizens of free countries to resist Russian aggression, but has also proven to cause division and disharmony among various members of Western-based alliances;

Whereas the concept of "balance of power" is reactionary and therefore can never become a means for achieving a free and just international order, on the contrary, the Russian empire has consistently utilized this concept to buttress and advance its own imperialist interests throughout the world, forcing the West to continuously redefine the existing "spheres of influence" after each new Russian imperio-colonial conquest;

Whereas the policy of "containment" has proven itself to be a complete failure in light of Soviet Russian organized aggression directly or by "proxy" and its efforts to legitimize violence as a means for advancing its imperialistic interests in Central and South America, the Middle East, Africa, South and Southeast Asia;

Whereas the false notion of the Soviet Union being a nationally monolithic state, shared by many strategic thinkers in and out of government in the West, has negated the fundamental importance of the national liberation forces of the subjugated nations within the Soviet Russian empire;

Whereas with virtually no support from the governments of the Free World, the liberation movements in Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia, Armenia, Azerbaidjan, Georgia, Hungary, Poland, North Caucasus, Turkestan, Rumania, Albania, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Serbia, Czechia, Croatia, Slovenia, East Germany, Cuba, Idel-Ural, Vietnam, North Korea, more recently Afghanistan, and other subjugated countries, has demonstrated their commitment to cast off the Russian colonial yoke, these liberation movements should be the cornerstone for a policy of rolling back and ultimately dissolving the last remaining colonial empire in the world into nationally independent and sovereign states. Their struggle represents the missing organic link for the strategic interests of the West;

Whereas Soviet Russia has consistently and unabashedly pursued and is today advancing its colonial ambitions on all continents of the globe, and whereas Russia has skilfully exploited Western fears of nuclear war to blackmail the West into meekly acquiescing to its ever increasing conquests;

The 14th WACL Conference calls upon the United States, its allies and all free nations to reject policies of "détente", "balance of power", "containment" and "appeasement";

Further, WACL Conference extends the following proposals as modest and yet significant measures integrating the national liberation movements into Western and political strategy;

The United States and its allies should engage Soviet Russia in the struggle of ideas and ideologies by calling for the recognition of the liberation move-

ments of the subjugated nations as the legitimate representatives of these countries at all international forums, including the United Nations;

The Free World should provide access for representatives of national liberation movements to the various forms of mass media to facilitate ability to communicate with their countrymen behind the Iron Curtain on a mass scale. Such a communication center would serve to enable the national liberation ideal to permeate through all levels of the social strata of the subjugated nations;

Assistance should also be provided in the form of military training, transport and arms, as well as other political, material and technical means of support for the national-liberation forces in Afghanistan, Angola, Cuba and extended to all legitimate representatives of revolutionary national liberation movements in the USSR and satellite countries;

National liberation movements of the subjugated nations should be allowed access to the necessary technological means for waging a revolutionary liberation struggle;

We believe in the universal principles that every nation and every individual seeks freedom, justice and national independence. Therefore, the subjugated nations within the Soviet Russian empire represent a vast untapped force, which in a common front with the nations of the Free World provides the strategic *raison d'être* for defeating the last remaining colonial empire, thereby ridding the world of this threat to national independence, freedom, culture and human survival.

RESOLUTION PASSED IN DEFENCE OF THE CATACOMBIC CHURCHES

Whereas, the Russian occupational-colonial regime, in the footsteps of Russian tsarism, continues to persecute the Catacombic Ukrainian Church, its faithful and priests, even murdering them.

Whereas, the Russian Orthodox Church of "patriarch" Pimen, which serves the atheistic communist regime, is in fact, only a bulwark of Russian imperialism, by furthering and buttressing the oppression of the Catacombic Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, after the forceful incorporation of both Ukrainian Churches within the official Russian Orthodox Church, and

Whereas, the Vatican is leading an ecumenical dialogue with the Church of Pimen which only serves the communist regime and Russian imperialist aims and is also demanding the recognition on the part of the Vatican and the World Council of Churches of the forceful incorporation into the Russian Orthodox Church of the Catacombic Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, therefore:

The XIV WACL Conference condemns the brutal persecution of religion by the atheistic Russian communist regime, in particular of the Catacombic Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church;

the XIV WACL Conference also condemns the Russian policy of murdering the faithful and Ukrainian priests, as well as the solidarity of the official Russian Church of "patriarch" Pimen with the atheistic regime and its active cooperation with the Russian imperialist regime in the continued persecution of both Ukrainian Churches;

the XIV WACL Conference supports an ecumenical dialogue with the Catacombic Churches, with those who are persecuted for their faith in God, and appeals to the Vatican and to the World Council of Churches to terminate any dialogue with the official Russian imperialist church of "patriarch" Pimen and with those religious denominations which only serve the atheistic communist regime and/or collaborate with it;

the XIV WACL Conference fully supports the Catacombic Ukrainian Catholic Church and its Patriarch — a martyr of Russian prisons and concentration camps for over 18 years — His Beatitude Cardinal Josyph Slipyj, and also calls for an initiation of an ecumenical dialogue with the Ukrainian Orthodox Church through the Catacombic Ukrainian Catholic Church and its *Patriarch* Cardinal Slipyj, as well as with all Christian denominations within the Russian-Bolshevik empire, who are pursuing an active struggle against Communist atheism and national subjugation;

the XIV WACL Conference with profound respect extends its greetings to His Beatitude Patriarch Cardinal Josyph Slipyj, a great martyr of God's faith, and supports his concept of ecumenism with the Catacombic Churches, with the heroic Christianity of their martyrs;

the XIV Conference with profound respect extends its greetings to the Holy Father, Pope John Paul II in his noble attempt to give support to the Catacombic Churches, regardless of the difficulties to be overcome on this honourable path;

the XIV WACL Conference support the national-liberation struggle of the Ukrainian nation for the reestablishment of an Independent and Sovereign Ukrainian State through the dissolution of the Russian empire, into national independent democratic states, which will then create the only possible pre-conditions for a free development of the religious denominations of all presently subjugated nations and for a just ecumenical dialogue with free Churches.

RESOLUTION ON NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE FOR UKRAINE

WHEREAS, the national-liberation revolutionary struggle of Ukraine, in a common front with other subjugated nations in the Russian colonial empire — the USSR and the satellite countries, is constantly growing, notwithstanding the brutal policies of genocide, economic exploitation and Russification; and

WHEREAS, the Communist system of ideas and way of life have proven to be completely bankrupt, as it is made evident by the liberation processes in

the subjugated nations such as Ukraine, Poland, Afghanistan, Lithuania, Georgia, Hungary, Byelorussia, and others; and

WHEREAS, the insatiable Russian imperio-colonialism is creating for itself ever more enemies by their relentless quest for territorial expansion and overt or covert aggression; and

WHEREAS, the irreconcilable contradictions within the USSR are becoming ever more acute, also because the population of the subjugated nations has become a majority and is increasing in proportion to the Russian population; and

WHEREAS, the 1980's will be decisive in the struggle of the Free World over the world of tyranny, resulting in the final dissolution of the Russian empire and its Communist system; and

WHEREAS, the slogan of the XIV WACL Conference — "Victory over communism" — reflects the real possibilities for achieving this victory, therefore the XIV WACL Conference RESOLVES:

1) to reaffirm its full support of the heroic national-liberation struggle of Ukraine and other subjugated nations for national independence and sovereignty within their ethnographic boundaries, as the only possible alternative to a thermo-nuclear war;

2) to call upon the Free World to proclaim a GREAT CHARTER OF INDEPENDENCE for the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism;

3) to call upon the nations of the Free World to create a world-wide network of centres of political and psychological warfare against the Russian empire and to form a "Department of Insurgent Warfare" within NATO;

4) to call upon all non-communist U.N. member states to grant the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) legal status in the United Nations — for which a precedence exists;

5) to call upon all nations of the West to declare the so-called Helsinki Accords null and void, since they affirm the territorial indivisibility of the Russian empire and the inviolability of its boundaries;

6) to call upon the Western powers to grant political asylum to defectors and prisoners of war from the Soviet army in Afghanistan as one of the means of political warfare against Moscow;

7) to condemn the imperio-colonial policy of forced Russification, national oppression, ethno-lingual-genocide, and exploitation of the human technological and mineral resources of Ukraine and the other subjugated nations;

8) to condemn the Russian imperio-colonial policy of incarcerating fighters for national and human rights and *appeals* to the governments of the Free World to exert a constant and concerted pressure upon the Russian imperialist regime, calling for the liquidation of concentration camps, political prisons and *psychiatric asylums*, for the release of the members of the organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA)

and all national, political and religious prisoners. Among others: Yuriy Shukhevych, Ivan Hel, Levko Lukianenko, Father Wasyl Romaniuk, Danylo Shumuk, Mykola Matushevych, Myroslav Marynovych, Petro Sichko, Wasyl Sichko, Mykola Rudenko, Oles Berdnyk, Oksana Meshko, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Wasyl Stus, Iwan Kan Kandyba, Zinovij Krasivskyj, Yevhen Sverstiuk, Iwan Svitlychnyj, Oksana Popovych, Oleksander Serhiyenko, Ju. Badzio, Dmytro Verkholyak, Maria Palchak, Wasyl Malozhenskyj, O. Tykhyj, V. Strilciw, I. Sokulskyj, M. Plakhotniuk;

9) to condemn the new Soviet Constitution because it negates all rights of the subjugated nations by reserving all sovereignty to the dominant Russian nation by creating the myth of the so-called "Soviet people". This in effect creates the "Russian super nation" — a racist conception;

10) the XIV WACL Conference supports the resolution submitted by U.S. Congressman William Green on the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives under H. J. Res. 280 designating June 30th, as UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY, as on June 30th, 1941 the Ukrainian nation proclaimed the Reestablishment of an Independent Ukainian State, which subsequently led to a war of liberation on two fronts against Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia. With this Act, another link was added to the ongoing struggle for independence of Ukraine.

ORBITUARY**DR. KONSTANTYN SAWCZUK**

It is with sadness that we learned of the untimely death of Dr. Konstantyn Sawczuk, a regular contributor to *The Ukrainian Review*.

Dr. Sawczuk died suddenly on January 28, aged 49 in the United States.

Dr. Sawczuk was a leading member of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists and was the head of the organisation's centre for the study of Ukrainian revolutionary strategy and modern warfare.

He was born in Ukraine on January 24, 1931. He studied at St. Peter's College — where he eventually became a professor of history and dean of the philosophy faculty in 1973 — and Columbia University.

Dr. Sawczuk, who gained a doctorate in history in 1969, combined a penetrating intellect and a fervent patriotism to inform about and win new friends for Ukraine. He always believed in Ukraine's eventual victory over Soviet-Russian imperialism and dedicated his considerable talents to this goal.

Dr. Sawczuk was a prolific author. He wrote several books and many articles in periodicals on historical, political and strategic matters concerning Ukraine.

His recent contributions to *The Ukrainian Review* include *The United States in world politics: recent past and immediate future* (No. 3, 1979) and *Soviet-Russian strategy in contemporary war* (No. 3, 1978).

Dr. Sawczuk's immensely valuable contribution will be sorely missed by everyone connected with *The Ukrainian Review* and other individuals or organisations who benefitted by his selfless dedication.

We extend our heartfelt sympathies to Dr. Sawczuk's wife, son, relatives and friends.

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Price: £1.50 or \$3.75 a single copy
Annual Subscription: £6.00 or \$15.00

Editorial correspondence should be sent to:

The Editors,
"The Ukrainian Review"
200 Liverpool Road,
London, N1 1LF.

Subscriptions should be sent to:

"The Ukrainian Review" (Administration).
c/o Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Ltd.
49 Linden Gardens,
London, W2 4HG.

Overseas representatives:

USA: Organization for Defence of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc.
P.O. Box 304, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Canada: Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation.
140 Bathurst Street, Toronto, Ont., M5V 2R3.

Printed in Great Britain by the Ukrainian Publishers Limited
200 Liverpool Road, London, N1 1LF Tel.: 01-607-6266/7

THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

Vol. XXIX No. 4

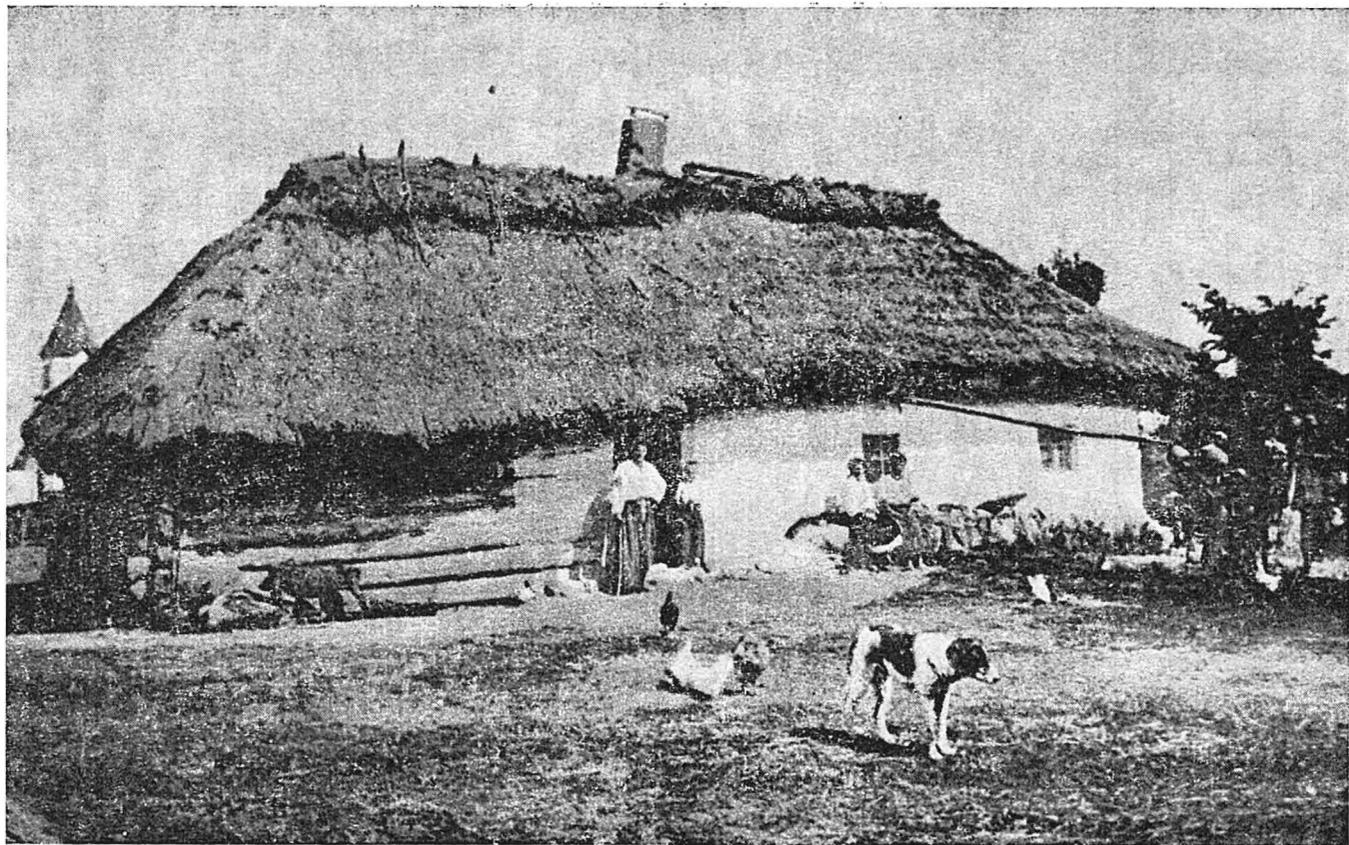
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A Quarterly Magazine

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Published by
The Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain Ltd.
in cooperation with
Organization for Defence of Four Freedoms for Ukraine Inc. (U.S.A.)
and
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A Western Ukrainian Village Scene at the Turn of the Century.

CHORNOVIL ABOUT HUNGER STRIKES

Two remarkable documents written by Ukrainian political prisoner Vyacheslav Chornovil have recently reached the West.

Chornovil, a 43-year-old journalist has spent all but 18 months of the last 15 years in concentration camps or exile because of his exposes on KGB crackdowns on Ukrainian political activists.

He was the winner of the first Sunday Times Nicholas Tomalin award for investigative reporting and the Sunday Times published the first of the two documents which we reprint below.

Chornovil is currently a prisoner at camp Ja D 40/7, Tabaha, Yakutian SSR.

CHORNOVIL — "I ENVY IRA HUNGER STRIKERS"

Hunger strikers, attempted suicides and acts of self-mutilation (most people slash their veins) are wide-spread in both the political and the criminal prison camps of the Soviet Union. However, the conditions in which Soviet prisoners embark on hunger-strikers are a far cry from hunger-strikers' experience in, say, Northern Ireland.

Right at the start of a hunger-strike you will sometimes be thrown into a prison cell with just a bare wooden bunk and no bedding. You do not see a doctor until the second or third week, when you can no longer walk unaided.

But you are not allowed to die: you are force-fed with a stomach tube. If you try to resist, you are bound up, and your clenched teeth are pulled apart with a special apparatus. This painful process, which is repeated from time to time, is not gone through out of exaggerated feelings of philanthropy, in an effort to preserve life — for in Soviet camps and prisons, where the standard of medical care is wretched and the death-rate is high, a human life does not count for very much.

The purpose is purely to prevent you from dying in a demonstration of protest against the tyranny of the authorities or the injustice of your sentence. I shall give an example.

Because I was deprived of all rights to legal defence (in order to shut me up) I was, by order of the KGB, denied access to all materials relating to the clumsily fabricated criminal case that was brought against me: even the text of the sentence. On June 19, 1980, I announced a hunger-strike in protest.

In addition, I wanted to obtain some fresh evidence for a comparison in connection with the misleading exploitation by Soviet propaganda of the fatal hunger-strikes of Irish political prisoners, and, on the other hand, the total silence with regard to what was happening in our own land.

For four days after officially declaring my hunger-strike I was left in the general prison hut. I was not put in isolation, nor did I see a doctor. On the fifth day I was told that I was to be punished by a 10-day confinement in the prison cells because I had refused to work. No mention was made of my hunger-strike.

They took me by force to the isolation wing, stripped me, and threw me into a cell with no heating and nothing but bare boards. The punishment included a statement by the doctor, affirming that I could be confined in the cell. The doctor issued the statement without examining me.

It was not until the thirteenth day of my hunger-strike that I was visited by a hospital orderly, who measured my blood-pressure. "Medical assistance" was limited to the distribution of bedding, which I had been officially entitled to since the beginning of the hunger-strike. A doctor came only twice during my hunger-strike, in order to measure my blood-pressure.

After I had held out in the cold, the stench and the absence of fresh air for the 20 days I had planned, and had broken off the hunger-strike in the face of compulsory feeding, they did not release me from the cell. I was forced to eat the sticky bread and the water-soup prescribed for cell-prisoners. The prison "doctor" had prescribed this "diet", as became clear, with the obvious intention of undermining my health.

With all the tragedy of the Irish hunger-strike prisoners, with all the complexity of and, as it seems, the insoluble position in Ulster, Soviet propaganda (against the British) has no right to make ideological capital out of it.

Under "Socialist democracy", the world's press would have had no chance to report Robert Sands's hunger-strike. He would have had his wrists tied together and would have had a rubber tube put down his throat. And if, despite all this, he should have died, they would have buried him, without a word, like an unknown man, in the ever-frozen earth of Siberia or the foreign soil of Mordvinia or the Urals.

Instead of there being thousands of demonstrators, the funeral rites would have been sadly paid to him by a few prisoners on grave-digging duty, lighting up a cigarette over his grave, marked only by a number.

That is precisely the fate that awaits me and the rest of my comrades in the struggle for the national liberty of the Ukrainian people — and for basic human rights for all the peoples of the Soviet Union.

And that is why I envy Robert Sands, the prisoner of Ulster, who died a martyr's death by hunger-trike.

Vyacheslav CHORNOVIL

**AN APPEAL
TO ALL THE REPRESENTATIVES OF DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES
TO THE MADRID CONFERENCE, 1980**

*Vyacheslav Chornovil, a leading Ukrainian activist, wrote this appeal
whilst imprisoned in the Tabaha concentration camp, Yakutia.*

The ability of the well-regulated Soviet propaganda machine to conceal from the world the truth about the real position of the individual in conditions of so-called realistic socialism is well known. Hence, the Soviet ideologues intended to remould the Madrid Conference into yet another propagandistic rostrum. By speculating on the desires of peoples to live in peace, they intended to confine any attempt at a concrete and thorough review of the implementation of the Helsinki Accord by observations about non-interference in "internal affairs" and later to drown all meaningful discussions in a barrage of statements about disarmament, which absolutely do not hinder their escalation of military might.

One would like to believe that this time the free countries of Europe and North America will not allow themselves to be deceived and will be able to pursue a discussion in principle as to the implementation of all parts of the Final Act, including those obligations dealing with humanitarian matters — the free exchange of ideas, academic and cultural achievements, the freedom of movement and emigration, real guarantees of democratic rights of the citizens of the signatory countries.

Upon an analysis of the situation of human rights, I believe that one cannot disregard the fact that political repressions in the USSR in the period between the Belgrade and Madrid Conferences have worsened in quantitative terms from the preceding period between the Helsinki and Belgrade Conferences. I will not recount lists of repressed Soviet rights activists, since such lists will probably be at your disposal in Madrid. However, I would like to direct your attention not only to the quantitative, but also to the qualitative aspects of the new repressive campaign in the USSR. First of all, the main brunt of the attack was directed against the members of the citizen's groups for the review of the implementation of the Helsinki Accords on the part of the Soviet Union. The most severe repressions were directed against the Ukrainian and Moscow groups. Secondly, the repressive machine of the KGB, in light of the aggravated international situation, has revealed its true face, and has ceased to be concerned with maintaining a pose or with any type of legal decorum. The entire world was outraged by the deportation-without trial of A. R. Sakharov, a laureate of the Nobel Peace Award. The world community, however, is not as well acquainted with yet another "harmless" practice in the repressive arsenal of the KGB — the fabrication of criminal cases against political oppositionists, together with the presentation of false charges in common and ordinary crimes.

In fact, this practice is not new, as it was also used in the past. What is new is that in the repressive atmosphere of the past few months, this practice is being utilized on a mass scale. For example, in 1979-80 almost the entire membership of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and several of its co-workers found themselves in camps and prisons, after being condemned as hooligans, drug addicts, thieves or rapists, who had nothing better to do. The aim of such vile practices is obvious: first, it was necessary to reduce the number of political prisoners in the country; second, to compromise the political oppositionists by pinning on them labels of criminal offence; third, to disperse the political prisoners separately into the numerous criminal camps and prisons of the Soviet Union, so as to hamper their individual-collective resistance.

I can present an example from my own personal experience. I am well-known in the human rights movement in the USSR. For the last 10 years I have been very active in the political opposition. I was sentenced at two completely separate political trials in 1967 and 1973; I have edited an uncensored journal of the rights movement; I am the author of several books which were distributed by the "samvydav" and later printed in the West (the latest was published this year and, together with my membership in the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, was the real reason for my present arrest); I have spent 8 years in prisons and concentration camps and an additional two years in exile. One would think that after all this, it would not be quite that simple to brandish me as a common criminal. Yet in the atmosphere of the total, pre-Olympic and post-Afghanistan purge of Soviet society the improbable became possible. At the beginning of April 1980 the KGB, with the aid of its specially trained agents, sent from Ukraine to Yakutia, where I was serving my term of exile, carried out an unpleasant provocation and incarcerated me for five years in a concentration camp in this same Yakutia, 8,000 kilometers from my Fatherland, accusing me of attempted rape. One need only be peripherally acquainted with my "criminal" case, without any further inquiries or legal preparation, to become convinced of the unceremonial and juridical negligence with which this falsification was perpetrated in the isolation of Yakutia, ignoring the most elementary procedural norms of investigation. The unusual "injured" party became completely confused during her cross-examination, not only by fouling up the circumstances of my "crime", which were contrived during her consultations with the KGB, but also by muddling the details of my own "biography". The "witnesses" to my "crime" were several militiamen, who memorized their testimony from the same torn notes and whose written statements later proved to be identical to a previous inquest, with the same grammatical errors. The chief witness of the prosecution was a captain of the militia — Kowalczuk, who, fulfilling the instructions of the KGB, thought up a number of unbelievable charges against me. Supposedly he heard the "rapist" Chornovil voice the following bizarre threat: "you know that I am an adherent of Sakharov? Therefore, if you scream, I will cripple you!..." (This, you see, is the kind of gang of rapists, thieves and hooligans, that are under Sakharov's leadership). Finally, once it became clear in court that the false testimonies

were coming apart at the seams, the judges themselves began to falsify the evidence presented by the witnesses, even resorting to doctoring the minutes of the hearing. The prosecutors, witnesses and judges need not fear that this atrocity over jurisprudence would be exposed. After all, they all knew very well that my arrest and sentencing, as well as entire series of analogous court cases against other Soviet rights activists, were sanctioned on the highest levels, including the Politburo of the CPSU and its member — the chief of the KGB, Yu. Andropov. They also knew that the documents of my case would be buried behind several locks and that no one, except for some special admissible people, would ever see these documents, so that no extraneous person was able to hear even one word of my trial, which formally was a closed trial (which did not stand in the way of these liars to declare in the records that the case was heard openly . . .)

After I was thrown into a remote sector of the Soviet Union, in a foreign, often hostile environment, they tried at first to murder me, by utilizing the fact that I had announced a hunger strike from the moment of my arrest. The chieftains of this camp, with cannibal-like frankness, told me that upon my death the entire Soviet government will be relieved and they promised to bury me alongside a known religious activist, Shelkhov, who was helped to his grave in this very same camp in 1980. When this attempt to quickly get rid of me failed, I was assigned to very difficult physical labour, despite medical reports attesting to my poor state of health, which also meant that I would soon be liquidated by means of a slow death, in circumstances of near hunger and frost, where the temperature falls to 60 degrees below zero.

I have presented my case not because it is unique, but precisely because it is typical for many other victims of the latest repressive policies of the CPSU.

At one time, due to the efforts of world public opinion, the politically-motivated practice of incarcerating healthy people into closed Soviet psychiatric asylums, psychiatric prisons, was convincingly exposed and condemned. This mass campaign achieved the following result: the sinister practice of transforming dissidents into lunatics was either completely discontinued or, at least, it was considerably diminished and more carefully applied. However, they managed to dig up a vile practice from the Middle Ages: to declare free-thinkers criminal delinquents. And so, the KGB stated its new "word". Now it is up to you people of good will from the entire world to speak up and to have the representatives of democratic countries, gathered in Madrid to review the implementation of the Helsinki Accord, to also speak up. Demand an effective legal system of control by delegated international commissions, whereupon they would at least be able to acquaint themselves with fabricated "criminal" cases (concerning the entire scope of affairs, rather than certain tendentious cases). Organize a planned and continuous campaign in our defence. Reject the deceitful doctrine of Leonid Brezhnev concerning "non-interference in internal affairs", which does not prevent the USSR from such interference, even in military matters, and which is then brought to the forefront, when it becomes necessary to hide from the world such compromising events, as the next stage of escalation of

repressions against any rays of free thought in the society of "socialist realism".

I would like to ask all rights activists, who are members of either the Moscow or Kyiv Helsinki Groups and who come across my appeal, to include to this appeal hopefully a full text of those individuals, who for political reasons were accused of "criminal" acts and who are, therefore, political prisoners.

September 1980, the concentration camp of Tabaha in Yakutia.

Colin MACKAY

KENGIR

And I should have been there too,
I hewing at the Kazakh steppe
With eyes like dead leaves.

Liberty is no place for a poet.
At noonday the fire grows pale
That shone through the savage night
Like a great beacon raging on a mountaintop,

And I deliver my immortal lines
Walking to the footlights, voice a-quiver,
Only to hear the languid audience snigger in my face.

As mine is to be the inevitable lonely death,
Well then! — I would rather charge at it like a hero
Than crawl in rat-like and unnoticed.

I would rather be Gumilev, hated by tyrants,
Than myself, ignored by honest men.
I would rather share my secret dream
With a gun muzzle than with a yawn,

And suffer chains and torment with
A thousand brothers in Kengir
Than feel my soul slowly corrode
Amongst the cigarette smoke and shrewd talk
Of this uncaring land.

**FINAL COMMUNIQUE
OF THE SIXTH SUPREME ASSEMBLY OF THE ORGANIZATION
OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS (OUN)**

The Sixth Supreme Assembly of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (revolutionaries-Banderites) took place in the fall of 1981, with mandated delegates and summoned participants from all the continents of the world taking part in the proceedings, according to the statutes of the OUN Charter. All generations of OUN members were present at the Sixth Supreme Assembly of the OUN, in particular a large contingent of younger cadres, who took an active part in the deliberations and the decision-making processes of the Assembly.

The Supreme Assembly of the OUN is the foundation of the authority and the highest legislative body of the OUN, the purpose of which is to rule on all questions of ideology, program, liberation strategy, foreign and internal policy, to determine the OUN's cultural and academic policies, the educational program for the youth and cadres and to establish the general directives of the revolutionary, national-liberation struggle and the common front of the subjugated nations. The Supreme Assembly of the OUN elects the members of the highest executive organs of the OUN.

The Sixth Supreme Assembly of the OUN reviewed the current political situation in the world, in the Russian empire, particularly in Ukraine; the Assembly thoroughly analyzed the revolutionary situation in Ukraine and the entire Russian imperio-colonial system of subjugation. One of the central issues discussed at the Assembly was the threat of thermo-nuclear war. It was reaffirmed that the only alternative to such a war is the national-liberation revolutions of Ukraine and the other subjugated nations, who are tearing assunder the Russian prison of nations and the Communist-bolshevik system — the source of all global conflicts and the principal threat of thermo-nuclear war.

On the basis of the conclusions reached by the educational and cultural department, the Assembly asserted, that the Ukrainian nation-state at its inception was formed by the indigenous Ukrainian population, thereby disclaiming the so-called "Norman theory", as well as the false theory of "three Russias", concurrently confirming that the genesis of the Ukrainian nation reaches far into antiquity.

Directives dealing with the further development of the revolutionary-liberation struggle of all strata of Ukrainian society on all levels were more precisely defined by counterposing the Russian-bolshevik system of occupation and the Russian way of life with the Ukrainian ideal of life, which can only be realized in an Independent and Sovereign Ukrainian State. The

necessity of maintaining a cohesiveness of purpose in all the forms of opposition and struggle, undertaken by the wider national masses, was stressed.

The Sixth Supreme Assembly also underscored the necessity of the further development and mobilization of cadres for the expansion of the liberation struggle, since the cadres are the organizer and guiding force of the struggle. The Assembly placed emphasis on the need for expanding the military training and militarization of the entire nation. A particularly pressing issue is the need for educating the youth in the spirit of national traditions and of instilling them with a sense of responsibility with regard to their active mobilization in the struggle for Ukrainian Statehood.

The Assembly analyzed the methods of Russification, through which the Russian occupier is trying to destroy all levels of Ukrainian life, from the language of the people, through the content of the nation's culture, to the "kolkhoz" system; the Assembly formulated a strategem for the struggle against Russification by fostering Ukrainian values and ideas. The so-called concept of liberation from under the Russian colonial yoke through evolution was denounced, since it is a concept that is inspired by the enemy and is designed to maintain the empire. To base our liberation actions on the imperialist Constitution of the USSR or on the various understandings reached by the empire would be tantamount to self-deception, because their aim is to maintain and expand the empire.

The Assembly condemned Russia's militant atheism and any ecumenical dialogue with the Russian imperialist Orthodox Church, emphasizing the necessity of ecumenicism with the Ukrainian Catacomb Churches.

The Assembly endorsed the external policy of the OUN and adopted directives for the furthering of OUN's international posture, based on the positions of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN).

The Sixth Supreme Assembly made a thorough analysis of the Ukrainian diaspora, confirming its indivisibility from the Ukrainian nation and formulated a program of action with a view to the consolidation of the diaspora in support of the Ukrainian people in Ukraine and in the entire empire, who are fighting for the reestablishment of an Independent and Sovereign Ukrainian State. Emphasis was also given to the need for continued actions throughout the world in defence of Ukrainian political prisoners, most notably those who engaged in the armed struggle for Ukrainian Statehood.

The Sixth Supreme Assembly of the OUN, which was convened on the 40th anniversary of the re-establishment of Ukrainian Statehood on June 30th, 1941, adopted the position that it would be proper and sound policy to further this latest period of Ukrainian Statehood through the preservation of the continuity of the Sovereign Ukrainian Government, the OUN, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), and the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR). It was determined that the all-national commemoration

of the 50th anniversary of the OUN in 1979 was also a confirmation of the soundness of the OUN's liberation policies and struggle.

The Sixth Supreme Assembly of the OUN extended its greetings to the Ukrainian nation, to the Ukrainian Catacomb Churches and their hierarchies, to Patriarch Josyf I, to all nationalists-revolutionaries and fighters for Freedom and Statehood for Ukraine, in particular those, who are being persecuted in Russian prisons, concentration camps, psychiatric asylums and in exile.

The reports of the Chairman of the Leadership, the members of the Leadership, the Council, the Auditing and Arbitration Boards of the OUN were discussed and approved by the Sixth Supreme Assembly of the OUN.

The Sixth Supreme Assembly of the OUN elected Yaroslav Stetsko Chairman of the OUN, as well as members of the OUN Leadership, the Chairman and members of the Council, the Auditing and Arbitration Boards, according to the OUN statutes. A set of resolutions, a Manifesto to the Ukrainian nation, Appeals to the Subjugated Nations, to the nations of the Free World, to the Ukrainian youth and to the Ukrainian diaspora were adopted by the Assembly.

The Sixth Supreme Assembly of the OUN was convened in an international atmosphere of a global political crisis and, conscious of the ever-growing threat of a thermo-nuclear catastrophe, the Assembly adopted a Ukrainian global political strategy, as a solution to the crisis, through the liberation of Ukraine and other subjugated nations and thereby saving the world from thermo-nuclear destruction.

The Sixth Supreme Assembly of the OUN marks the beginning of the next era of the revolutionary-liberation struggle of Ukraine; the OUN embarks into this era in the conviction that it is the embodiment of the Ukrainian nation, its avantgarde in the struggle, and that together with the entire nation we will achieve our liberty and independence!

*The Presidium of the
Sixth Supreme Assembly of the
Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN)*

THE GUN AND THE FAITH

**Religion and Church in Ukraine
under the Communist Russian Rule**

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W. Mykula, B.A. (Lond.), B.Litt. (Oxon)

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NEWS FROM UKRAINE**YURY BADZYO'S FIELD OF BATTLE**

Yury Vasylovych Badzyo was born on April 25, 1936 in Transcarpathia. His birthplace was the village of Kopynivtsi in the Mukachevo district. The family into which Yury was born had eight children. All Yury's brothers and sisters, except one, have remained in their place of birth until the present time.

Yury is married to Svitlana Kyrychenko and has a daughter and son. The son (adopted) is named Serhy Drachuk and is 20 years old (born in 1961). The daughter is named Bohdana; she is a minor and is 14 years old (born in 1967).

Yury Badzyo finished the Transcarpathian University (department of Ukrainian philology) and for a number of years worked in the village schools of the Mukachevo district. In 1961 he began post-graduate study in the literary institute of the Academy of Sciences in Kiev. The theme of his doctoral dissertation was *The criteria of truth in the evaluation of a literary-artistic work*.

Yury belongs to that group of Ukrainian researchers who are distressed by the humiliating state of Ukrainian culture, especially of the Ukrainian language. As a literary scholar he would like to raise the level of Ukrainian literary criticism, and one of his ambitions was to give his own interpretation of the history of Ukrainian literature as an integral part of the process of world literature.

At the beginning of the 1960's the Club of Creative Youth (Klub tvorchoyi molodi, KTM) was organized in Kiev. In this club participated some of the most creative talents of the time: Ye. Sverstyuk, I. Svitlychny, V. Stus, V. Chornovil, M. Plakhotnyuk, and others. From the first days of its founding Yury was a member of the club's administration. He was an active and productive participant in the symposiums organized by the club. In the spring of 1965 participation in such forms of Ukrainian activity resulted in Yury's dismissal from work. (He had already completed his post-graduate work and was co-researcher at the literary institute of the Academy of Sciences in Kiev). In September 1965, Yury took part in a political protest against the arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals. This protest was a well-known act among our contemporaries and took place on September 4, 1965 in the "Ukraine" film theatre, before the showing of *Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors*. This action was not without consequence for its participants.

Yury Badzyo was soon expelled from the party and afterwards dismissed from his job at the state literary publishing house in which he began work after his punitive dismissal from the literary institute. He could, however, still earn a living, working at such jobs as editor of the Advertisement publishing house, editor of a magazine for the blind, or editor of a magazine published by the Kiev Institute of General and Community Hygiene.

Working in an area unconnected with his field of expertise, Yury began to translate from the German. Some of his translations were published. He also tried to publish his literary criticism and wrote an article about the state of the only Ukrainian literary publication, *Literary Ukraine*. This article sketched the general condition of Ukrainian culture in the so-called "state" of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. It was 1971. In that year all the editors to whom Yury sent his manuscripts returned his work, giving the dauntless author various explanations of why his articles were refused publication.

The arrival of 1972 marked the year of mass repressions in Ukraine. Yury's wife spoke out in defense of Nadia Svytychna and her 2-year old son, who was also actually imprisoned. The political repressions roused Yury to work on a topic which he designated *The Right To Live*.

No one has seen the work titled *The Right To Live*, but the Ukrainian situation in 1972 was such that it was impossible for Yury to work even in the Institute of Hygiene, where he sustained himself for some time. After his dismissal from this institute he worked at the following jobs: transporting articles for art exhibitions, delivering bread at night, and even working at a cement factory (to which he was directed by the Soviet district administration organs) as a labourer.

In July 1979, to the surprise of the author, the work, *The Right To Live*, consisting of over 500 typewritten pages, was discovered during a search. In April 1979, Yury Badzyo was arrested.

Before his arrest Yury was able to come up with a short variant of *The Right To Live*, but this variant also fell victim to KGB repression of Ukrainian intellectuals.

If we calculated how much time until his arrest was wasted by Yury because he could not work in the area of his studies, then the result would be at least twelve years. And if we were to add to this the years that his name was not mentioned in Ukrainian literature in his country, then the figure would be another eight years.

In December 1979, philologist, translator, and literary critic Yury Badzyo was sentenced to twelve years: seven years' imprisonment in a concentration camp of severe regime and five years of exile.

The investigation and trial accused Yury of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, but in reality Yury was deprived of twelve years of freedom for his concern about the fate of Ukrainian culture and language. The subject of investigation proceedings was Yury Badzyo's creative output, especially his analytical work *The Right To Live*.

No copy of this work is extant. There is only an "Open Letter" in which Yury enumerates the problems that troubled him. The Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group published the text of the letter in Ukrainian in 1980 under the title *Vydkrytyi Lyst*.

Yury's prison address: 431200 Barashevo
Tenbhushevsky District
Mordovian ASSR
uch. ZhKh-385/3-5

For letters: Moscow, p/ya 5110-zhkh
Address of Yury's parents: Kyrychenko, Svytlana Tykhonivna (wife)
25215/ Kiev-150
Red Army St., 93, kv. 16

Date of Yury Badzyo's release from prison: April 1991. Our fellow-countryman Yury Badzyo has been an honorary member of the Norwegian PEN Club since 1980.

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UNDERGROUND LEAFLET IN LVIV

It has long been recognized that tensions between Ukrainians and Russians have been more pronounced in the West of Ukraine than in other parts of the country. The roots of this problem are largely historical. Like the Baltic states, Western Ukraine was not integrated into the USSR until after the war, and even then this process was hampered by the active resistance of an armed underground movement that was not diminished until the mid-1950s. Throughout the nineteenth century and during the first four decades of the twentieth century, the development of Western Ukraine had a distinctly European political orientation¹.

This problem of what may be termed "differential development" is taken into account by Soviet-Russian policymakers, particularly in the sphere of ideological work. Characteristic in this respect is the evaluation of the special situation in the Lviv Oblast made by the regional Party first secretary, Viktor F. Dobrik, at the Twenty-sixth Congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party earlier this year:

"Taking into consideration that because of certain historical conditions, the Lviv Oblast, like all the western oblasts of the republic, was late in taking the path of Socialist transformation and that foreign bourgeois nationalist and Uniate centres actively attempt to influence a certain part of the population, Party committees devote unremitting attention to propagandizing the Soviet way of life, to the international and patriotic upbringing of the workers, and to atheistic work"².

Nonetheless, and in spite of such efforts, it seems that national consciousness is firmly entrenched among the Western Ukrainians, at times giving rise to *both anti-Soviet and anti-Russian* sentiments of one sort or another.

An interesting insight into precisely this problem is provided by a lengthy two-part article in the Lviv Oblast newspaper *Vil'na Ukraina* entitled "Instead of an Epitaph at the Lair of a Polecat: An Answer to a Malicious Blind Man". The article was written by Iosyp Ts'okh, dean of the Department of

¹ For a characterization of Lviv's Western outlook, see the impressions of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung's* Moscow correspondent Leo Wieland, "Lwow, Lemberg, Lwiw: In der alten Hauptstadt des Grenzlands Galizien", *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, January 17, 1981.

² *Radyanska Ukraina*, February 11, 1981.

Journalism at Lviv University, and was published in the issues of the newspaper for March 22 and 24, 1981³. It is an extraordinary document in the sense that it represents a semi-official response to an anonymous leaflet that presumably was and perhaps still is circulating in the Lviv region. One can only conclude that the leaflet must have had a fairly wide circle of readers in order to necessitate a sharp rejoinder in the oblast press.

From the text of Ts'okh's article, it is clear that the leaflet's main focus is the problem of Ukrainian-Russian relations. Addressing its anonymous author in the familiar form, Ts'okh writes :

“Regardless of how malicious and stubborn you may be, unless you have totally lost your senses, you must come to the conclusion that in the fraternal family of Soviet peoples Ukraine is flourishing and thriving, and its people are happy.

But the friendship of peoples is a bone in the throat of the polecat. His scribbling reeks of malicious hatred for the fraternal Russian people, its culture and language, and it is filled with all kinds of demagogically falsified verbiage”.

Ts'okh then goes on to provide an outline of Ukrainian history intended to demonstrate that Ukrainians could not have survived as a nation without “the great Russian people”. He begins with the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, citing the threat posed by Poland and Turkey. “In this difficult time”, he writes, “when the fate of the independent existence of the Ukrainian people was being decided, the blood-related (*yedynokrovnyi*) Russian brother came with help”.

More of this kind of “help” was forthcoming during the period of the Russian revolution and “civil war”. “The sincere and selfless aid of the Russian brother”, explains Ts'okh, “saved Soviet power in Ukraine from destruction and its people from enslavement”. Finally, during the war “once again the Soviet peoples and, above all, the sincere and faithful brother — the great Russian people — came with help”. The lowest form of national self-denigration is reflected in Ts'okh's citation of the Western Ukrainian writer and publicist Yaroslav Halan to the effect that :

“to love Russia, to love Moscow means to love humanity, to believe in it, to believe in its future and to work for it, to struggle, and if necessary — to die in the struggle. To hate Moscow is to be an enemy of humanity, an enemy of its greatest aspirations, an enemy of future generations”.

It should be noted that it is rare to find this kind of crude propaganda in the Ukrainian central press, which is much more restrained in its peans to “the great Russian people”.

Another theme raised by Ts'okh is the role of the Russian language in Ukraine. This is a direct response to a complaint in the leaflet about the clearly felt presence of the Russian language in (presumably) Western Ukraine:

³ I. Ts'okh, “Zamist' epitafii na nori tkhora: Vidpovid' ozloblenomu slipptsyu”, *Vil'na Ukraina*, March 24, 1981. The first part of the article is presently unavailable.

“You polecat, your black soul is being nagged because you frequently hear the Russian language, because it is readily studied, and because it is wonderfully mastered by both children and adults. But, after all, this is the language of a great people whose opinions are considered by the entire world, and who unite in common ranks the fighters for peace and happiness of millions of peoples of our planet! This is the language of the immortal Lenin!”

Ts’okh then proceeds to enumerate the reasons why knowledge of the Russian language is so imperative:

“Because to know the Russian language is not only to sincerely respect a great people and its culture, which is an invaluable contribution to the treasure-house of world culture, but also to gain the opportunity of communicating with all the people of our country and of the entire planet, and to have access to the sources and treasures of their spiritual attainments. To know the Russian language is not to pay tribute to fashion, and it is not a result of coercion. It is an organic need of every individual who aspires to share in culture and knowledge. And it is being studied willingly, in response to a call from the heart, because it is a vital necessity everywhere — in our country, in the countries of the Socialist commonwealth, in the developed Capitalist countries, in those countries that have liberated themselves from the Imperialist yoke, and in those that are struggling for their freedom — in all of the continents of the universe”.

Towards the end of the article, Ts’okh suggests that the author of the leaflet shed his anonymity, maintaining that no harm would come to him because “you are not a danger to anyone”. He concludes, however, that:

“you are afraid of the light and do not crawl out of your lair. You prefer to faint and gasp for air in your own stench. There you will languish until you die. And you will remain anonymous, your anonymous lair will be overgrown by thistle. So, instead of an epitaph I lay this pamphlet at your lair”.

The extremely harsh tone and invective of the article may be explained by the fact that Ts’okh is characterized in the leaflet by name as a propagandist and critic of “Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism”. Specifically, the anonymous author is cited as having argued that neither he, nor many other people, nor even Ts’okh’s own mother would agree with the views that Ts’okh propagates in the Russian colonial press in Ukraine.

Almost ten years ago, on October 7, 1971, the Central Committee of the CPSU adopted a decree “On Political Work among the Population of the Lviv Oblast”, which revealed Moscow’s serious concern for the ideological “reliability” of the local population and called for a fundamental improvement in all work related to “internationalist upbringing” in the region⁴. One of its stipulations, according to a *samvydav* source, was an increase in the

⁴ The decree is published in abridged form in *KPSS o formirovanii novogo cheloveka. Sbornik dokumentov i materialov (1965-1976)*, Moscow, Izdatel’stvo Politicheskoi Literatury, 1976, pp. 129-135.

number of Russian-language schools in the oblast⁵. The *samvydav* journal *Ukrains'kyi visnyk* later reported that Vasili S. Kutsevol, who was first secretary of the Lviv Oblast Party Committee at the time, was threatened with dismissal at the plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU in November, 1971, and was saved only by the intervention of Ukrainian Party leader Petro Shelest. Kutsevol was finally removed from his post in November, 1973, following disturbances at the Lviv University by students protesting the regime's russification policies, and was replaced by the incumbent Dobrik. Shortcomings in ideological work in Lviv came to the surface again at the end of 1977 and were reflected in the decree "On the Fulfillment by the Party Committees in the Lviv Oblast of the Decisions of the Twenty-fifth Party Congress and of the Resolutions of the Central Committee of the CPSU on Increasing the Efficiency and Co-ordination of the Activity of the Mass Information Media and Propaganda" adopted by the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Party in December of that year. To judge from Ts'okh's article in *Vil'na Ukraina*, inter-ethnic relations in Western Ukraine continue to pose a problem for planners of Soviet-Russian imperio-colonial nationalities policy with regard to the subjugated nations. Indeed, the fact that clandestine leaflets are capable of being disseminated among the population and that their author remains unknown to the authorities suggests a problem of rather serious proportions.

⁵ Yurii Badz'o, *Vidkrytyi lyst do Prezydii Verkhovnoi Rady Soyuzu RSR ta Tsentral'noho Komitetu KPRS*, New York, Vydannya Zakordonnoho predstavnytstva hrupy spryannya vykonannyu Hel'sinskykh uhod, 1980, p. 53. It should be pointed out that in 1970 Russians constituted 8.2 percent of the population of the Lviv Oblast.

NEW PUBLICATION

CATARACT

by Mykhaylo Osadchyy.

- An Autobiographical Outline. An underground publication from Ukraine.
- Published by Ukrainian Publishers Ltd., London, 1975.
- Hard cover. 111 pp.
- Price: £2.50 (\$6.00).

Available from:

UKRAINIAN PUBLISHERS LTD.,
200 Liverpool Rd., London, N1 1LF.

or

Ukrainian Booksellers
49, Linden Gardens,
London W2 4HG.

KYIV WORKERS WIN STRIKE

There was a two-day strike at the Kyiv motorcycle manufacturing plant in August, 1981, in support of improved pay and conditions. The management gave in to the workers' demands.

UKRAINIAN ACTIVISTS TRIED AND SENTENCED IN KYIV

Between June 25 and 29, 1981, a number of Ukrainian activists were tried and sentenced in Kyiv. These include journalist Serhiy Naboka (26), translator Leonid Milyavsky (30) and a woman dissident Ena Tchernyavska (27) who were arrested on January 11, 1981.

They all stood trial under statute 181-1 of the Ukrainian SSR's criminal code. They were accused of putting up posters in Kyiv University calling on people to commemorate January 12 as the day of the Ukrainian political prisoner.

At the beginning of the trial Naboka requested that the court carry out proceedings in Ukrainian but this request was denied.

The poster was said to have proclaimed the following message: "Fellow countrymen! The 12th of January is the day of the Ukrainian political prisoner — commemorate it".

They were also accused of having prepared a manifesto about the political turmoil within the USSR entitled "Perspectives for filling the spiritual vacuum in Soviet Society" and to have written and attempted to distribute a leaflet about the boycott of the Moscow Olympics.

Naboka was further accused of writing and disseminating subversive poems and articles including one entitled "Pseudo-Socialism".

Another prisoner L. Lochvetska and Ena Tchernyavska were accused of writing an article called "Charter". Lochvetska was also accused of praising the Polish free trade union Solidarity and of displaying a criminal attitude to the Russian military occupation of Afghanistan.

Ena Tchernyavska was separately accused of listening to Radio Liberty.

The prisoners pleaded not guilty and stood by their actions. They were sentenced to three years' imprisonment.

Leonid Milyavsky is serving his sentence in camp UZ17/7-11-40 in Kherson Oblast, Holoprystansky Region, village of Stara Zburyivka. There was a prisoners' demonstration in protest against poor rations and physical attacks on inmates at this camp in September, 1981.

A number of administrative buildings were burned down and a camp guard was stoned to death. The army was called in to crush the uprising and the ringleaders were arrested.

PERSECUTION OF Dr. HORBOVY CONTINUES

UCIS has reported that Volodymyr Horbovy, an 85-year-old Ukrainian nationalist who spent 25 years in Soviet labour camps, is in failing health. Despite the fact that he is a citizen of Czecho-Slovakia he is not allowed to join his son in Prague.

According to the UCIS report, Dr. Volodymyr Horbovy began to lose the sight in his one remaining good eye to a developing cataract (he has one glass eye). The only solution was an operation which was considered unsafe for such an elderly person. His son, Roman Horbovy, was qualified to perform the operation, but he resides in Prague. His petitions to take his father over to his family were in vain.

“My present position is tragic”, says Dr. Horbovy, “I was thrown out of my own home, I receive no pension although all my life I had an honest attitude towards work. Before the war, I was a member of the Lawyers Council. Later I was a lawyer in Krakow, after the war I worked as a jurist-consultant with the Ministry of Land and Property in Czecho-Slovakia. The upper echelon of the Polish Jurisprudents wrote a very favourable characteristic about me. I was neither punished nor sentenced. Now I receive neither parcels nor letters, and I am faced with starvation.

“The service in my district is terrible. A person who happily greets the rising of the sun does not know whether he will live to see the sunset in spring of 1980. I witnessed a criminal trying to kill an innocent woman. She was an example for society with her high morals. Bandits struck her on the right cheek with iron tools so hard that she fell and suffered very severe lacerations to her body. She suffered damage to the brain cortex, and she was badly bruised. She suffers insomnia and she is also bothered by frequent vomiting.

“I could not remain an apathetic observer and began to admonish the bandit. Why does he victimize an innocent woman? He brutally replied that he will kill her, and me as well. Consequently, he began to break into my room wanting to kill me, but I locked my doors and windows from the inside. Subsequently, the bandit was faced with court action for attempted murder.

“I end my days and nights alone. I have no desire to go any place, and basically I do not admit visitors. I keep my nerves on a leash. If I hear some rustling while I am asleep, I instinctively adopt a defensive position. My son, Roman, visited me. He is aware of my condition and wants to take me with him so I will be allowed to finish my last years in peace. However, our efforts remain unsuccessful”

SOVIET KGB CHIEF KILLED

Following tourist reports, Soviet officials admitted that an angry prison official shot and killed the interior minister of Azerbaijan and two of the minister's aides and then killed himself in July, 1980.

A spokesman at the Azerbaijan interior ministry of the Caucasus Mountains Republic confirmed reports by foreign returning from the area that Lieutenant-General Arif Geidarov, the minister, and two subordinates died in the attack in Geidarov's office in Baku, the capital of the republic on the Caspian Sea.

The spokesman said the killer, aged 29, was named Muratov, and was chief of the administrative section of a prison in the town of Shusha, in the southern Caucasus.

Prisons in the USSR are supervised by the interior ministries, but the spokesman refused to discuss why Muratov went on the killing spree. He said a commission has been set up to investigate the slayings.

The spokesman said the aides killed were a deputy interior minister, Saladin They and Geidarov were buried in Baku.

Azerbaijan's chief official newspaper, *Bakinsky Rabochy*, reported that the minister died tragically while carrying out his duties, but gave no details. The government-controlled Russian press almost never reports major crimes or disasters which occur within the country.

Geidarov, 52, had worked for the KGB, the security police, for more than 25 years before he became the republic's KGB chief.

For the first time in such an excellent translation!

SONG OUT OF DARKNESS

Poems by Taras Shevchenko, the greatest
Ukrainian national poet (1814-1861),
translated into English by Vera Rich.

The Mitre Press, London, 1961, xxxii + 128 pp. Illustrations.
Price 1.50 incl. p/p \$3.50 incl p/p.

Order from: **Ukrainian Booksellers and Publishers,**
49, Linden Gardens,
London, W2 4HG.

OVER 100 AMERICAN CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS SUPPORT UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP

Washington — Over 100 U.S. representatives and senators from 31 states recently joined Rep. Millicent Fenwick (R-N.J.) as co-signers of a letter to Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin protesting Soviet persecution of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords (also known as the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group).

By stressing the fact that all 37 members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group are either imprisoned or in exile, the co-signers are thus exerting pressure on Soviet officials through this letter to bring about the group members' release, noted Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine.

Concerned constituents aided in making the public and government officials aware of the importance of the fifth anniversary of the Kyiv-based group. In addition to appraising every member of Congress about the tragic fate of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group, Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine (AHRU) was joined by the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in Ukraine (Illinois), the Association of Ukrainian Americans of New England and the Ukrainian Evangelical Alliance of North America by urging the elected officials to join Congresswoman Fenwick in this timely human-rights endeavour.

Strongly chastising the Soviet government's failure to honour the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, the signers of the letter are also showing that they are aware of the plight of the Ukrainian monitors, and are openly demonstrating to these courageous defenders of human rights that the collective conscience of the United States is behind this valiant struggle towards attaining the universal goal of human and national freedom.

The letter stated:

"We are writing to express our concern about the members of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords.

"This group was formed five years ago this week. Since that time, virtually all of its members have reportedly been imprisoned, sent to labour camps, or forced into exile.

"The group was created to monitor your Government's compliance with the Conference of Security and Co-operation in Europe. We strongly support the provisions of this act, and we pledge that our government will continue to abide by them. We are distressed, however, by your Government's apparent unwillingness to honour the terms of the act, as demonstrated by the imprisonment and exile of many of the members of this group.

“We have attached a list of the members of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords for your consideration. We urgently request the release of these Soviet citizens, and ask that you convey to Chairman Brezhnev our deep concern about their welfare”.

The following congressmen have co-signed Rep. Fenwick's letter to Soviet ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin.

New York: Joseph P. Addabbo (D), Mario Biaggi (D), Thomas J. Downey (D), Geraldine A. Ferraro (D), Hamilton Fish Jr. (R), Benjamin A. Gilman (R), Bill Green (R), Frank Horton (R), John J. LaFalce (D), John Leboutillier (R), Gary A. Lee (R), Matthew F. McHugh (D), Raymond J. McGrath (R), Guy V. Molinari (R), James H. Scheuer (D), Charles E. Schumer (D), Gerald B. H. Solomon (R), George C. Wortley (R).

New Jersey: James A. Courter (R), Bernard J. Dwyer (D), Frank J. Uarini (D), Millicent Fenwick (R), James J. Florio (D), Edwin B. Forsythe (R), Harold C. Hollenbeck (R), William J. Hughes (D), Joseph G. Minish (D), Robert E. Roe (D), Christopher H. Smith (D).

California: David Dreier (R), Don Edwards (D), Bobbi Fiedler (R), Robert J. Lagomarsino (R), Tom Lantos (D), Robert T. Matsui (D), Norman Y. Mineta (D), Henry A. Waxman (D).

Pensylvania: Bob Edgar (D), Allen E. Ertel (D), Thomas M. Foglietta (D), Austin J. Murphy (D), Richard T. Schulze (R), Joseph F. Smith (D), Don Ritter (R).

Colorado: Hank Brown (R), Ken Kramer (R), Patricia Schroeder (D), Timothy E. Wirth (D).

Illinois: Frank Annunzio (D), Cardiss Collins (D), Edward J. Derwinski (R), John Edward Porter (R).

Ohio: Dennis E. Echart (D), Willis D. Gradison Jr. (R), Mary Rose Oakar (D), Ed Weber (R).

Massachusetts: Barney Frank (D), Edward J. Markey (D), Nicholas Mavroules (D), Joe Moakley.

Connecticut: Sam Gejdenson (D), Anthony Toby Moffett (D), Lawrence J. DeNardis (R).

Florida: Dante B. Fascell (D), William Lehman (D), Claude Pepper (D).

Minnesota: Bill Frenzel (R), James L. Oberstar (D), Bruce F. Vento (D).

Alabama: William L. Dickinson (D), Albert Lee Smith Jr. (R).

Maryland: Michael D. Barnes (D), Marjorie S. Holt (R).

Oregon: Les AuCoin (D), Ron Wyden (D).

Texas: Bill Archer (R), Martin Frost (D).

Washington: Don Bonker (D), Mike Lowry (D).

Indiana: Floyd J. Fithian (D).

Iowa: Tom Harkin (D).

Michigan: Howard Wolpe (D).

Missouri: Robert A. Young (D).

North Carolina: Stephen L. Neal (D).

Rhode Island: Fernard J. St. Germain (D).

Virginia: Frank R. Folf (R).

Vermont: James M. Jeffords (R).

Commissioners: Antonio Borja Won Pat (D-Guam), Walter E. Fauntroy
(D-District of Columbia).

The following U.S. Senators co-signed Rep. Fenwick's letter:

Illinois: Alan J. Dixon (D), Charles H. Percy (R).

Maine: William S. Cohen (R), William L. Dickinson (D).

Delaware: Joseph R. Biden (D).

Idaho: James A. McClure (R).

Massachusetts: Paul E. Tsongas (D).

Michigan: Carl Levin (D).

Minnesota: David F. Durenberger (R).

Missouri: Thomas F. Eagleton (D).

Nebraska: Edward Zorinsky.

New Mexico: Pete V. Domenici (R).

New York: Alfonse M. D'Amato (R).

FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE CHAIR OF UKRAINIAN STUDIES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

William G. Davis, Premier of the Province of Ontario, was the main speaker at a recent event marking the initial year of the Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Toronto. The occasion was the first annual Founder's Dinner, sponsored by the Chair of Ukrainian Studies Foundation and the Canadian Foundation for Ukrainian Studies, to honour those who have lent their financial support to the Chair of Ukrainian Studies. The dinner, attended by over 500 guests, was held on November 19.

Premier Davis conveyed his Government's wishes for the continued success of the Chair of Ukrainian Studies and then discussed the historical significance of the constitutional agreement for Canada which was reached a few weeks before on November 5. Premier Davis, who played a crucial role in the lengthy constitutional debate, also stressed the contributions made by Ukrainians and other groups to the enrichment of Canadian society.

Greetings to the Chair of Ukrainian Studies were delivered by Arthur Kruger, Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences at the University of Toronto; William Diachuk, minister from the government of Alberta; Peter Savaryn, president of the Canadian Foundation of Ukrainian Studies; and John Tutecki, President of the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Federation. Mr. Savaryn, who was recently appointed Chancellor of the University of Alberta, noted the substantial financial support given to the Chair by the federal government of Canada and the province of Ontario, and he called on Ukrainians to continue their support in collecting funds for the Chair in order to assure a full endowment of \$1,000,000.

The success of the first anniversary celebration for the Chair of Ukrainian studies was due to the efforts of the executive committee of the Foundation. The Chair project has revealed the extent to which Ukrainian communities in all parts of Canada have been able to co-operate with each other and with educational and Government institutions in order to create a university chair devoted exclusively to Ukrainian history and culture.

The Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Toronto has recently begun its second year of activity. Both the number of courses and students has increased dramatically. There are three courses in Ukrainian history, with a total number of 24 students, being offered by the Department of History and Political Economy.

All courses are taught by Dr. Paul R. Magocsi, Associate Professor in the Chair of Ukrainian Studies. These include a year-long introductory survey

of Ukrainian history (with 12 students), a year-long fourth-year seminar on Kyeuan Rus' (with 7 students), and an interdisciplinary seminar in Ukrainian studies focusing on the twentieth century (with 5 students from the Departments of History, Political Economy, and Slavic Languages and Literatures).

Students of Ukrainian as well as non-Ukrainian background are enrolled in Chair-sponsored courses. Interestingly, the course on Kievan Rus' has the largest number of non-Ukrainians (6 out of 7), while the survey course and the graduate seminar each has one student of non-Ukrainian background. Such ratios confirm the role of the Chair of Ukrainian Studies to provide courses in Ukrainian history at the University of Toronto that are attractive not only to students of Ukrainian background but to the student body as a whole.

Besides pedagogical activity, the Chair is continuing its work on a comprehensive catalogue of all Ukrainian-related holdings at the university library, which at this stage is estimated to number approximately 10,000 titles. The Chair also co-sponsored the University of Toronto's two-month programme of events commemorating the 90th anniversary of Ukrainian settlement in Canada and the McMaster University Conference on Ukraine and Russia in their Historical Encounter. During this academic year the Chair will continue to bring speakers on Ukrainian topics to the University of Toronto.

NEW PUBLICATION

IN THE WHIRLPOOL OF COMBAT

by Yuriy Boretz.

- The memoirs of the author depicting the efforts of the Ukrainian underground struggle for an independent Ukraine during and after the Second World War.
- Published by Ukrainisches Institut for Bildungspolitik, Munich, 1974.
- Hard cover. 322 pp.
- Price: £4.00 (\$10.00).

Available from:

Ukrainian Publishers Ltd.
200, Liverpool Road,
London, N1 1LF.

or

Ukrainian Booksellers,
49, Linden Gardens,
London, W2 4HG.

Sviatoslav KARAVANSKY

LIFE OR SUICIDE?

*Mr. Karavansky is a former Ukrainian political prisoner released in 1980.
A poet and writer, he is resident in the U.S.*

The victory of President Reagan showed that Americans have been disappointed in the irresolute, "cautious" and naive foreign policy of former President Carter. The campaign of Reagan for president passed under a slogan "Vote for a change!". That concerned both the internal situation and the relations with the outside world as well.

Elected under such a slogan, the president cannot and has no right to proceed with the policy of his predecessors, that practically had switched on the green light for Soviet expansion.

Speaking about the USSR, one shouldn't forget that the mentality of Soviet leaders duplicates the mentality of the criminal world. When a criminal sees the hesitancy of his victim, his brazenness grows and, to the contrary, meeting with resolute resistance, he retreats. As an example, let us remember the behaviour of Hitler's criminal Mafia during 1938 to 1941. Seeing that the Western World was irresolute and didn't oppose her, this Mafia occupied one country after another. Just as brazen are the contemporary Soviet leaders. There is only one difference in their conduct. They are more cautious and more insidious than Nazis and content themselves with the nations of the Third World, putting the encounter with the developed Western countries off to the future. But if you ask the Soviet dissidents, none of them has any doubt that the final aim of the Soviet policy is to destruct the Free World and to transform it into a world-wide Cambodia.

The realisation of this truth is absolutely necessary for the correct and successful planning of American policy. Neglecting this truth, underrating the Soviet yearning for world hegemony can only accelerate Communist expansion in return.

The ancient aphorism says "If you want peace, prepare for war!". World history proves that only a peace based on military power is a long peace.

The opposite conception "If you want peace, disarm yourself!", can be called nothing but the conception of national suicide.

There is no doubt that the majority of the Americans who voted for Reagan are supporting and accepting his patriotic policy of the restoration of America's prestige in the world scene. But some politicians and journalists don't like this policy. They try to change it --- to change the will of American people.

The ideological credo of this political environment reflects the editorial of the "New York Times" for July 12 1981, published under the incredible title "Which Way to Moscow?". Let us try to analyze this credo.

The author of the editorial writes: "Keeping the Kremlin guessing about American intentions is dangerous. It enlarges the risk that Soviet leaders will miscalculate the odds on SALT as they design new weapons...". It is nothing but the intimidation of the Americans with the Kremlin, expressed in a casuistical form. It seems to me that such an intimidation is far more dangerous than the situation described by the editor. Firstly, every one who knows the nature of the Soviet system (every realistic politician should) has not the smallest doubt that the Kremlin ever hesitated or will ever hesitate in the future to design and to arm its military forces with the most modern kinds of weapons. The whole Soviet technology elite works in this direction. As well, numerous Soviet agents are situated throughout the Free World for this purpose. And no peaceful gesture from the side of the West can stop the Soviet leaders in their criminal conduct. Secondly, the demonstration of the fear before the criminal only encourages him to farther aggression. And, on the contrary, the demonstration of the resolution to take measures against aggression can impress both the criminal and the aggressor. It is known from the history of the last 60 years that the Kremlin rulers have never observed their agreements. Therefore, the conclusion of any disarmament pacts with the USSR is an act of suicide for its partners. Moscow will use the agreement only for gaining military advantages over its partners.

Later on, the author of the editorial produces the following argument: "And if they (the Soviets) guess wrong about our motives, we, in turn, will surely misread theirs". What is it? Naivety or something else? A sober politician will never be mistaken when reading the motives of the USSR. These motives are most clear. It will do everything to gain military advantage over the West, for the Cambodization of the world in the future. Such an opinion is shared by all the dissidents from the USSR (except the pseudo-dissidents, created by the KGB recently). Do the "New York Times" people know this? Of course they do, but nevertheless thrust the policy of national suicide on America.

Defending his position, the editor wrote: "... the less developed nations cannot forever resist the spread of nuclear weapons if the nuclear powers make no progress in reducing their own arsenals". Does the editor understand that treaties about the reducing of nuclear arsenals with the USSR are the same one-way streets as the failed "detante"? In my opinion, one who doesn't understand the essence and the ideology of bolshevistic Russia should never and can never solve complicated international problems.

A little further, the editor evolves a suicidal idea about the needlessness to arm America's potential allies in the future: "Arms sales to Pakistan and China will achieve little if they create new openings for Moscow in India". In other words, the author called on America not to have and not to support her allies, because he says Moscow will create new openings in other countries. It is necessary to remind the author here that Moscow never stopped her attempts to penetrate and even to overthrow non-Communist governments around the world. I think that the Soviet penetration will be more intense and more successful if America stops selling arms to her allies.

Fighting for his pro-Soviet opinions, the author writes: "The idea that Communism represents a greater threat than racism or feudalism is hardly self-evident to Africans or Central Americans". First of all the reference to racism in this argument is absolutely demagogic because in today's world only one country can be enlisted in such a category, whereas there are scores of Communist and pro-Communist regimes in the world. The number of these regimes tends to grow, thanks to support and intervention from the USSR. So the editor shows in a blunt way his sympathy to the Communist enslavement of the nations. If the printed media, including "The New York Times", will publish pro-Soviet information about life and order in the Communist countries, it will be hard, indeed, to show the nations of the Third World that Communism is nothing but red fascism and that it brings death and genocide to the people. Doesn't the example of only one Cambodia witness what is more dangerous for the nations: feudalism or Communism? Where did feudalism destroy a half of a nation? Nowhere. But Communism in Cambodia did it and will do so in any other country where it will come into power with the help of the Western pseudo-progressists.

The editor expresses his thoughts, as undeniable dogmas, without proving them by facts and arguments: "The Russians need to know the price of future trade with the West and the kind of arms control Mr. Reagan envisions". Where does such a flatness come from? Why should the Kremlin know the motives and plans of America, while it hides its mysterious plans and diversions against the Free World diligently and masks them with deceptive statements about its "peaceful disposition"? Moscow doesn't reveal its plans even to its own people. Why, then, should Americans be frank and sincere with one who acts in politics as a criminal, who inspires and organizes international terrorism, who conducts giant spy and diversary activity throughout the world? It seems to me that for the benefit of America, Americans should know the motives and plans of the "New York Times" itself under which its author directs American people and American policy to the rails of defeat in the face of dark forces of evil and delusion.

At the end the editor writes: "Mistrust of the Soviet Union creates no basis even for an adversary relationship". Is this a sober statement? The policy of the USSR during the last 60 years proves that it cannot be trusted by anybody, neither Communist or non-Communist partners. How many times has the USSR violated its obligations even in relations with the USA? Did the USSR observe the resolutions of the United Nations concerning it? Did the USSR implement the Helsinki accords, signed quite recently? Does it observe the agreement about non-use of chemical arms?

It is hard to guess what motives moved the writer of the editorial, who is calling America and her politicians to national suicide. But that is exactly what he is doing. Only the political blinkered can trust and rely on the USSR in politics. On the contrary, everyone who strives for life and independence must treat this embodiment of evil, genocide and destruction with a great measure of distrust. Only such conduct will ensure peace and life in the world.

TESTIMONY OF DR. NINA STROKATA-KARAVANSKA

Dr. Nina Strokata-Karavanska is a former Ukrainian political prisoner now living in the West. She is also a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. The following evidence was submitted this summer (July 28) by her to the U.S. House of Representatives' Committee on Foreign Affairs.

From the time we arrived in the West whenever Sviatoslav Karavansky and I appeared publicly we have expressed our deep appreciation to the West for their work in our behalf.

Today, as I am appearing for the first time before this committee, I wish to thank you for the opportunity to testify about Ukrainian concerns.

First of all, I wish to note that the processes and events occurring presently in Ukraine are not totally analogous to what is termed in the West as "the dissident movement".

As one of the authors of Ukrainian Samvydav I have grounds to confirm that there are superficial similarities between the Ukrainian and the Russian language Samvydav. Methodological and argumentative similarities evolved when Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians who were formally citizens of countries denoted by the odious suffix SSR were forced to seek the only viable means of protest.

Much of the Ukrainian Samvydav material has been published in English. If one were to analyse the content of these works, then one would notice that their main concern is not so much the liberalisation or the democratisation of the USSR, as Ukraine's sovereignty.

Precisely this nationality question is the greatest distinguishing factor of the Ukrainian Samvydav.

In the midst of these processes and events of the last 20 years in the USSR, Ukrainian events have their own distinct history.

Events that occurred in Moscow during the Thaw Period can be termed a human rights or dissident movement, or movement for liberalisation or democratisation.

Undoubtedly, democratisation or liberalisation for us Ukrainians would not be detrimental. However, experience has taught us to be suspicious of liberalisation and democratisation concepts, and therefore ours is a different concern.

Ukrainian goals and positions have consistently been the same since the inception of the USSR. Because of this a policy of destruction was implemented by means of artificial famine, deportation, Russification and liquidation of the Ukrainian National Church.

In the Thaw Period a new generation matured, born during the period of intensive repression. Therefore, the 60's were not the first rebirth of Ukrainian consciousness. This process underwent several phases. Both Sviatoslav and I were part of these phases.

In 1965 a new wave of arrests against intellectuals swept Ukraine. This was a wave of mass repression directed primarily against intellectuals.

During this period Sviatoslav Karavansky compiled a series of statements against Russification which were circulated in Ukraine. In addition he addressed party leaders of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, and Yugoslavia with the proposition to stop political repression.

My husband presented this statement to Polish and Czecho-Slovakian consulates in Kyiv. Two weeks later he travelled from Odessa to Kyiv to inquire about any action regarding his statement.

As he was leaving the Polish consulate he found a crew filming what appeared to be a film.

Shortly afterwards Sviatoslav Karavansky was arrested on a deserted street of Odessa. I was not informed of my husband's arrest. Karavansky was not charged nor was he taken to court. He was taken to complete the 25 year term from his previous conviction of 1944. He had not completed this term because in 1960 he was pardoned under the amnesty of 1955. My husband's arrest in 1965 was probably the first case in which an amnestied political prisoner was forced to complete his prison term.

I considered this to be a dangerous precedent. And indeed soon afterwards this practice was widely employed, as in the cases of Symchych, Chuyko, and Krasivsky.

According to the new penal code of 1959 no sentence could be longer than fifteen years, but nevertheless, my husband was sent to complete his twenty-five year sentence.

Due to the inadequate enforcement of such retroactive legal policies, many Ukrainians continue to serve twenty-five year sentences, as in the cases of Symchych, and Pidhorodecky. Two women prisoners, Kateryna Zarycki and Odarka Husiak, also completed their twenty five year sentences, and were released in 1972 and 1975, respectively.

In the late 60's the Ukrainian human rights movement intensified. An underground journal appeared. The editors of this journal, Chornovil and Khmara, are still imprisoned.

The Prague spring gave rise to new hopes. While some foresaw an imminent Soviet Russian intervention, others believed in the deterrent strength of Western opinion. From 1969 to 1970 searches intensified and we sensed that we were constantly under surveillance. Even Ivan Svitlychny's dustbin did not escape examination.

As time passed, those sentenced in the 60's returned to their homes. My husband's twenty-five year sentence was nearly completed, but in 1970 he received an additional term. The USSR was returning to the policies of the

Stalinist era, when a prisoner's sentence could be repeatedly prolonged. In 1970, however, this was done within the boundaries of the legal system, in a period of renewal of "socialist legality."

My husband's trial brought him a new sentence, and in addition a special decree was issued against me. This decree was presented to the medical institution where I was employed. The medical personnel had already grown accustomed to my unorthodox views, but after the special decree was issued, it became common knowledge that I did not approve of any re-education of my husband by prison authorities.

I wish to note that Soviet prisons and concentration camps are now referred to as rehabilitational and re-educational institutions. In these re-education programmes relatives are also included. I, for example, was instructed to convince my husband to admit to his ideological and political mistakes, to fulfill his daily work norms, and in short, to become an ideal Soviet man!

Sentences of long duration for religious, or ideological and political activities are most trying for prisoners and their families. To their sufferings is added police interference into family matters. This is especially difficult for families with young children: mothers who take their children for prison visits are threatened with loss of parental rights. Indeed, to refer to an imprisoned father as a martyr is dangerous for mother and children.

In 1971 Ukraine witnessed a change, incomprehensible for that period, in party and administrative leadership. The head of the KGB was replaced. All this foretold, as is said there, a "tightening of the screws".

In December, 1971, I was arrested. I had foreseen this, although I had not foreseen that this was to be the beginning of a new massive repression. A year later when I was sentenced and sent to a women's camp in Mordovia I became aware of the vast extent of the arrests. Therefore, from being the wife of a political prisoner, I now myself became one.

This was one of the first instances, in the post-Stalinist thaw, of a return to anti-Ukrainian repression directed at entire families. This practice had never really ceased, as in the case of the Shukhevych family.

I submit here for the record my statement on Yuriy Shukhevych, currently serving his twenty-ninth year in Soviet prisons, merely for refusing to renounce his father.

Now let me return to the topic of the prisoners I encountered in Mordovia, victims of the repression of 1972:

IRYNA SENYK, poetess and nurse, former political prisoner of Stalinist camps, where her mother and brother were also imprisoned;

IRYNA KALYNETS-STASIV, poetess. Her husband, Ihor Kalynets, was imprisoned immediately after her arrest;

STEFANIA SHABATURA, artist. Her fiancé, Marian, in protest against her arrest and the arrests of other Ukrainian intellectuals, publicly in a Lviv bus manufacturing plant factory thrust an iron rod into his heart. After hearing about his suicide, Stefania turned prematurely grey. In this condition she arrived in the prison camp;

NADIA SVITLYCHNA, sister of Ivan Svitlychny, imprisoned shortly after her brother's arrest;

OKSANA POPOVYCH, electrical worker, former prisoner of Stalinist camps, was arrested in 1974. Shortly before her arrest she underwent orthopedic surgery on her hip. Her operation called for long and special convalescence. Responding to KGB orders, her doctors issued a report permitting interrogation. Upon receiving permission to interrogate, the investigator issued a warrant for her arrest. Oksana Popovych was sentenced to a Mordovian concentration camp in 1975, the International Year of the Woman. Oksana entered the camp on two crutches, on which she is dependent to this day.

Much literature about Soviet Russian prisons and camps can already be found in the West. But many are under the impression that Moscow's system of repression is not as severe today as it was in the initial period of the enslaving Archipelago. Having personally experienced the conditions of today's re-educational labour institutions, I arrived at the following conclusion:

The insanitary conditions of a prisoner's daily existence — directed against the prisoner's mind, body, and spirit — are an indisputable proof of the use of torture in the USSR.

For further information, I refer you to my commentary, *Anti-Existence and Punitive Sanitation*.

I completed my prison term in 1975. However, I was not permitted to enter Ukraine. The city of Tarusa became my place of forced residence. You may have heard about Tarusa from Alexander Ginzburg's testimony. It was also from there that Anatoly Marchenko left for one of his imprisonments.

In Tarusa I lived under administrative surveillance. This is a refined method of restricting the rights of former prisoners. Administrative surveillance is an overt police observation combined with house arrest in the evening and at night. In addition to this, one who is under administrative surveillance is forced to work even if he is unable to find employment in his own profession.

I urge you to study the documents of Ivan Kandyba, which shed light on the situation of those who, after having served their sentence, are subject to restrictive freedom.

Tarusa has railroad connections to Ukraine and to Moscow. This enabled my friends to visit me and to keep me informed about the dissidents' activities and the rebirth of Ukrainian consciousness. When the police grasped how convenient my location was, they began to persecute my visitors. They

were stopped on the street and forcibly brought into police stations for searches and interrogations.

Having familiarised myself with the situation in Ukraine and beyond its borders, I supported the idea of creating a Ukrainian Helsinki Group to promote the implementation of the Helsinki Accords. The declaration of the group's formation, as well as the group's basic documents, were published in English by Smoloskyp Publishers, *The Human Rights Movement in Ukraine — Documents of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, 1976-1980*, Smoloskyp, 1980. For further information, I refer you to the above mentioned book.

Pogroms against the Helsinki Groups commenced on the first day of their existence.

If I were asked what is the current situation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, I would answer: "The Group is severely repressed".

My husband has served more than thirty years in prison. He was then 59 years old. Svyatoslav was placed under administrative surveillance, and was forced to work even though the official retirement age for men in the USSR is 60. In addition to this, he was not eligible for any pension, since, having spent more than half of his life in prison, he did not have the required minimum years of work service and would never be able to attain this status. My husband joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group while in prison.

Two participants in an unsanctioned organization in a family of two members was too much for a police state. For this reason, we both were threatened with new repressions, even though many organisations in the West actively defended us.

Our Ukrainian friends in the U.S. and Jewish friends in Israel prepared invitations for immigration. The USSR honours only Israeli invitations.

Thus, we two Ukrainian activists departed from the USSR on November 30, 1979, on a Jewish quota.

In the short time we have spent in another world, Ukraine witnessed several waves of repression. We have a firm basis to state that Moscow's repressive system has refined its methods of internal anti-Ukrainian terrorism.

The actions against the Rudenko family lie in the general plan of this terrorism.

For further information, I refer you to my statement on this topic.

I have attempted to briefly present a few aspects of the situation in present Ukraine. I have spoken from my own experience as a participant in the Ukrainian rebirth of the last two decades.

This situation is complex; unique, and filled with countless human sacrifices.

May the Lord bless those who do not remain indifferent to the sufferings of my nation.

Ivan MIRTSCHUK

HISTORY OF UKRAINIAN CULTURE (Part 2 of an Occasional Series)

MAIN FEATURES AND CHARACTERISTICS

The entire public and private life of Ukrainians particularly their regard for cultural values which they have managed to generate during their history, have typical characteristics which enable us to understand more easily various phenomena and events from their past. The sharply and clearly defined spiritual individuality of the Ukrainian people is also important for a correct appreciation of the undoubtedly complicated events in Eastern Europe since above all it readily refutes the currently held theory of the uniformity of this territory; on the other hand, however, it shows the dangers that research proceeding from the false premise of the homogeneity of Eastern Europe is open to. We are not interested in the economic role which this country will have to play in the reorganisation of our part of the world, nor the political implications inherent in this factor due to its mission in the history of civilization and its part in the spiritual life of the Slavic East.

UKRAINE'S ALIGNMENT WITH THE WEST

When we examine the spiritual traits of Ukrainians it must be established that their outright and frequently too pronounced individualism, their idealistic attitude, demonstrate clearly that they are oriented to the West. The area they inhabit has always been in the sphere of interest of Central and Western Europe, and in time destined them to be mediators of Western European ideas. For throughout the history of this people since they first appeared in the arena of European history until the present day, time and time again in spite of the geopolitical situation of this territory on the frontiers of Europe it never lost active contact with the West so that new Western ideas were absorbed immediately.

The first mention of the Kyivan State in history refers to dealings with a European power. In the Bertinian Annals we read about the reception by Kaiser Ludwig of a Greek delegation on 18th May 839 in Ingelheim. Among the delegates of the Greek Emperor Theophilus there were also men "*Qui se, id est gentem suam Rhos vocari dicebant*" ("*Who said they belonged to the Rhos people*" — trans.). It is very probable that these men sent from their homeland to Constantinople joined the Greek delegation from Byzantium

on its journey to the Rhine and that the name "Rhos" was the current Greek form of "Rus", Old Ukraine.

The Grand Princess Olha, the first ruler to accept the Christian Faith sent a delegation to the German Kaiser Otto I in 960, asking him to send priests to her hitherto almost unknown country. The Princess's request was carried out and a mission led by Adalbert made the long journey without any real success.

The fact that the Kyivan Princes accepted Christianity from Byzantium can be readily explained on geographical, political and economic grounds. However, despite this and the resulting dependance of the church on Constantinople, even during the reign of Volodymyr the Great and his son Jaroslav the Wise (10th to 11th century) there were obvious efforts to become part of general European cultural developments via alliances with the Western powers. Jaroslav in particular was keen according to his West oriented politics, to link his royal house with Western European ruling houses by blood ties. In keeping with this policy he appointed as Metropolitan of Kyiv instead of a Greek or Bulgarian which had hitherto been the practice, a native monk Hilarion to further emphasise his independence from Byzantium in ecclesiastical and religious matters also. Jaroslav's eldest son Iziaslav initially negotiated with King Henry IV who married Praxedes daughter of Grand Prince Vsevolod of Kyiv, and then with his adversary Pope Gregory VII to pave the way for a rapprochement with Rome. This and similar facts show clearly that in spite of its geographical position and remoteness from Western Europe, and in spite of the proximity and influence of the Eastern Roman Empire, the Kyivan State and its rulers were politically ultra-West. This country had after the final rupture between Rome and Byzantium all the prerequisites for assimilating culturally Eastern and Western European influences and transforming them into a new original whole. In the first period of Ukrainian Statehood the policy of the Grand Princes is easy to discern: not only to draw Kyiv into the sphere of interest of Byzantine culture exclusively, but to make it into an independent cultural centre. However, this was to be achieved both by the natural leaning to the East and the propagation of the closest possible inner link with the West.

After the invasion of the Ukrainian steppes by the Tartars the Galician-Volhynian State took over the reins of Ukrainian politics, becoming for the most part an outpost to the West and a bridge between the then "World" and the East. Here Western cultural influences naturally acted increasingly more strongly; architecture was dominated by the Roman style and Latin was the language of everyday speech. However, the radiations of the West did not limit themselves to this geographically most adjacent area, but moved further eastward to contain from the outset, the one-sided influence of Byzantium.

The annexation of Ukrainian territory by the Lithuanian State was basically very peaceful in character; politically Lithuania was in control, culturally Ukraine had a complete hegemony over its partners which even

after the Union with Poland was not relinquished immediately. This historical fact, however, brought Ukraine into still closer contact with Western European influences which as a result of the favourable opportunities for development there quickly spread to the East. The Magdeburg Law previously the privilege of a few cities in West Ukraine, formed the organisational basis for further settlements in newly won territory; German craftsmen and artists were welcome guests in these parts and the Ukrainian youth entered German and Italian universities full of enthusiasm to complete their education for the benefit of their native land. Obviously, the new ideas which the world of culture at that time was occupied with and from time to time led to enormous upheavals in the existing order in Europe, were all too readily absorbed by the young Ukrainians who after returning home passed them on to the broader circles of Ukrainian society. In this way, Humanism, the Renaissance, Reformation and Counter-Reformation, intellectual currents from the West, though somewhat delayed, reached the broad steppes of the East. Sometimes the effects of these ideas in the newly opened territory assumed a form quite unlike what might have been expected in the experience of other countries.

Due to its orientation to Western attitudes the Ukrainian public placed no obstacles in the path of the spreading Reformation; however, from the very understandable point of view of national interest they wanted to spare their church, which was a protective wall for the people, the upheaval which would not only lead to a displacement of the leading spiritual forces but perhaps put at stake the existence of the whole nation.

The Uniate movement sprang from the same disposition and sympathies regarding the West. Its leaders not only thought about personal advantage but were also inspired by hypothetical considerations. When, after the fall of Constantinople Moscow or the Third Rome as it liked to call itself, tried to assume the position of the new centre of the Eastern Church, the Ukrainian bishops faced with the choice between Moscow which in their opinion was still barbaric and Rome the centre of Western culture, opted for the latter. From the point of view of national interests the hierarchs who supported the Union belonged to the overtly Ukrainian camp as opposed to the Conservative camp which leaned towards Moscow which was also Orthodox. This view may be corroborated by the fact that one of the most energetic champions of the religious Union, the Greek-Catholic Metropolitan Hipatius Potij showed particular zeal in defending the rights of the Ruthenian language and due to this conviction swore his confession of faith and oath before the Pope in his mother tongue in spite of the fact that he had a perfect command of Latin. The protection of the powerful Roman Church and the alignment with the West were to make the cultural independence of Ukraine free from Poland's spiritual tutelage; it was hoped that having taken this step complete political equalization with Poland would be achieved. However, the course of events showed that these hopes were false: the Poles used the rapprochement between the churches solely in order to dominate the entire

East with the help of its own orders and the Jesuit order, and in particular to polonize the Ukrainian people, slowly but surely.

The same Western attribute was shared by the guild-like organisations of the Ukrainian middle class in the cities of Lviv, Kyiv, Lutsk and others, who together with their class-interests also kept a close eye on church matters. One of their chief aims was the enlightenment of the people by modern education based on Western models, by forming schools where apart from Church Slavonic, Greek and Latin were also taught and pupils were instructed in the latest methods of rhetoric. It was quite clear that only by these spiritual methods would the skilful propaganda of the Jesuits be successfully combatted.

The most important institution among the Brotherhood Schools was without doubt the Kyivan Academy which became a spiritual centre not only of Ukraine but of the whole of Eastern Europe chiefly thanks to the outstanding personality of Petro Mohyla. Son of a Moldavian voevoda*, educated in Jesuit schools, Mohyla remained throughout his life, a dedicated disciple of Western culture and the Catholic Church whose organisational structure during the reform of the Orthodox Church was uppermost in his mind as an example worthy of imitation. Today we can hardly imagine what an enormous upheaval was necessary and how brave the idea of reorganising according to the Catholic model the Orthodox Church which had been at war with Rome for centuries. This unique bold venture succeeded and could only succeed in Ukraine, because it was here alone that the ground had been suitably prepared by all previous historical development for the adoption and implementation of these plans for Westernisation. The spirit which inspired Mohyla was completely Western in orientation which became noticeable in his administrative innovations; in the matter of dogma, however, he remained above all dedicated and loyal to the "Faith of his Fathers". In this way he was a concrete example of the synthesis of two worlds, the easy cross-fertilization of two cultures, the East and the West, the impregnation of Ukrainian Orthodoxy by the Latin spirit of the Occidental Church. At the same time he was the harbinger of Ukraine's historical mission already clearly discernible when it first came into existence, coming clearly to the fore with particular clarity however during the 17th century and a decisive factor in the spiritual progress of the whole of Eastern Europe.

The seed sown by Mohyla bore rich fruit. Hundreds of scholars, writers, politicians and organisers of public life passed through the gates of this unique "alma mater" during the 17th and 18th century, primarily to fight for the independence and honour of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine, armed with the weapons of Western scholarship.

The Ukrainian patriots of the day went to Germany after completing their studies in Kyiv, to adopt the arguments of the Reformation against Catholicism. They pressed on to Rome to gain a more thorough knowledge

* Provincial governor.

of their opponent's plans and become conversant with his methods of warfare. After returning home they became actively involved in education and writing and endeavoured to prepare and educate the lower echelons of the clergy for the struggle. In order to equip the latter with the necessary intellectual arsenal, they published a whole series of polemics against their enemy and apologies of their own cause using knowledge gained in the West. All this resulted in enormous progress in polemical literature and intellectual activity which even had a certain attraction for foreigners.

However, the work of the champions of Orthodoxy educated in the West, did not end here. Their second more important achievement, without doubt more to the detriment than to the benefit of their Ukrainian homeland: the Europeanization of the State of Muscovy or according to its more recent name, Petrine Russia. Ukraine played a decisive role in the work of Peter the Great. The foundation and completion of the modern Russian Empire took place with the help of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, for Moscow herself lacked the intellectual capacity. In order to implement his reforms which soon deteriorated into reformatory mania, Peter used the powers of the South which during the 17th and 18th century had produced intellectuals of the first order, who were often taken for service in the North against their own will. H. and M. Smotryckyj, Ch. Filaret, I. Vyshenskyj, J. Plete-neckyj, L. Susanij, P. Mohyla, K. Sakovyc, T. Zemka, S. Kossov, L. Baranovyc, J. Galatovskyj, D. Rostovskyj, I. Gisel, S. Javorskyj, Th. Lopatynskyj, Th. Prokopovyc, were the most important though by no means the only spiritual leaders in Ukraine. At the time apart from a few names Moscow had nothing of quality to show. It is patently obvious why Peter I seized on the cultural wealth which grew in Ukraine under the direct influence of Western culture. We quote here as evidence of this the Russian historian S. Platonov who certainly did not overestimate the role of the Ukrainian clergy in the foundation of the Russian Empire: "The Great Russian poorly educated clergy hostile to reform could not help Peter, while the Ukrainians (Little Russians in the original) with their broader spiritual horizon, who grew up in a country where Orthodoxy was forced into constant struggle against Catholicism, had cultivated a better understanding of the tasks of the clergy and a wider-ranging appetite for work. They did not sit with their arms folded but strove to convert people of a different persuasion to Orthodoxy, opposed the rift in the Church, built schools and applied themselves to the life style and morals of the clergy, and still had time to write. Clearly they complied more with the wishes of the reformer Peter who valued them to a greater degree than the Great Russian clergy whose narrowmindedness often got in his way". We could quote at length the names of Ukrainian bishops who were given eminent posts in the Russian hierarchy. S. Javorskyj and Th. Prokopovyc, both pupils and professors of the Kyiv Academy, the former becoming after Peter had abolished it "Administrator of the Patriarchal Seat", the latter reformer of the Russian Church Administration and adviser to the Czar, was concerned for the most

part with important matters of state — both names typify best the role played by Ukraine in Russian public life.

We are thus witnesses of a remarkable spectacle in Eastern Europe. The politically weak Ukraine estranged from the world due to its idealism and torn apart by its excessive individualism was ruled by practically oriented Russia, an outright centralist power and political state, while Ukrainian Culture victorious over the North enriched the culturally still very backward region and at the same time also contributed substantially to the external Europeanisation modernisation and consolidation of the State.

This placed Ukraine in union with Great Russia in a very difficult position for its development and sympathies ran contrary to those of Russia. This led to very grave conflicts both in the economic sphere and in spiritual life. A formally and consequently as it were programmatic tragedy was the fate of the contemporary Ukrainian poet M. Chvylovjy who though a convinced communist, nevertheless grew up in the cultural traditions of his native land, and propagated a literary orientation to the West not the Muscovite north. Under pressure from the rulers in Moscow he had to renounce this view, openly 'admit' his 'error' vis à vis the official political line, in short commit spiritual, soon to be followed by physical, suicide.

Ukraine's cultural-political role in the history of Eastern Europe can be represented concisely by means of symbols, in the following manner. This rich and plentiful land became a thoroughfare along which from time immemorial there rolled the hordes of asiatic nomads on their way to the West, destroying everything in their path and sweeping it away like a tornado. As a result of its predicament Ukraine had to repeatedly raise new armies to save herself from being obliterated by the hooves of the pillaging bands of horsemen. These two facts: the richness of the land and the necessity for a country on the borders of Europe to fight constantly against Asia had a most profound effect on the further fate of the people who had constantly to keep a hand on their sword and an eye on the East. Its back faced the West where it found support, took root and forged its weapons. Robbed for a long time of its political independence the Ukrainians could only express their aspirations in the cultural sphere; this culminated in the idea of the historical mission of these people to whose lot fell the thankless role of being a mediator between West and East and a champion of new ideas and intellectual currents from Europe.

The task of mediating, however, also includes reverse reciprocity between West and East: the transmission and interpretation of events in the spiritual life of Eastern Europe to interested parties in the West. Unfortunately the achievements of Ukrainian "mediators" in this field were relatively small and the "World" gleaned its information on the East from Russian sources.

THE NATIONAL SOLIDARITY OF UKRAINIAN CULTURE AND ITS ROOTS IN THE EARTH

The second characteristic which is an advantage to Ukrainians on the one hand though it has an inherent disadvantage which should not be underestimated: *the national solidarity of Ukrainian Culture and its roots in the earth*. Naturally, every culture is rooted in popular sentiment: however, problems arise since the overwhelming majority of the population consisted entirely of peasants, once the nobility had joined the enemy camp several centuries ago, while the middle class and the workers for several reasons which seemed to lie mainly in historical development were unable to develop and were therefore replaced by elements of a foreign nationality. The limitation of the whole community to a healthy peasantry tied to the soil is very significant since this guaranteed a certain stability in the present and security for the future. Nevertheless, implicit in the homogeneity of Ukrainian society is the danger of narrowmindedness and a lack of inner differentiation. These characteristics are quite clearly reflected in the culture and its development. All its branches have this popular "democratic" character. By "Demos" we mean not the urban element but the peasantry in the widest sense of the word. The Ukrainian intelligentsia are included in this concept since they stem almost entirely from the rural population and when closely studied have the same psychic structure as the whole peasantry.

If we now examine the individual fields of cultural activity in Ukraine we come to the conclusion that it is completely dominated by the peasantry. The tragic fate of the socially exploited peasant farmers, their environment, method of work and finally their natural surroundings and their imagination filled with good and evil spirits appear as individual themes. The theatre is generally speaking a "Folk Theatre" or alternatively a "Peasant Theatre" whose beauty and richness of theme, world famous folk music and fine art show the same traces of a close tie with the heart of the nation. Even philosophy which requires a certain clarity of material relationships and therefore presumably a privilege of the upper classes found its way into all walks of life, filling minds with a wealth of philosophical elements which were subsequently to have a decisive effect on the life of the whole nation. A philosophy of life based on original metaphysics in which the position of man in the world, his role in life and relation to the absolute are clearly defined, a system of aesthetics whose outer form and practical application are demonstrated by the remarkably refined folk art — all these factors indicate that philosophical culture penetrated the peasant masses of the Ukrainian people finding favourable ground.

Even the most important 18th century thinker Skovoroda was closely related to the broad masses of the Ukrainian people, being the son of a simple cossack family. The philosopher's simplicity conformed with the simple living conditions of the Ukrainian peasant. Living very frugally the

Ukrainian Socrates travelled across his native land imparting his word to all social classes, like his ancient prototype.

Skovoroda himself, the original personality most intimately bound up with its environment and time, whose activity detached from the broad masses we would find very puzzling, is a concrete example not only of the national solidarity but also the rootedness in the earth of Ukrainian culture. The meaning of his teaching and its effects can only be understood in terms of their very intimate fusion with those elements of Ukrainian spirituality whose roots lie in the country's black earth, drawing nourishment from it.

Ukrainian literature contains an overwhelming majority of themes which have preoccupied Ukrainian poets, derived from this link with the earth. A very good example of this is Olga Kobylanska's novel *The Earth*, whose power of attraction is so great on the Ukrainian peasant that once in the grip of this force which has dominated him for thousands of years, he cannot even be deterred from fratricide and will risk his own life and those of his whole family. The link with the earth gave rise to the only genuinely Ukrainian Theory of State formulated by the most important contemporary historian and sociologist V. Lypynskyj whose political conception envisages the peasant farmers as the carriers of modern state thought, thus showing his fellow countrymen the way to healthy national development. The same applies to art.

However, this demo- and geocratic characteristic of Ukrainian spirituality also has far-reaching disadvantages. If we refer again to the philosophy example it can be said that this discipline due to its overlapping the broader echelons of society adapted itself to their needs and way of thought and subsequently became shallow and democratized. Its horizontal tendencies emphasised philosophy became concrete and practically oriented, linked directly with life; it lost refinement and its abstract nature suffered.

The social novel is still at a very early stage of development. Not, however, because Ukrainians are untalented and lack the ability to treat complicated questions artistically, but because the peasant farmer community with its archaic, simple life style, cannot provide the necessary conflicts and web of situation and interests to fill the framework of the novel with colourful and fascinating images. The historical novel is much more developed; however, the novelle (*short story* — trans.) is the best developed genre. By necessity it selects only a small incident, a tiny piece of reality for its subject, so that it can concentrate more on the psychological background.

THE WIDENING OF INTELLECTUAL PURSUITS

Natural conditions and the breadth of the landscape are such that both the human, physical and spiritual eye wander into immeasurable infinity; at the same time the sphere of interest is doubtless widened although this too must lead to a certain superficiality. There are repeated instances in

Ukrainian culture of eminent talents or people with average gifts dissipating their intellectual powers because of the diversity of their interests, instead of concentrating on a strictly limited field but producing outstanding works. I. Franko for example was extremely active primarily out of an inner necessity as a poet, politician, writer, scholar, publicist, novelist etc. His work was above average in everything; however, it would have been truly outstanding if his energy had been concentrated in only one direction. Hrushevskyj, another example, was a historian of considerable stature among acknowledged historians. Due to a deeply felt inner conviction in the necessity of this approach he allowed himself to be carried along by the political current of his age, resulting in a terrible shipwreck.

Much more evidence could be cited to show that the national solidarity of Ukrainian culture and its roots in the soil have positive and unfortunately also negative sides. The attentive reader however, will not find it particularly difficult himself to find evidence to substantiate this claim.

LACK OF INTEREST IN TRADITION

One of the most frequent features which we come across when studying Ukrainian reality is a poor appreciation of tradition. The Ukrainian does not and does not even want to recognize the motive forces and leading personalities of his nation. Consequently, in the field of culture a whole series of prominent men has been included in foreign cultures almost without opposition. They are thus lost to their own people and appear in a false light in the eyes of future generations. Skovoroda, a Ukrainian whose life and work can only be correctly appreciated in the context of his homeland has been stamped in the foreign histories as the founder and inspiration of Russian philosophy although he himself is in no way to blame for this classification; similarly: Gogol is regarded as a Russian writer, Bortnianskyj as a Russian composer, and Losenko and Levyckyj as Russian painters. Sometimes the artist's domicile, or the language in which he wrote or a third purely peripheral circumstance is given for such changes of nationality. It is understandable in human terms that historians of Polish and Russian culture try to increase their wealth in this way. What remains, however, incomprehensible is the fact that the Ukrainian public does not protest immediately and at least explain the state of affairs to its own people. Usually, however, people remain silent since they are only slightly interested in thoughts expressed at an earlier time however important or stimulating they were.

TRAGIC ELEMENTS

Finally, I would like to mention one more feature rising to prominence with particular clarity against the background of Ukrainian cultural creativity.

The history of Ukrainian culture has tragic features. It is as if the difficult fate of the whole nation with all its catastrophies and misery had come to a head here. There is no doubt that the history (abounding with severe setbacks) of a country destined as the ill-defined border-land between East and West to halt the first onslaught of the Asiatic nomads and be the first to feel their power, has been a major factor behind the tragic element absorbed by the Ukrainian psyche developing in such material circumstances in spite of the fundamental optimism of the entire nation. The history of this country consists apart from the initial period of glorious if only short-lived statehood, periods of difficult struggle and more difficult suffering. It would be pointless at this juncture to examine whether Ukrainians were themselves responsible for this state of affairs or whether it was an outside force. We are only interested in the fact that most spiritual leaders personally felt the needs of the nation and were deeply sympathetic that their works have expressed these dominant feelings.

These short introductory observations serve as pointer and suggestions to the non-Ukrainian reader. Whether they present a true picture or need to be corrected will become clear in the discussion of the following chapters.

Translated by *Wolodymyr Slez*

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Prof. Dr. Volodymyr DERZHAVYN

THE CORYPHÆUS OF UKRAINIAN LITERATURE

The poet who could merely sit on a chair and make stanzas would never make a stanza worth much. He could not sing the Heroic Warrior unless he himself were a Heroic Warrior too. I fancy there is in him the Politician, the Thinker, Legislator, Philosopher. In one or the other degree, he could have been, he is, all of these.

Thomas Carlyle

In the first place, we should like to give a brief survey of the main literary facts:

Ivan Franko (1856-1916), generally acknowledged as the greatest writer, philologist, and social thinker of Halychyna (Western Ukraine), who was also the spiritual father of the modern all-Ukrainian national trend and, as a poet, writer, and critic, was extremely productive and manysided, was, above all, a literary pioneer inasmuch as it was thanks to his efforts that the Ukrainian reader had an opportunity to become acquainted with world literature, and in so far as he introduced and adapted, with considerable artistic perfection, classical and modern West European literary genres in Ukrainian literature, both by his own creative work and by countless translations and essays in the field of literary criticism. Although he was the creator of the Ukrainian naturalist social novel and social drama, in his idealistic poetic works, which, incidentally, later also reveal certain impressionist and, in fact, even symbolist traits, he breaks away from the popular and realistic limits of his original positivism and, in his longer epic poems such as "Mykyta the Fox" (which was written in 1890 and is a satiric version of the European medieval "animal epic"), "The Death of Cain" (1889), "Ivan Vyshensky" (1900), and "Moses" (1905), reveals an artistic and heroic outlook on life which is firmly based on national consciousness. In its manysidedness, his profound influence in German literature, which it undoubtedly equals in extent.

Although it must be admitted that most Ukrainian literary historians and critics, when questioned as to the part played by Ivan Franko in Ukrainian literature, always give the stereotyped reply that he is Ukraine's second greatest writer after Taras Shevchenko, we do not wish to contest this reply at this point, but it nevertheless contains a profounder significance which must not be overlooked. T. Shevchenko was the prophet of the Ukrainian national revival and his patriotic verses still live on in the heart of every Ukrainian; it is true that he was a great poet, but he was essentially a poet only (that is to say if one does not take into consideration his many achievements in the field of painting, which were, however, by no means epoch-making artistic masterpieces); it was only with some hesitation and not with any real success, in fact, that he tried his hand at prose, and he was, by nature, not particularly interested in philology, publicism, or active

politics. Franko, however, was the writer "par excellence", the representative of the entire intellectual culture of his nation who was a master of all the forms of expression of the intellectual and spiritual life of his Ukrainian contemporaries, and moreover, was capable of guiding the latter and, in the long run, did so. As Professor Clarence A. Manning (Columbia University) has so aptly said, Ivan Franko "as poet, novelist, dramatist, literary critic, scholar, political pamphleteer, and in many another way worked steadily and unflinchingly for the good of his people".

And yet this amazing manysidedness of his creative work was by no means the attitude of a polyhistor, nor did it in any way impair the truly individual originality of the encyclopedic personality of this great writer. Ivan Franko always remained true to his own self, a man who bears and is willing to bear the personal responsibility for every word he writes, whether he is concerned with ethnographical research, current problems pertaining to social and national policy, philosophical writings, or with a naturalist portrayal of morals and customs. Not even socialism which was so widespread in Europe during the second half of the past century — apart from a certain ideological influence which it had on his way of thinking in his youth — prompted him to abandon his sense of personal responsibility and his ethical ideals; and as far as Marxist social democracy was concerned, Franko in the later years of his life quite definitely attacked it when, in an autobiographical essay, he openly expressed his uncompromising opposition to every form of dogmatism and to every kind of authoritarian disregard or suppression of the human personality:

"I never belonged to that sect of the faithful who founded their socialistic program on the dogmas of hatred and class warfare, and I have courage enough amid the sneers and abuses of such adepts openly to carry the standard of a true humanitarian socialism aiming at the ethical, broadly humanistic education of the popular masses for progress and general enlightenment, for personal liberty as well as national, and not for party dogmatism, nor for the despotism of leaders, nor the bureaucratic regimentation of all the phases of everyday life, nor for a parliamentary chicanery to bring in the hoped-for future".

It is, incidentally, amazing how much his fundamental spiritual and intellectual attitude tallies with the attitude of the Anglo-Saxon world — with the high assessment of all individual achievement and opinion, with the rejection of dogmatic teachings or theories, with the manly "attitude to life" which rejects all optimistic illusions and overcomes its pessimism by an unwavering and heroic sense of duty. It would, however, be wrong to interpret this spiritual and intellectual affinity as a direct personal influence. A study of the literature of Western Europe during the past century, for instance, reveals that the writer whose attitude to life in general comes closest to Ivan Franko's is not Balzac or Zola, whose works undoubtedly inspired Franko to write his realistic or naturalist novels and stories, but his great English contemporary, Thomas Hardy, although it seems fairly unlikely that there was any direct influence in this case. As regards Franko's

poetic works, however, the situation is different, for here one can definitely say that the English example for Franko's artistic achievements was none other than Byron.

Not, it is true, Byron as the creator of "Don Juan" or "Childe Harold", but as the writer of a somewhat gloomy and mainly political and passionate lyric poetry and of dramatic works. And it is very gratifying to know that it is precisely those works of Franko's which reveal an affinity with Byron — namely, the lyric poems of Franko's later period and his longer epic poems — that have been made available to the English-speaking reader, to a limited but nevertheless quite considerable extent, by the literal and artistically perfect translations by that recently deceased prominent authority on Ukrainian poetry, the Reverend Percival Cundy, who, had it not been for his premature death, would undoubtedly have enriched the English store of translated literature with all the most important works of both Ivan Franko and Lesya Ukrainka. Nevertheless, the English-speaking reader, thanks to the fact that Cundy's translations of certain poems by Ivan Franko have already been published*, now has a chance to read for himself the practically unabridged version of the poem, "The Death of Cain", which as regards its contents (in the epic style) is a continuation of the theme of Byron's play, "Cain", and presents a philosophical sublimation of the ethical and metaphysical problems raised by Byron and proclaims the final reconciliation of Cain to God and the world with an artistic perfection which is all the more impressive since Franko is here giving expression to his own ethical creed :

I will teach
Them mutual love, persuade them to forsake
Their enmities, shedding each other's blood.
I, first of murderers, will thus my sin
Redeem, by turning man from violence.
My people, children, all posterity!
Give up your tears for a lost Paradise!
I bring you it! The wisdom that I bring
Shall help you to attain it for yourselves,
To recreate lost Eden in your hearts!

No less important for an understanding of Franko's entire lifework is his historical poem, "Ivan Vyshensky", in which he presents the conflict between the ascetic religious demands of a love consecrated to God and the humanitarian demands of human love, of love of one's fellow-men and of one's own native country :

The hermit sits
And cons the letter o'er and o'er
And spots it with his falling tears.

* Ivan Franko: Selected Poems. Translated with a biographical by Percival Cundy. Edited by Clarence A. Manning (Philosophical Library, New York, 1948). All the passages quoted in this article are taken from poems included in the above-mentioned selection.

“O, hear thy Mother calling thee,
Ukraine, the land that gave thee birth!
Thy Motherland with tears calls for
Her best beloved son to come!”

Beloved son! Can “son” be called
A man, who in the darkest hour,
When foes assail and courage droops,
Will not fly to his mother’s aid?

Has he forgot those holy words
Which run: “Who saith that he loves God,
Yet his own brother doth not help,
He lies, and doeth not the truth”.

Of the most outstanding masterpiece of all Franko’s works, the Biblical poem, “Moses”, which was no doubt to some extent influenced by the “Mort de Moÿse” by the French Romanticist, Alfred de Vigny, but reveals a more profound philosophy and exalts the purely psychological motives which prevail in the latter work to a social ethical and metaphysical level, only the last third, which is as profound in philosophy, but not by any means as expressive in poetry as the rest of the poem, is included in Percival Cundy’s excellent translation. It is not only true that “in a real sense “Moses” was the culmination of the work of Franko; it marked his first acceptance of the fact that he would never accomplish all on which he had set his heart, to see his people free and happy; in this he won through all the doubts and difficulties that had been his” (C. A. Manning); and, most certainly, “the background of Franko’s masterpiece is the experience of Franko himself and his relations with his own people as their spiritual leader after almost forty years of hard work on their behalf” (P. Cundy), but also that the poet in the personal background of this work included all the ideological and political problems pertaining to the leadership of mankind and the historical mission of the nations, and solved these questions through the medium of an attitude to life which, it is true, is resigned as far as immediate success is concerned, but is nevertheless an active and heroic attitude, as the conclusion of the poem unmistakably reveals:

Like eagle’s shriek, above the crowd,
Rang out that shrill and piercing cry;
It rolled and echoed from the mount:
“To arms, and fight for liberty!”

An instant — then all will awake
And break their stupefaction strange,
Yet none will know how in a flash
There came o’er them this sudden change.

An instant — then a thousand throats
 Will Joshua's battle-cry repeat,
 And from the sluggish nomads rise
 A race of heroes to their feet.

Their drumming feet will pound the sand
 And make it mud beneath their feet:
 Abiram will be stoned to death,
 A noose will Dathan's schemes defeat.

O'er mountains like a bird they'll fly,
 And Jordan's stream be dashed to spray,
 The walls of Jericho like ice
 Will melt before the trumpet's bray.

Thus towards an unknown future, they
 Will March with longing and dismay,
 To pave a highway for man's soul,
 Yet perish on their onward way.

In his conception of art as such and, in particular, of poetic art, this great teacher of his people was likewise a pioneer; we are not so much referring to formal poetic innovations, although in this respect it was precisely Franko who definitely established such forms as the hexameter, the elegiac couplet, the sonnet and the terza rima in Ukrainian poetry, but rather to his conception of the part played by art in social and cultural life, a conception which is most clearly expressed in his terza rima "The Poet's Task" (included in his last volume of poems, "Semper Tiro" — "Always a Learner", which appeared in 1906):

O poet, know: that on the path of life,
 No pearls, no riches, shalt thou ever find,
 Nor shelter from earth's elemental strife.

O poet, know: thy mission is designed
 For thee to feel men's pains in their extremes,
 Ere thou shalt reach thy goal by heaven assigned.

O poet, know: that in the sphere of dreams,
 Illusions, fancies, shall thy Eden bloom;
 Thy task: to seek therein for vital themes.

The poet-prophet's gift will thee foredoom
 To lead thy fellows to a Promised Land;
 But yet, to enter it, do not presume.

* * *

Go through life's masquerade with naked face,
 And, like the sage of old, a lantern bear,
 Whene'er thou walkest in the market place.

The soul of things will in its light appear,
Its rays will penetrate the darkest mass.

Be not a judge to men, but friend sincere,
Both mirror and restorer. Look and pass.*

POEMS**

HYMN

The eternal spirit of revolt,
The spirit which moves men to fight
For progress, liberty and right,
Still lives, nor has it shot its bolt.
The Inquisition's rack and boot,
The mercenaries trained to shoot,
The tyrant's guns and cannon balls,
The tzarist bans and prison walls,
The traitor and the spy — all they
Have failed to take its life away.

It is not dead — this very hour
'Tis more alive. Though it saw light
A thousand years since, yet in might
It onward moves by its own power.
In growing strength, without delay
It hastens where it sees the day.
It sounds a trumpet to awake
Mankind to follow in its wake,
And millions gladly join its train
Whene'er they hear that thrilling strain.

That spirit's voice is heard today
In haunts of those who till the soil,
In factories where workers toil,
Where tears and misery hold away
And everywhere that voice resounds,
Men's tears are dried, their heart rebounds,
Misfortunes fade, new strength is born
To fight again. No more they mourn,
But strive to win a better fate
For children's sake, are 'his too late.

* In the original this final sentence is in Italian, a quotation from Dante: "Guarda e passa".

** Translated by Percival Cundy and reprinted from the book Ivan Franko, edited by Clarence A. Manning, by kind permission of the publishers, The Philosophical Library, Inc., 15 East 40th Street, New York City.

This living spirit of revolt,
Of progress, liberty and right
Shall not retreat before the night,
Shall nevermore be brought to halt
In ruin evil round us lies,
The avalanche's rush now dies —
In all the world there is no force
That can avail to stay its course,
That can put out the vital spark
We now see glimmering in the dark.

THE PIONEERS

I saw a vision strange. Stretched out before me lay
A measureless but barren, open plain. And I,
With iron chains on hands and feet, stood in array
Before a granite mount which rose up, towering high,
With other thousands — captives, fettered the same way.

Deep lines of pain and grief were etched on every face
Yet in the eyes of all the flame of love still burned.
The fetters clung to each with serpent-like embrace,
And every back was bent, each face was downwards turned.
For all seemed bowed beneath a burden of disgrace.

A mighty iron sledge I saw in every hand
And sudden from the sky a voice like thunder burst:
"Break through this rock! Let neither cold nor heat withstand
Your toil! In spite of danger, hunger, cold, and thirst,
Stay not, for yours it is to smash this granite band!"

At this we all as one our sledges raised on high;
A thousand thundering blows crashed down upon the rock.
On every side we saw the shards of granite fly,
The rock crack off in blocks. With ceaseless, desperate shock,
We hammered on with strength that nothing could defy.

Like roaring cataract or battle's bloody din,
Our sledges kept on thudding with exhaustless might,
New footholds every moment we never failed to win.
Though many a one of us fell crippled in the fight
We onward pressed, for naught could shake our discipline.

Yet each of us well knew he should no glory reap,
Nor would man's memory requite our toilsome pain,
That long before our seed along that road would sweep,
Ere we could break a path and make it smooth and plain,
Our bleaching bones would lie beside it in a heap.

We had no thirst of glory in our hearts to slake,
For we were neither knights nor heroes seeking fame.
Mere slaves we were, but such as freely, gladly take
Their bonds as self — made slaves in freedom's glorious name
The pioneers who toil a new highway to break.

And all held firm belief that by our strength unfurled
We'd rend the prisoning rock, the granite wall defy;
That by our mortal strength, though we to death were hurled,
Yet after, with our bones, we'd pave a road whereby
New life and hope might come into this sorry world.

And every one knew too, that in the world we'd left
Behind us for these chains and sweat and toil forlorn,
Were mothers, sweethearts, weeping wives and little ones bereft,
And friends and enemies, who, pitying or in scorn,
Cursed us and our enterprise and feared the dreadful cleft.

We knew it and at times, bowed down in sore distress,
Our hearts would almost fail as sweet remembrance came.
Yet neither tears nor pity nor great weariness
Nor curses ever made us falter in our aim —
Nor sledge dropped from our hands beneath the awful stress.

We march in close accord, for each the purpose owns
To form a brotherhood, each with a sledge in hand.
What though the world forgets, or even us disowns!
We'll rend that prisoning rock, we'll pave a broad new strand!
New life shall come to man, though it come o'er our bones!

KOTLYAREVSKY

A mighty eagle on a snowy height
Sat gazing all around with his keen eye,
When lo, he started upwards towards the sky
And on his splendid pinions took his flight.
His sweeping wing brushed off a cloud of snow;
It fell and started other clouds downhill;
They gathered force and strength and size until

An avalanche went roaring down below.
So Kotlyarevsky happily once spoke,
Began to sing in our Ukrainian tongue —
Though what he sang then seemed to be a joke,
Yet in it lay an earnest great and strong.
That spark did not die out amongst our folk,
But blazed and warmed us all are long.

WHAT MAKES SONGS LIVE?

Each of the songs I've sung
 Took from my life a day,
 'T was something which I lived,
 Not just a written lay.

Each line of every song
 Was part of my own brain,
 The thoughts, they were my nerves,
 The sounds were my heart's pain.

What moved that soul of yours
 Was my own heartfelt grief;
 What throbbed within the song
 Were tears which brought relief.

For this my soul is strung
 Like strings upon a harp
 Each passing touch, each blow,
 Wakes tones now sweet, now sharp.

It matters not what flows
 Of good or ill therein —
 In song there only lives
 What life itself puts in.

IDYLL

Long years ago this was. Two children small
 Were trudging bravely, hand in hand, along
 A path that from their village led across
 The lowland meadows, gay with flowers, under
 The summer sun.

The elder was a boy
 With ruddy cheeks, blond hair, and deep-blue eyes.
 A stick he carried in one hand and 'neath
 His arm, close hugged, a loaf of bread.
 His ragged hat with flowers was adorned
 Yet 'twas the girl that led him on the way,
 Though younger far. Her eyes, like thorn-buds black,
 Glowed like two red-hot coals and glances swift
 Darted at all around. Her plaited hair
 Swayed like a mouse's tail. A tiny strand
 Of ribbon red was twisted in the plait.
 Some cooked potatoes in a kerchief tied
 She swung, and underneath her arm she bore
 Some sprays of green pea vine with pods thereon
 Still hanging.

Volodymyr T. ZYLA

“MOJA DOBA” (MY EPOCH)
A Poem of Intense Personal Involvement

By studying and analysing various poetical works we seek to comprehend better why they were written. Some poets like to echo the past, some like to speak about the present directly or indirectly, some like to involve themselves more, some not at all. Poetry is, to a very large extent, the concentration of experiences and impressions of its creator. T. S. Eliot argued for the “depersonalization” of the creator, who, in his opinion, should appear merely as a “catalyst” or “medium”, and the emotions in his creation should be an “escape from personality”.¹ A similar opinion is expressed by Arthur Rimbaud, who believed that the speaker in a poem should no longer be the poet himself.² The strongest formulation of this idea originated with Stéphane Mallarmé who suggested that in a “pure” poetry we should not sense the poet speaking directly in his own voice of his personal emotions.³

Yet we can find a large number of poetical works where the opposite is true and where poetry is the direct result of the poet’s “extremes in suffering and joy”.⁴ A good example of such poetry is Yar Slavutych’s “My Epoch”. The 625 octaves written in a cause-effect pattern, consisting of twelve songs and an epilogue, are the result of joy and the extremes of the suffering. Even the title “My Epoch” affirms that the poem is concerned not only with the general past of the epoch, but more specifically with the emotions, thoughts and actions of the poet himself. What is important, however, is that the treatment of the events is direct, internalized and viewed through the prism of the poet’s mind and heart. Thus the poem embodies the relationship between the poet and the world. On many occasions the poet’s own concerns transcend his personal sufferings, and he begins to objectify them by discovering the external equivalents for his internal state of mind.

His approaches are not so much contradictory as complementary. On the one hand, his poetry is a direct lyrical expressive outburst while, on the other hand, it yields to the empirical requirements in order that the poet’s words will evoke meaning which will be closely related to his poetical preference. This way his creative presentation takes the upper hand over discursive description. Thus what we get in a poem is a fusion of emotion and scene. He fuses subjective states and external actions and develops the connections among objects and between the self and objects and through these connections he transforms, explains, or simply reveals the underlying ideas of his poem.

Even in the first song “Paradise and Hell” Slavutych fuses subjective states and external actions, and he views them from inside. They exist in

relation to one another and he, an artist, builds the necessary connections between them.

Pryjšov tryvožno trydcjat' druhyj rik.
Ljudej, mov bydlo, hnaly u kolchozy,

.....
Ščodnja j ščonoči komunisty braly —
Kudys' vezly na solovky j uraly.⁵

(The thirty second year came with alarm,
People, like cattle, were forced into kolhozs,

.....
The Communists transported them day and night
To somewhere in the Solovky and the Urals.)⁶

Poetic truth is embodied here in real images that are related by association and juxtaposition rather than by logical sequence. The poet's paradise at home came quickly to an end, and he attempts to recreate the timeless moment of horrible truth rather than a structure of consecutive thoughts or events.

I ja nadryvno zarydav hruďmy,
Bo za prožytyx čotyrnadsjat' rokiv
Ja šče ne bačyv otakyx prytokiv. (p. 260)

(And hysterically I began to sob,
Because in my fourteen years
I had not seen such events.)

His reaction instantaneously becomes complex, and he reacts even more intensely, because he realizes the presence of a great danger. There is no time for causal undefined relationships, ambiguities or unresolved decisions. Innocent people are already packed into a train to be moved out of the Ukraine to the cold northern parts of Russia because

Moskva odnakova... dobra ne ždy! (p. 262)
(Moscow is the same... don't expect good from her!)

The poet simply equates Moscow with evil; he no longer pursues a causal or logical sequence of events. The friendship between the three heroes of the poem, Pavlo, Maksym, and Hryhorij (the poet himself) becomes the necessity, it becomes vital, sublime and strong, and it capitalizes on the touchy aspects of the situation. The poet is unable to reach the truth by reason alone because blind force stands in his way. Three courageous friends risk their lives and jump off the train. This sudden action offers new chances and gives thema possibility to be once again in Ukraine.

While asleep the author has a strange but meaningful dream. He sees his mother, who walks with dignity and holds a fiery horse by the golden silk bridle; from his nostrils sparks the fire; a golden saddle is on his back, but there is no rider. The horse is ready to fight the dragon.

“Bery, — skazala maty, — j pospišaj
Z nevoli ridnyj vyzvoljaty Kraj!” (p. 265)

(“Take the horse, said the mother, and hurry
To free your native land from bondage.”)

This symbolic scene draws on interactions and is responsible for the reciprocal reflections throughout the poem. Its language sounds qualitatively different from ordinary poetry. It involves great concentration and powerful emotions. It is more than poetry, it has something divine in itself. At this point the dream has universal implications:

Zdavalosja, ščo prostir pido mnoju
I sonce, j zori, i planety vsi
Tekly j tekly nestrymnoju rikoju
U nevygovnij kosmosu krasni,
Mij podvyh osjavajučy soboj;
I ja, vidomsty pravednyj nosij,
Nemov Jarema, zvivšy meč pid xmary,
Hukav: “Pokary moskaljam, pokary!” (p. 266)

(It seemed that the universe was beneath me
All the sun, the stars, and the planets
Flowed and flowed like an irresistible river.
They themselves blessed my success
Through the inexpressible beauty of the cosmos,
And I, a righteous bearer of the revenge,
Like Jarema, having lifted my sword to heavens,
Hailed: “Punish, punish the Moskala”?)

This is not a disinterested contemplation or a deliverance from self; it is an inner cry of a soul for justice. The poem becomes a true manifestation of high principles and of the poet's intuitive and mystical union with them. The speaker's identity is thereby not complicated despite the author's simultaneous attempt to maximize his personal involvement in this crucial song.

Someone may try to call it a rhetoric which overreaches itself in an attempt to express the inexpressible, but it is not. The poet is distressed not by his difficulty to portray the lyric passages, but by his country's sufferings which he can barely sustain. But he is a strong, confident, visionary man, and he is ready to advance his views and to reach parallels that fit into his dream and into his persistent poetic utterance; therefore there are no obstacles that can stop him on his chosen way.

Not looking at his life retrospectively, Slavutych confronts the reader with a new serious national problem — a famine. The indefatigable author turns to his Muse and pleads:

Laskava muzo! Vyjmy z cyx tortur
Moje nadxnennja j povedy za hory
Za kryhu rik, za hnivnyj okean —
Do Ukrajiny vsenarodnyx ran. (p. 268)

(O gentle Muse! Take my inspiration
 From these tortures and lead it
 Behind the mountains, behind the river covered with ice,
 Behind the wrathful ocean
 And bring it to Ukraine's wounds.)

As we examine this passage more closely it becomes apparent that the poet's love of his country is the crucial element that allows his poetry to deal with overwhelming national questions. The words that form this touching passage and throw it into contrast with the following grimness and brutality, indicate that the divine order of nature is not being completely disrupted and that there is a hope for love and change. Thus what is left in this crucial moment is to turn to God and pray for his mercy. And the poet does this:

O, zhljan'sja, Bože! Mudru daj poradu!
 Didyžna hšyne, vymyraje ljud...
 Nevže buv pradidiv daremnyj trud? (p. 270)

(O God, behold! Give wise advice!
 Our grandfathers' achievements will be lost,
 The people are dying...
 Was the work of our great-grandfathers really in vain?)

The tone of the passage is radically different from what the poet said previously. Now he does his best to illustrate that he is actively involved in his mission in order to avoid despair and to suggest his sympathy and understanding for human suffering. These lines convey peaceful reconciliation and consolation by calling for natural Christian qualities that come from man's realization for the need to live in peace and to adhere to Christian doctrine. What is remarkable, however, especially in view of poet's final mission, is his meeting with the dying grandfather. We are impressed by the poet's ability to convey the grandfather's feelings and by his vision and ability to express it strongly:

Kljanys' meni, ščo vyžyveš! Kljanys'
 I v sudnyj den' za smert' moju pomstys'! (p. 272)

(Swear before me that you will survive, swear
 That during the Day of Judgment you will revenge my death!)

This demanding plea may be difficult to understand. Its emphasis is directed towards gaining a balanced situation by incorporating revenge into the system of nature and by making the individual's revenge appear as a significant event that bestows on the author a kind of natural sanctity in this high cause. In point of fact it is entirely certain that, regardless of circumstances, the poet employs his device in order to fulfill his mission. More details might be enumerated to prove the validity of the mission, but such citation would be unnecessary, for the powerful effect of the imagery itself is more than the sum of the individual words portraying the scene. But

whether or not this interpretation is valid and correct, the two lines provide the necessary clues to the self-consciousness of the poem's narrator and, of course, to the poet's own expressive art of creativity.

And time was passing, the milkmaids (from a state-owned farm) secretly were giving fresh, warm, and fragrant milk to Hryhorij who was growing and maturing.⁸

Vin čuv — za pličmy kryla vyrostaly :
Stavav micnym, jak dub, sičovykom.

O krasni mriji, maryva pryvabli,
Lyše b dopasty hryvanja i šabli. (p. 276)

(He felt how the wings were growing on his back :
He was becoming strong, like an oak, a true member of the Sič.⁹
O beautiful dreams, alluring mirages
To fall greedily upon the horse with a big mane and to get
a sabre.)

The poet's total awareness of his mission extends to the realization of the importance of his maturing, which becomes for him a license for the most important critical appraisal of his strength. This maturation is why the symbolic concept of the wings is so important, for they imply freedom, they stress the positive side of the parallel and make Slavutych's poem moving and great for the sake of Ukraine, for whom his love grows consistently. He envisions a strong horse, similar to the one he saw in his dream, and of a sabre on which the emphasis is placed, and his attention is focussed in order to restore what his country had once been. Several other songs of the poem may be cited to support this point. Perhaps it would be best to begin with his second dream, which occurred on Lysa hora (Bald-headed Mountain).¹⁰ This dream presents many of the tragic events from Ukrainian history that were caused by devilish forces. The witch in the poem intends to destroy the poet himself in order to silence his poetry, poetry of truth (especially of such crucial issues as historical veracity and freedom). Since the poet's reflections in this song are not isolated thoughts, but constitute a large account of the past within the framework of the poem, his purpose becomes instructional because he talks of its origins and of vice itself, which he says, stems from a lack of understanding of man's passion for "freedom". The dream is not only a significant fact but a turning point of the poem because the poet survives all the attack of the hellish witch. He is once again willing to involve himself actively and to promote forcefully the fight for existence. It is clear that this decision is correct. He should not criticize, but should work to promote a strong appeal that is even stronger than anything seen up to now. And suddenly all visions disappear and Hryhorij (the poet himself) remains at the treeless summit of the mountain under the strong impression of the deadly stories with one puzzling question :

Jaka ž razhadka? Symvoly? Jaku
C'omu vydinnju nadavaty značnist'? (p. 327)

(What's the solution? Symbols? How
To evaluate these unique apparitions?)

Are there any prophecies to be associated with these apparitions? It is true that our interest in the supernatural today is not as strong as it was in the past. But still the supernatural has no less appeal to us than it had to the people in the past. There is no doubt that these apparitions have symbolic value and that they represent the poet's noble ambitions. He is apparently not trying to interpret them because he is aware of their double interpretation, which he avoids in order not to be led to overconfidence. It could also be said that the dreams are just another creation of the author's overheated brain and of his involvement in the poem. But he is human and he definitely wants his pain and suffering to be alleviated by showing that the world in which he lives can be changed according to his desires and that a better world with a climate favourable to his wishes and demands can be established.

During the beginning stages of the war with Germany there reigned a complete apathy among the Soviet soldiers. No one had to persuade them to leave the military ranks because there was no alternative for them but despair.

Nixto ne prahne revno vojuvaty!
Za ščo? Za smert' vid holodu bat'kiv?
Za movne vbyvstvo? Za v'jaznyčni graty?
Za Solovky? (p. 344)

(No one wishes zealously to fight!
What for? For the death of their parents from famine?
For linguicide? For the prison's iron-bars?
For Solovky?)

Strong accusations are thrown against the enemy that is described in ugly images of brutality and injustice for which the poet sees no excuses. The savage regime is destined for destruction for its crimes. The poet clearly means what he writes and the way he feels. He feels now that it is time to leave and organize the Ukrainian army (Černyhiv Sič) because

... najbilše čornoji ruiny
Nese strašna vijna dlja Ukrajinu.
.....
Na bytvu jty, na pravdonosnyj klyč. (p. 344)

(The terrible war brings
the blackest ruin to the Ukraine.
.....

Go, fight, and follow the truthful call to arms.)

This call is obviously an important and enduring way to prove that the poet, as he matures, is less and less satisfied with illusion, no matter how pleasant that illusion may be. He wants deeds, because deeds are man's striving in a world that is very unfriendly and therefore more irrelevant to the poet's requirements. He hopes that the harsh truth of reality and the longing for a better world can save the Ukraine from ruin and rightly promote her cause.

Slavutych's point of view is consistently optimistic and his views and actions always conform to his ideal — the Ukraine which, for him, is secular and spiritual in its nature. Therefore his observations are not merely aesthetic and metaphysical, but also concrete, historical, and social. He looks to his people with admiration, respect, and honour.

Bezsmertnyj ty, neskorenyj narode,
 Početvertovanyj, nemov judej.
 Tebe zaharbnyk udesjate, vsote
 Bere v nevolju — jak tjažkyj trofej. (p. 346)

(Thou immortal, indomitable people,
 Cut in four parts as the Jew,
 Thou are taken for the tenth, for the hundredth time
 As a prisoner — as a significant trophy.)

This candid assertion reflects the poet's idealistic and heroic vision and suggests a complete rejection of the subjugation of his nation. He sees no other loyalties or responsibilities except the one for his people. He rightly draws a parallel between the Jewish and Ukrainian people in their drive for freedom and independence, and he seeks a rather tangible spiritual recognition for his nation's effort to free itself.

All of his narratives are expressed in highly poetical language with images derived from reality but infused with the poet's feelings. It might be expected that, when narrative is autobiographical rather than purely objective, greater intensity and vividness will result. Such qualities are true of Slavutych's twelfth song "Farewell". In it he departs from everything that he had at home, with what and with whom he associated and what he cherished in his life. The poetical lines are touching and poignant not only for the author but for anyone who has left his native land with no possibility of return. Here the poet's involvement is complete because the poetry is autobiographical and flows directly from the poet's heart. The verse is highly refined, nostalgic and profound in its meaning. In this song traditional moral values are not only reasserted and elaborated, they are also carefully classified by the profound transcendental concepts of right and wrong, good and evil. They convey a clear message to anyone who reads the poem and has the courage to see its importance and its function in life.

The poet returns once more to his own people from whom he had parted. But this final farewell is not easy because it accounts for the poet's own life history. An examination of this issue throws a significant light on Ukrainian

village life in general and mentions its fortunes and its drawbacks. Furthermore, it accomodates a wide diversity of objects that people loved and cherished in their sympathetic world. There is nothing that could imply something inferior; on the contrary every facet of life is admirably filled with great interest in everyday events.

Probably the most important and the most enduring feature of the whole poem is the poet's farewell to Ukrainian people :

Proščaj, neskorenyj, žyvyj narode!
Toboju dane, na mojim čoli
Blahoslovennja, mov jasni klejnody,
Nestymu hordo ja po vsij zemli. (p. 377)

(Good-bye, indomitable, living people!
I will carry the blessing that you have bestowed upon me
On my forehead as a distinguished treasure,
And I will carry it proudly throughout the whole earth.)

This verse indicates that the poet is more clearly involved in his mission than he was when he began. The verse is active performance of a rather unsurprising idea that is unavoidable and irreversible. It reminds us in a literal sense that something superior exists that cannot be conquered because it is eternal, but poetry can glorify it is a triumph over suffering, pain and even death. This continuous stream of consolation runs throughout the poem and gives it a touch of immortality.

In the epilogue the poet turns to the Canadian Ukraine and calls it "Saint Canadian Ukraine" because there he took refuge and lives freely and creates freely. There he can recount the whole story of his life that roars with force and energy once again. And this story is precisely what the poem is about; the poem presents a fresh and undistorted picture of the iniquities and injustices that have plagued Ukrainians and Ukraine. The poem does so by elucidating the mysterious ways in which vitality and reassurance for this subjugated nation can be restored.

The poet finally turns to the reader and calls upon him to concentrate ultimately on his own responses to the world :

Cytaču revnyj — byjsja do kincja!
Pid praporamy provisnoji pravdy. (p. 382)

(Assiduous reader — fight to the end!
Under the banners of prophetic truth.)

The poet fully regains his purpose and subordinates everything, his feelings included, in order to create poetry that will echo the great cause in an attempt to give to it a new sheen, a new vitality. There is no doubt that sooner or later a great struggle for prophetic truth will define itself and will find meaningful expression.

In conclusion one may say that there is much of Dantean atmosphere in

Slavutych's poem. The poem was probably inspired by Dante's *Vita nuova*, *Convivio*, and *Comedia* and possibly by Shelley's *Epipsychidion*. Shelley established in his poem three major connections between his speaker and Dante, whereas Slavutych follows his own pattern. He narrates about his life (some 46 years) just as Dante did. His love is addressed to Ukraine, while Dante's love is directed to Beatrice. However, for both of them, the praise itself becomes joy and reward. Just as Dante's *Vita nuova* is an inexhaustible fountain of purity of sentiment and language, so is Slavutych's "My Epoch" — which represents the best work that he ever wrote. "My Epoch" is a spiritual volcano which continuously erupts and produces a new poetic vision that is profound in its content and form.

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NOTES

¹ "Tradition and the Individual Talent", in *The Sacred Wood* (1920; repr. London, 1972), pp. 53-58.

² Letter to Georges Izambard, May 13, 1871, in Jean Nicolas Arthur Rimbaud, *Oeuvres*, ed. Suzanne Bernard (Paris, 1960), p. 344.

³ Stéphane Mallarmé, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Henri Mondor and G. Jean-Aubry (Paris, 1945), p. 366.

⁴ Rainer Maria Rilke, *Briefe*, ed. Ruth Sieber-Rilke and Karl Altheim (Wiesbaden, 1950), II, p. 136.

⁵ Yar Slavutych, *Zibrani tvory 1938-1978* (Collected Works: 1938-1978 [Edmonton: "Slavuta", 1978]), p. 259. All quotations originate from this publication and are cited in the text by page numbers.

⁶ This and all other translations are mine.

⁷ Moskal (Muscovite) applied here to the people of Russian extraction.

⁸ This reminds us of the Roman legend concerning Romulus and his twin brother Remus, who after being suckled by a she-wolf (Remus perished later) survived for their great mission.

⁹ Cossacks' first permanent encampment on the Dnipro's (Dnieper) island Xortycja, beyond the rapids. Established there in the latter part of the sixteenth century, the Sič was finally destroyed by Catherine II in 1775 and the territory around it was settled by German immigrants whom she favoured. The term derived either from the word "zasika" — the palisade, or from "sikty" — to cut or hew (as one does in battle).

¹⁰ In this song entitled "Lysa hora", there are certain literary parallels (especially in the imagery) that a careful reader may remember from Hohol's (Gogol) and Sevčenko's works. Slavutych deals with them and maintains a complete independence. The poet says the following: "I always choose to be completely independent; this I observed and I continue to observe. Otherwise there is no sense in writing". Letter to W. T. Zyla, dated June 20, 1980 in the possession of the author of this article.

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Stefan L. RYCHTYCKYI

OUN IN 1940-41 AND THE ACT OF JUNE 30, 1941

*Ucrainica Research Institute. Paper presented at the Conference
on the history of OUN, Montreal, Canada, 1979*

From my own experience in the western world, which for Ukrainians begins on the western frontier of East Germany, I arrived at the conclusion that it is a sheer impossibility to expect from the western man a real and profound understanding of the dilemma of the Ukrainian nation, the so-called "Ukrainian problem". The differences between Eastern European and Western worlds, in political practice, are just too vast. It is hard even to imagine an area of this globe where to this very day the aims of totalitarian imperialism are being practiced with the help of naked, brutal suppression of national and human freedom, dignity of man and even free religious expression. It takes a special kind of objectivity of intelligence, profound understanding, and extensive studies of Eastern European history to begin to grasp the idea of what it means to constantly keep fighting for freedom and independence against the total tyranny of the Russian empire, created by Russian princes from the moment of their appearance on the historical stage in the XIII century, through the October Revolution, and until the present. The special conditions of North Eastern Europe, bordering on Asian northern tundra, with its primitive, partly Mongolian tribes, created the frame into which the quite unique Russian national character was moulded — a character, which discards any importance of the individual human being and cultivates an absolute, tyrannical rule over its subjects, with the inbred aim to conquer — if possible — the entire world. The first aggressive adventure of the Muscovite Princedom was directed of course against the first hurdle on the path of its imperialism: Ukraine, which experienced the real meaning of the so-called "neighbourly relations" with Russia in times when Western Europe still did not know that Russia even existed.

The Ukrainians, who began fighting the Russians in 1659 with the great battle of Konotop, and having continued the struggle for almost three centuries were convinced that they could not count on any outside help (because none was offered) as the policies of the Polish Kingdom, and later Napoleon's and Kaiser Wilhelm's wars against Russia proved. Consequently, the Ukrainians learned to rely only on their own national resources, which after the defeat in the years of 1918-1920, resulted in the creation of the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) and in 1929 the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).

World War II, started by Germany's attack on Poland at 4.30 a.m., on Friday, September 1, 1939, raised our hope that the Soviet Union would become involved sooner or later, despite the Ribbentrop-Molotov treaty of August 23, 1939. Ukrainian leaders expected a mobilization of millions of

Ukrainians, which would put weapons into the hands of the Ukrainian masses. The underground activities of the OUN aimed towards a psychological preparation of Ukrainians to turn their weapons against Russia at an opportune moment. Since all legal political parties ceased to exist in Poland with the outbreak of the war, and since there were none in central and eastern Ukraine, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists became the only organized Ukrainian force left on the political scene in Ukraine, which, after the Polish debacle, fell under total Soviet occupation, and in part under German occupation. Ukraine was caught between the Russian hammer and the German anvil. Historically, Ukrainian hopes were always directed toward the West. In the West, however, was the foremost power which had just conquered half of Europe — Poland in September 1939, Norway, France, Belgium and Holland in 1940, and represented the only power at that time able to challenge the Soviet Union. It became imperative for Ukrainians to come to some understanding with this victorious giant in the West. But Ukrainian experience with German policy was already most adverse. In March 1939, Hitler gave the then pro-German Hungarian Government a green light to invade the small Ukrainian Republic of Carpatho-Ukraine, which proclaimed its independence on March 15, 1939. The Ukrainians protested against this German decision and the OUN sent its members from Western Ukraine over the Carpathian Mountains to help in the defense of Carpatho-Ukraine. This was done contrary to the orders issued by Colonel Andriy Melnyk, head of the emigré OUN, who opposed any open action against Germany. The OUN in Ukraine, being more active and decisive, started to encounter difficulties in understanding the policy of the older generation of OUN members, grouped around the person of Colonel Melnyk. Colonel Evhen Konovalets, before his death, nominated Stepan Bandera as the leader of Ukraine-based OUN, a man of strong character and a revolutionary. As it happened, the differences between Ukraine-based OUN and the emigré group began to multiply, particularly in the matter of policy affecting relations between Ukraine and Germany. The emigré OUN, under Colonel Melnyk, favoured an understanding with the German Government in an attempt to influence Berlin to adopt a liberation policy regarding the captive nations of the Soviet Union in the event of war — which was becoming more probable with every passing day. The Ukraine-based OUN, with Stepan Bandera and Yaroslav Stetsko, favoured an independent course, especially when it became evident that the German Government as such, did not have any plans to liberate the captive nations (although some of its members, like minister Alfred Rosenberg, cultivated ideas of a great Ukrainian nation allied with Germany in holding down the constant Russian danger). It seems that the Germans were even more divided in their opinion about Eastern European affairs. The Wehrmacht leader Fieldmarshal Walther von Brauchitsch also favoured some kind of liberation policy, as did Admiral Wilhelm Canaris, Chief of Abwehr (Intelligence). But this “liberation lobby” did not have any chance of success in view of Hitler’s “Ubermensch” racist hysteria, supported by the overwhelming majority of

top Nazi Party leaders, like Göering, Goebbels, Himmler, Heydrich, Sauckel, Bormann and by a large portion of disciplined and loyal generals of the high command, like Fieldmarshal Keitel, General Jodl and others.

Confronted with the official silence of Germany and lack of any response to a Ukrainian memorandum sent to the German Government, the Ukrainians decided to act. In April 1941, the Second Congress of OUN affirmed Stepan Bandera as its leader, and one of his foremost and far-reaching decisions was to attempt to restore a free and independent Ukraine regardless of German policy aims in Eastern Europe in the forthcoming war. Having failed to bring about a reconciliation with Colonel Andriy Melnyk, the Ukraine-based OUN led by Stepan Bandera started its preparations for the restoration of a free and independent Ukrainian state.

The Organization trained a force of Special Task Groups, altogether over seven thousand strong, with directives to reach every town and county in Ukraine in order to organize its national life by restoring a free Ukrainian administration of the country after the Soviet retreat. At that time, the emigré OUN was still continuing its efforts for an understanding with the German Government. Such an unrealistic policy together with his personal indecisiveness, cost Colonel Andriy Melnyk a central role in the coming developments. The Ukrainian public was generally aware about German unreliability (remembering Carpatho-Ukraine) though not totally convinced that the Germans would start a war with the Soviet Union without any liberation policy for captive Eastern European nations. Already in 1934 a Ukrainian journalist Zenon Pelenskyj warned Ukrainians about Germany's real plans as exemplified in Hitler's bible "Mein Kampf". Again, in 1940 Yaroslav Stetsko published a serious dissertation on the subject.

Given such a state of instability and confusion, OUN made its position clear and took upon itself to chart the political course for the whole Ukrainian nation. In effect, according to Yaroslav Stetsko, the conflict inside the OUN was not a tragedy, only a historical development — a conflict of political conceptions. OUN in Ukraine, under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, remained true to the revolutionary concept of the Ukrainian liberation policy, while on the other hand, the OUN under Colonel Melnyk, became the centre of more sedate elements, mostly in emigration circles. Historical necessity gave the initiative the OUN under the leadership of Stepan Bandera and from then on the liberation activities of the Ukrainian people became known by his name (Banderism, Banderists).

In November, 1940, Vyacheslav Molotov, the Soviet Foreign Minister, visited Berlin to learn about Germany's future plans and its views concerning Russian aims in the Balkans and Bosphorus. Hitler's "Nein" placed the Kremlin in a state of awareness. On December 18, 1940, Hitler issued his "Barbarossa Plan", Directive No. 21, ordering the German Wehrmacht to be ready to crush the Soviet Union before the end of the war against Great Britain. In the early morning hours of Sunday, June 22, 1941, a day before Napoleon crossed the Russian frontier one hundred and forty-nine years earlier, the German armed forces began the onslaught against the Soviet

Union. The German invasion was a purely military operation. Nowhere in his speeches did Hitler mention any liberation attempt nor made any promises to captive nations. This was the moment in which Ukrainians, realizing their political potential, went into action, without obtaining Germany's "permission" and, in fact, without even informing Germany. This was the moment of great historical importance for Ukrainians and, as proven by the fate of Germany's Eastern campaign later, for Germany as well.

Although in contact with the Ukrainian Government in exile and with Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky, the OUN in Ukraine (representing the most activist elements of Ukrainians felt that it had no time to lose in view of Germany's attitude and had to make the fateful decision alone fully recognizing its historical responsibility to the Ukrainian people. In the Europe of 1941, the OUN was the first and only resistance force opposing powerful Germany, Hitler and his Nazi Party. The political aspect of this far-reaching historical decision was two-fold and simple: Firstly, an independent Ukraine had to be restored and proclaimed; and secondly, Ukrainians had to know Germany's plans in the Eastern campaign, especially those regarding Ukraine. The military side of this decision was even more dangerous because Ukraine, at that time had no armed forces able to defend such a political decision. In view of the facts, today we stand amazed at the courage and even audacity of Stepan Bandera and the OUN under his leadership who decided to challenge the most formidable military and police machine at that time.

The cause of this fateful decision was the fact that the OUN had one clear aim — the re-establishment of a free and independent Ukraine — which excluded any and all compromises not favourable to this end. The OUN considered itself responsible only to the Ukrainian people, to history and to its political ideals rooted in the tradition of the Ukrainian medieval State of Rus' and the Ukrainian Cossack Republic of the XVI and XVII Centuries. For those reasons, in the final days of June, 1941, the OUN decided to proceed with its plans meeting half-way the enthusiasm and desire of the Ukrainian people to proclaim a free, sovereign and independent Ukraine.

Although the decision to proclaim the restoration of independent Ukraine was made beforehand, it is interesting to note, that the proclamation itself was planned for Kiev, capital of Ukraine. However, the restive behaviour of German Nazi authorities, including that of Prof. Hans Koch who was sympathetic to Ukrainians, but totally loyal to the German Government, caused Yaroslav Stetsko to proclaim the restoration of independent Ukraine in Lviv as soon as possible, because of his growing conviction that the Nazis would never let the Ukrainians do it in Kyiv. Therefore, under extremely dangerous conditions because of the proximity of the front the OUN convened the Ukrainian National Assembly which encompassed all political groups. The Lviv radio station was occupied by armed members of the OUN, as were other government buildings in the city. A Ukrainian military unit, the so-called "Nightingale Legion" (slightly over a battalion

in force organized with the help of the German army, but without Nazi Party knowledge or sanction, under the command of Roman Shukhevych who later became the legendary Commander of Ukrainian Insurgent Army) reached Lviv before the Germans did and became the first Ukrainian military force to back the OUN. On June 30, just before the Act of Proclamation itself, Yaroslav Stetsko visited the Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Andrey Sheptytskyj and received his blessings for the planned Act. Ukrainian Patriarch and Cardinal, then Bishop Josyf Slipyj, represented the Ukrainian Catholic Church at the proceedings and ceremony. In the evening hours of June 30, 1941, the National Assembly enacted the restoration of free, sovereign and independent Ukraine, electing and affirming Yaroslav Stetsko as Prime-Minister of the Ukrainian Provisional Government. All relevant documents of the Proclamation of Restoration of Ukrainian National Republic were at once announced to the world over the Lviv radio by Julian Sawytskyj. For this, Julian Sawytskyj was later imprisoned with other prominent Ukrainians in the German Concentration Camp Ebensee where he was murdered by the SS in April, 1945, just hours before the Americans reached the camp.

Alea iacta sunt — states the Latin proverb. The OUN crossed its Rubikon against German policy in the East. Prof. Hans Koch, who was present at the National Assembly proceedings, in his speech warned Ukrainians against the Proclamation and after the meeting said to Yaroslav Stetsko, the new Prime Minister that “You are playing with fire”. Mr. Stetsko responded that in view of the German fiasco in World War I and Napoleon’s invasion of Russia, the “playing with fire” was being done by the German Government.

The people of Ukraine accepted the Proclamation, hence known as the Act of June 30, 1941, with overwhelming enthusiasm. The newly formed Government issued much needed directives with the result that in about three days time the national administration of Western Ukraine was working smoothly. The Act was read in every town and village and, in many instances, the German army took part in Ukrainian celebrations of freedom, saluting the Ukrainian flag, honouring our National Anthem, and generally considering Ukrainians as their allies in the war against Russia.

It is worth mentioning, that Mr. Stetsko’s government was not a “dictatorship of one group” just as it was not reserved for members of the OUN only. Quite to the contrary, and in accordance with the aims of OUN, he tried and succeeded in engaging competent individuals of all political groups. Besides, the OUN realized that the fight for Ukraine’s freedom was only beginning and, therefore, wanted the majority of its membership to remain underground.

On July 1st the official pastoral letter of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyj, containing the blessing of the Ukrainian Catholic Church for the restored independent Ukraine, was read to the world over Lviv radio. Similarly, The Ukrainian Orthodox Church joined in the endorsement with a pastoral letter of Metropolitan Polikarp. Thousands of towns and villages — even from

Central Ukraine where the fighting still continued — sent their congratulations, acclamations and encouragements of the new Free Ukrainian Government. It is a noteworthy fact that Eugene Lyons, in his book, "Our Secret Allies", New York, 1953, on page 232, said, "The Germans lost the war not in Stalingrad, but in Kyiv, having raised the Swastika instead of the Ukrainian national flag".

The first Government of Ukraine was constituted as follows: Prime-Minister Yaroslav Stetsko (OUN); Deputy Prime-Minister and the Ministry of Health, Education and Welfare — Prof. M. Pantchyshyn (independent); Dr. Alexander Barvinsky (independent) and Dr. Lev Rebet (OUN); Defense Minister General Vsevolod Petriv (socialist); Minister of Internal Affairs Dr. Volodymyr Lysyj (socialist); Dr. Kost Pankivskyj (socialist); Prof. Dr. Alexander Maritshak (Ukrainian National Democratic Association — UNDO); Andriy Piasetskyj (National United Front — NFJ), and so on. Both, Ukrainian Hetman General Pavlo Skoropadsky and President of Ukrainian Government in Exile Andriy Livitskyj supported the new Government of Ukraine. This proves that, although the OUN provided the initiative, the Act of June 30, 1941, was supported and affirmed by all Ukrainian political parties, with the exception of the emigré OUN under orders of Colonel Andriy Melnyk, which, up to a point, was understandable in view of their attitude toward Stepan Bandera and the revolutionary policies of the OUN under his leadership.

Another point worth mentioning is that on July 5, 1941, the new Ukrainian Government sent a "Declaration of Ukrainian National Government" to all European Governments reachable by mail. In this Declaration, Prime Minister Yaroslav Stetsko took a firm stand against the official German view that communism was a creation of world Jewry and placed the accent where it belonged — on Russia and Russian imperialism. Needless to say that this strong Ukrainian official negation of Hitler's hysterical policy against Jews did not endear the Ukrainians to the German Führer and his Nazi Party.

But soon — all too soon — the Gestapo and the SS appeared in Ukraine with clear orders from Hitler and Himmler to "Kill the newborn freedom of Ukraine".

Following the Act of June 30, 1941, the Ukrainian Government started to organize the Ukrainian Armed Forces under the command of Roman Shukhevych. Moreover, it designated Ambassadors to some European Governments and to the Imperial Japanese Government. However, Germany did not recognize Ukraine, and its allies such as Italy and Rumania followed suit.

Because in July, 1941, Ukraine did not have any significant military force to oppose the German Wehrmacht, the Ukrainian Government decided to defend Ukrainian independence by political means, namely by allowing its members to be arrested, instead of going underground. However, despite Nazi political and physical pressure, not one of the arrested members of the Ukrainian Government ever revoked the Act of June 30, 1941. This, in

fact, was considered a declaration of war against Germany, and already less than a year later the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) backed up this war by means of arms.

Stepan Bandera was arrested by the Gestapo on July 5 in Krakow. Yaroslav Stetsko and some other members of the Ukrainian Government were arrested in Lviv on July 11. For the German colonial policy in Eastern Europe this was the beginning of the end of a dream of the "thousand-year Reich". Germany never learned from history which could have shown her how this march would end. Four European military expeditions against Russia, namely that of Charles the XIIth, Napoleon, Kaiser Wilhelm and finally Hitler failed to succeed because their organizers did not fully recognize nor take into proper account the national aspirations of Ukraine and other East-European nations. The Swedish King Charles XII came closest to victory, but even he did not listen to the advice of the Ukrainian Hetman Ivan Mazepa which finally led him to defeat.

Since we are now facing a possible new confrontation with Russia, let us hope that the lessons of history this time will be better remembered by the nations of the Free World.

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THREE FRAGMENTS OF THE UKRAINIAN COMMUNITY IN MONTREAL, 1899-1970: A HARTZIAN APPROACH

RESUME

Louis Hartz's theory of studying new colonial societies founded by Europeans as fragments of the old European societies and whose development is to be understood in terms of the intellectual "point of departure" from the old societies at the time of their founding is applied to the study of three waves of Ukrainian immigration to Montreal. Three fragments of the Ukrainian community in Montreal are thus distinguished. Each fragment is characterized by different intellectual issues around which community life centered at specific periods of time and by distinctive organizations formed by each fragment after its arrival in Montreal.

Ukrainians came to Montreal in discernible clusters related to three separate time periods. Until now no specific meaning has been systematically attributed to these three waves as they bear on the character of the community, although with the arrival of the third wave an invigoration of the community has been observed. This is probably because Ukrainians brought more than simply their language, customs, religion and folklore. Each cluster brought a different "intellectual baggage". For example, the two clusters of pre-1947 immigrants came largely for economic reasons, and the post-1947 immigrants were predominantly political refugees.

One can look at these three waves of immigration in terms described by Louis Hartz in his *Founding of New Societies* as three "fragment" societies:

The Hartzian approach is to study new societies founded by Europeans (the United States, English Canada, French Canada, Latin America, Dutch South Africa, Australia) as fragments thrown off from Europe: the ideologies borne by the founders of the new society are not representative of the historic ideological spectrum of the mother country. The settlers represent only a fragment of that spectrum. The complete ideological spectrum ranges — in chronological order, and from right to left — from feudal or tory through liberal whig to liberal democrat to socialist. French Canada and Latin America are 'feudal fragments'. They were founded by bearers of the feudal or tory values of the organic, corporate, hierarchial community; their point of departure from Europe was before the liberal revolution. The United States, English Canada, and Dutch South Africa are 'bourgeois fragments', founded by bearers of liberal individualism who have left the tory end of the spectrum behind them.

The significance of the fragmentation process is that the new society, having been thrown off from Europe, 'loses the stimulus to change that the whole provides'. The full ideological spectrum of Europe develops only out of the continued confrontation and interaction of its four elements; they are related to one another not only as enemies, but as parents and children. A new society which leaves part of the past behind it cannot develop the future ideologies which need the continued presence of the past in order to come into being. In escaping the past, the fragment escapes the future, for 'the very seeds of the later ideas are contained in the parts of the old world that have been left behind'. The ideology of the founders is thus frozen, congealed at the point of origin.¹

Although Hartz used this "theory of colonial history" to explain the founding of new societies, his approach can be applied to subsequent immigration and ethnic minorities. Different waves of immigration can be seen as fragments thrown off from a society at a specific time. The Hartzian approach can thus be effectively utilized for understanding each fragment of Ukrainians that came to Montreal. The purpose of this paper is to introduce and sketch a broad outline of the basic outlook and leading ideas of the intellectual element of each wave or fragment of immigrants. In applying this thesis, one runs the risk of over-generalization and over-simplification. However, none of the categories are intended to be exhaustive or definitive, nor am I claiming to present a coherent ideological system of thought. I will only attempt to convey some of the central notions and core concepts in the cultural baggage of each successive fragment of immigrants that came to Montreal between 1899 and 1967.

The Ukrainian community in Montreal is not the product of one fragment, but of three. Each of them contained a central intellectual trend of the period (even if there were others). This central intellectual trend, which usually represents the thought of the acknowledged elite, is the ethos which tends to set the subcultural intellectual agenda and which challenges all others. The first group of Ukrainian settlers, Fragment I, arrived between 1899 and 1914 and were known as the "pioneers" or Drahomanov Men. Fragment II, the "emigrants" or Sovereignist Men, arrived between 1922 and 1929. Fragment III, the "refugees" or Nationalist Men, arrived between 1947 and 1954.

I am deliberately using the terminology of "pioneers", "emigrants" and "refugees" in this context. Perhaps I am making too much of semantics, but in my view these terms are derivatives of different Canadian historical contexts and policies.

Historical Background of Ukrainian Settlement in Montreal

Since the origins of the Ukrainians in Montreal were unplanned and accidental, they are difficult to trace. Mamchur² and Bayley³ dated the origins of the Ukrainians in Montreal to 1904 while Hrymak-Wynnycky wrote that

the first Ukrainian family came to Montreal in 1899.⁴ This was the era of the Laurier Liberals and the age of the "National Policy". In its origins, the Macdonald National Policy of 1878 had three important goals: a protective tariff, a transcontinental railway and the encouragement of massive immigration to Canada. According to Fowke, it was a policy of expansion to create a "Big Canada"⁵. The success of the policy in the Laurier period under Clifford Sifton, the minister of the interior, is now proverbial as immigrants entered early twentieth century Canada to join the original colonists.

Sifton's immigration policy was, however, controversial. Many Canadians thought it was misguided. Some people nervously referred to immigrants as "Sifton's pets", the "scum of Europe" and took sarcastic pleasure in phrases such as "the gall of the Galician", the "hungriness of the Hungarian" and the "dirtiness of the Doukhobors" and there was constant talk of "barbarian" invasions. There was a widespread belief that Canada was being, as Stephen Leacock feared, "badly damaged"⁶. Whatever their reception, the first south-eastern European immigrants continued to come to Canada and the Canadian government's departure from its past policy of "preferring" immigrants from northwestern Europe, Britain and the United States, did in effect mark the origin of the Ukrainian community in Montreal.

The intent of Sifton's policy was to populate the underdeveloped Dominion with immigrants. However, these "unpreferred" immigrants were to be immediately directed "out west". According to the *Montreal Star* of the period, they were certainly not to "congest cities"⁷. The ushering of immigrants out west was to silence the critics of this controversial immigration policy. In the opinion of Allan Smith, it was a Canadian form of "domestic imperialism"⁸. It was a case of spatial apartheid based not on the colour of the immigrants' skin but rather on the colour of their accents, notwithstanding the propaganda from official agencies about "noble peasants in sheepskin coats". In spite of the stated intention of transporting immigrants to western Canada, there was some "fall-out" which remained in eastern cities. It is this "spillage" from the thousands who went west that led to the emergence of ethnic communities in eastern cities. The Ukrainian community in Montreal came about in this unplanned manner.

The question of the number of Ukrainians in Montreal prior to 1947 is complex and impossible to answer accurately. It is not a straightforward matter of mathematical or statistical calculation. Numbers were related to the question of national or racial origin, mother tongue, place of birth, point of departure, the competence and conscientiousness of census-takers and, ultimately, the sense of ethnic identity or political consciousness of the immigrants being polled.

The predominant majority — 90 percent — of Ukrainians who came to Montreal were from the province of Halychyna in western Ukraine while the remainder came from Bukovyna and "Great (or eastern) Ukraine". The emigration of Ukrainians from eastern Ukrainian territories under Tsarist Russia and the U.S.S.R. after the 1917 revolution was negligible. Halychyna

was part of the Austro-Hungarian empire prior to the First World War. Subsequently, Halychyna became "annexed" to Poland in the interwar period, and after the Second World War was "unified" with the rest of the demographic, "historical", Ukraine in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The long history of statelessness and the constant change of jurisdiction created an identity problem among Ukrainians from Halychyna and a labelling problem for the Canadian authorities. The Halychians coming to Canada were not from an independent Ukrainian national state. When asked their country of origin or nationality they would answer "Halychian", "Ruthenian" or "Rusyn" (from the ancient name of 'Rus' designating Ukraine, and often misinterpreted to mean "Russian"). Many of those who came to Canada prior to 1914 would also answer "Austrian". In the interwar period many also answered "Polish".

This problem of identity among Ukrainians and the confusion it created among Canadian immigration officials makes it difficult to establish accurate statistics on the actual number of Ukrainians that came to Montreal. The problem was further compounded by the fact that the designation "Ukrainian" did not exist until the Canadian census of 1931.

The 1931 census shows that there were 3,510 Ukrainians in Montreal and 3,340 Ukrainians in the province of Quebec. The other areas of visible Ukrainian settlement in Quebec were in Val d'Or and Rouen-Noranda. Accepting these figures, Mamchur provided the following distribution of Ukrainian settlement according to Montreal wards in 1931⁹: (see Table 1)

TABLE 1. *Estimated Population of Ukrainians in Selected Areas of Montreal for 1931 (by Mamchur) and 1939 (by Bayley).*

Area	1931		1939	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Pointe St. Charles	1,159	33.0	3,000- 3,500	37.3-34.3
Central Slum	817	23.2	1,200- 1,500	15.0-14.7
Frontenac	690	19.7	1,300- 2,300	16.0-22.5
Côte St. Paul/Ville Emard	171	4.9	350- 400	4.3- 3.9
Park Extension	167	4.8	—	—
Rosemont	144	4.1	600	7.4- 5.9
Ahuntsic	68	1.9	200	2.5- 2.0
Rest of Montreal	294	8.4	—	2.5- 2.0
Lachine	—	—	1,200- 1,500	15.0-14.7
St. Michel	—	—	200	2.5- 2.0
<i>Total</i>	3,510	100.0	8,050-10,200	100.0

Bayley's statistics on the number of Ukrainians in Montreal are somewhat different from Mamchur's. His figures are admittedly approximate and "unofficial", but his intention was to go beyond and improve upon the Bayley census in 1939¹⁰. Other evidence suggests that both Mamchur's and Bayley's figures understated the reality.¹¹

The earlier immigrants generally settled adjacent to places of employment and economic opportunity. Since later arrivals would naturally be drawn toward people of their own nationality and language, ethnic communities began to develop in Montreal. The first such areas of settlement for Ukrainians in Montreal were Point St. Charles, the Central Slum area, Fontenac, Lachine and the industrial satellite area of Côte St. Paul/Ville Emard¹². These areas were either an integral part of or adjacent to what T. Copp calls "the culture of poverty" in Montreal¹³.

In attempting to understand the pattern of Ukrainian settlement in Montreal one must utilize the concepts of "natural place" or "vicinity". Vicinity is more appropriate and accurate than "neighborhood" or "ghetto". There were never enough Ukrainians in any one place in Montreal to give them a majority or plurality in an area so as to call it a "ghetto". The vicinities in which they lived never provided them with a sufficient variety of self-owned services as a community. In this sense Ukrainians were outsiders everywhere.

Although the areas in which they lived were not so highly visible as to assume something like an ethnic character, they became sufficiently distinguishable by a cultural or social, but most often, a religious central place, such as a church, which served as a focal point for community activities. In this sense "central place theory" may be usefully applied to Ukrainian churches in Montreal. To the extent that the churches were the only meeting places, points of confluence not only for religious but also for political, cultural, recreational and even economic activity, it can be said that the Ukrainian community in Montreal was an undifferentiated, highly integrated and traditional community.

It is also difficult to establish the exact number of refugees arriving in Montreal after 1947. Officially, the Ukrainian population in the province of Quebec in 1941 was 8,001. By 1951 the official census showed the Ukrainian population of Quebec to be 12,921, an increase of approximately 5,000. Of these, 11,154 lived in metropolitan Montreal. The 1961 census showed 15,558 Ukrainians in the province of Quebec.

The Three Ukrainian Fragments

The Ukrainian pioneers who left their country for the "Eldorado" across the ocean were the most enterprising and adventurous of their class and period. In the late-nineteenth century, it was they who felt most acutely the social and economic injustices in their native land. Their formative years of oppression in Ukraine were the 1870s, 1880s and 1890s.

Their intellectual mentor can be said to have been a Ukrainian thinker who enjoyed a wide popularity among the Halychians at the close of the century, Michael Drahomanov (1841-1895). Drahomanov was a university professor, and besides being popular himself, his ideas influenced a young student by the name of Ivan Franko (1861-1916). Franko turned out to be a rather prolific writer with an extraordinary talent for a variety of literary

genres from short stories, letters, sketches, narratives, poems and satire to social and psychological studies¹⁴. Through Ivan Franko's talent many of Drahomanov's ideas became familiar to the Ukrainian people, particularly in Halychyna. In order to understand some of the central notions in the world view of the Ukrainians who came to Montreal before 1914, we must look at the writings and teachings of Michel Drahomanov¹⁵.

Drahomanov's social ideas were based upon democracy, federalism, the positivism of Auguste Comte and the socialism of Pierre Proudhon¹⁶. In his writings he advocated ideas such as "the renewal of Ukrainian literature and learning", "the study of Ukraine", "the advancement of the masses through rational propaganda not bloody uprisings", "the study of European languages", "reading and literacy", "the preservation of faith, custom, and tradition", "the organization of co-operatives and self-reliance associations", the importance of "the household", "democracy" and "socialism". Some of his phrases were "zemlya i volya" (land and freedom), "activism" and "nationality"¹⁷. Drahomanov believed in the democratization of Tsarist Russia and in the eventual federation of autonomous Slav states in place of the Tsarist and Austro-Hungarian empires, the two empires which ruled over Ukrainian territories. The Tsarist empire was to be transformed into a federal republic composed of twenty states, four of which would constitute Ukraine¹⁸. However Drahomanov dismissed the idea of Ukrainian "separatism", which had already begun to be advocated, as "empty talk", and did not see the Ukrainian national situation as being divorced from the system or the complex of Russian affairs.

The three main tenets of Drahomanov's political philosophy were humanitarianism, cosmopolitanism and socialism. His principles were "humanity and nationality", with precedence to humanitarian interests above national ones. In short, Drahomanov was a democratic agrarian socialist who had been influenced by the political and revolutionary thought of Russian social-democratic circles¹⁹. His ideas formed the core of the intellectual armoury of the leading element of Ukrainian pioneers who came to Montreal prior to the First World War.

By 1908 there was an organized and active Drahomanov Society in Montreal which continued to be active until the 1930s. In the course of their activity they had several meeting places in the city. The first was on Craig and Bleury streets. In 1923 they moved to the second floor of a building on Notre Dame and Plessis streets, and in the 1930s, when their membership began to decline, they moved to a store-front building at 417 Ontario Street near Bercy and Montgomery streets. In the 1920s, during the peak of their activity, they numbered approximately 100 families²⁰.

In 1910 the Ivan Franko Society was organized. Far more active and numerous at this time were various social democrats who were organized into the "progressive" or so-called "communist" parties, with three branches in the metropolitan area. One branch was in Lachine, another in Ponte St. Charles at Centre and Ropery streets, where they owned their own building, and a third, on Prince Arthur Street in the "Central Slum" area. A prominent

leader of theirs in Pointe St. Charles was Evhen Plavutsky and at Prince Arthur, Mr. Yavorsky. In the 1930s the Ukrainian "communists" also began to decline²³. In 1917 there was also a student club called the "Kameniarj"²⁴.

All these organizations were the intellectual children of nineteenth-century Ukrainian populist social democracy whose exponent was Drahomanov. They stood on the left of the ideological political spectrum for social democratic, federalist and populist principles.

Given their political activism and the fact that they came on Austrian passports, many Ukrainians were "interned" during the First World War at Spirit Lake near Amos, Quebec as "enemy aliens". This internment depleted their numbers, disrupted their lives and for a time, arrested much of the community's political activities.

If Drahomanov's and Ivan Franko's ideas were the central piece of intellectual baggage of the first Ukrainian pioneers to Montreal, the same may have been true for the Ukrainians who went out west. Since Drahomanov's views were not unique to Ukraine and Halychyna but were winning acceptance in much of eastern Europe at the turn of the century, these views may have influenced other European immigrants who went to the Canadian West. Such a derivative influence could also help explain the more favourable reception that Canadian "third parties" and the "progressive" movement received in western Canada.

The second fragment of Ukrainians that came to Montreal between 1922 and 1929 is more difficult to describe. One cannot understand the ideological background of this second fragment — the "Sovereignist Men" — without knowing the developments in Ukraine between 1914 and 1921. These emigrants were largely people who came as a result of the "vyzvolni zmahannia" (the liberation struggle) during the First World War, the Russian Revolution and the Ukrainian Revolution.

For six full years, Ukraine was the terrain for war operations. In the beginning, the front battles were waged between Russia on one side and Austria and Germany on the other, to see which side would have the right to control Europe. Ukrainian patriots were waiting for the moment when these two contending sides — both occupying Ukrainian lands — would weaken themselves enough for the rightful owners of their respective territories to raise their voice and take possession of their lands. Such a long awaited moment arrived with the downfall of the Russian empire in March 1917. A constitutional assembly gathered in Kyiv which called into being the political leadership, which became "the Ukrainian Central Council — with Professor Mykhaylo Hrushevsky as its head. This move called upon the Ukrainian National Congress then allocated to the Ukrainian National Council, a wide ranging authority "to take the national affairs into their own hands", and in November, 1917 the Council proclaimed the Ukrainian National Republic, on ethnographic Ukrainian lands (territories). On January 22, 1918, the Ukrainian National Council proclaimed the full indepen-

dence of the Republic of Ukraine in Kyiv. Red Russia which had strengthened its position in the north, was not at all pleased with the creation of the Ukrainian National Republic that had always, both politically and militarily, weighted the scales of its interests toward the West. The ink had barely been dry on the proclamation form of the "Chetvertiy Universal" (Fourth Universal) when a sudden need arose to defend Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine, from the advancing Bolshevik army. The Brest-Litovsk peace treaty of February, 1918, signed by the Central Powers, Germany, Austro-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey, strengthened the powers of the young republic. But the new allies abused the confidence of the young partner and with the aid of military force established in Ukraine, a system of government with Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky at its head... In the meantime, with the fall of Austria, Halychyna and Bukovina which had been under Austrian rule, joined to form, in November 1918 the Western Ukrainian National Republic, which in January, 1919, in Kyiv, proclaimed the union of all Ukrainian lands as an independent state under the rule of the Ukrainian, so called Directoria, headed by Symon Petlura. Poland, reborn during the First World War — and strengthened by France — went to war with the Western Ukrainian National Republic at the same time as the Red Russian Army attacked Ukraine from the east. The old story was repeated. Russia and Poland "shook hands" in Riga, in 1921, and parcelled out Ukrainian lands between themselves, setting up the common border at the river Zbruch. Rumania, which had been helping Poland in its war with Ukraine, annexed Bukovina, while the remaining part, known in olden days as "Karpatska Rus" (Carpathian Rus) and by its modern political name of Carpatho-Ukraine, went to Checho-slovakia... Instead of two pre-First World War occupants, there were now four of them.²⁵

The aftermath of the unsuccessful Ukrainian revolution and the failed attempt at national independence was the point of departure of the second fragment of Ukrainians who came to Montreal. The emigrants were more politicized and more patriotic than the first fragment of pioneers, but they had a lesser yearning for socialism. They had witnessed what they thought was the "betrayal" of Ukrainian social democracy by Russian social democracy and Russian Bolshevism. They were suspicious of Russian "federalism" and its hostility to Ukrainian sovereignty. The leading elements of this fragment were ex-members of the Ukrainian Army Organization and other military formations and ex-soldiers who had witnessed the unsuccessful defence of Ukraine. These Ukrainians were the first national autonomists who, due to their proximity to developments in Ukraine during the First World War had turned against Ukraine's "proven enemies", and particularly against the ideas of the Russian revolution known as "the Great Socialist Experiment". These Ukrainian patriots wanted a sovereign and cultured

Ukrainian nation-state that would be part of the western European community of nations. They looked West and turned their backs on the East. In the best sense they were "sovereignists" who felt that Ukrainians and Ukrainian politicians were "naive" and "unprepared" for the historical "surprises" sprung on them by Russian social democracy and the revolutionary Red Army. Much of their ethos was informed by a critique of the Ukrainian political elite during the war for independence. They criticized them for being "unprepared" because their ideology was unelaborated and murky, and their thinking was shaped by revolutionary rhetoric rather than facts of history. They accused them of harbouring simple independist notions and mounting such phrases as "enlightenment and culture", national "uplifting" through Prosvita Societies, "education and knowledge" without a unified conception of an independent nation. The Fragment II Ukrainians were thus coming to Montreal from Halychyna at the time when any consensus that may have existed prior to the war was destroyed with the loss of "independence" and the resulting post mortems, allegations, recriminations and bitterness. They were people who were proud, patriotic and defeated.²⁶

In 1928 members of the Ukrainian Sich Sharpshooters in Ukraine (and hunted by the Red Army) organized the "Sharpshooters Society" in Montreal²⁷. Another group of participants in the autonomist movement in Ukraine organized a "Hetmanite Kish" in Montreal in 1930²⁸. In 1932 the "Sharpshooters Society" and affiliated organizations (e.g. the Olha Basarab organization of Ukrainian women) formed the Ukrainian National Federation, which in 1936 created under its auspices the "Young Ukrainian Nationalists" (M.U.N.O.), and by 1944, the Montreal Ukrainian Credit Union.²⁹

Fragment II Ukrainians came to a Montreal Ukrainian community that was beset by turmoil and conflict. The events of 1914-21 in Ukraine were being closely followed albeit at a distance by a significant portion of Fragment I Ukrainians. Given what had happened in Ukraine, many Ukrainians in Montreal became less enamoured with Russian social democracy and with the attempts to co-operate with it on the basis of equality, federalism and "internationalism" and began to emphasize the "national moment" in history. In particular, the events of 1917-21 in Ukraine led many Montreal Ukrainians to reconsider their allegiances. This trend was enhanced by the presence and testimony of second fragment Ukrainians, and found expression in a renewed emphasis on the retention of Ukrainian culture and in attempts to limit the effects of assimilation.

The latter phenomenon was reflected in the religious "schism" which occurred in Montreal in 1925. In that year various sectors of the organized Ukrainian Catholic community began to reset what they thought were the "Romanizing", "Latinizing" and "denationalizing" tendencies of the Catholic church in Montreal. This disaffection found its greatest expression within the Drahomanov Society. In 1924-5 an active and articulate spokesman of the Drahomanists, Jury Drahon, came to Montreal from Pleasant Home, Manitoba to study medicine at McGill University. Drahon was very active

in the preparation of the 1925 "schism" and was instrumental in forming the Ukrainian Orthodox Brotherhood on March 9, 1925, by fourteen founding signatories³⁰. This event marked the beginning of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Montreal.

On October 25, 1925 the first "Sich" Society was organized by sympathizers of the Ukrainian Orthodox Brotherhood: men such as C. Redkewycz, M. Droniuk, T. Berndbyn, M. Cytulkyj and T. Ruvnyj. Soon after the "Sich" Society merged with the "Ivan Franko Society" and called itself the "Ukrainian Society Sich". At this time the Hetmanites (monarchists) among the Fragment II Ukrainians wanted to gain influence in this Sich Society, but their leadership resisted and instead joined with the Ukrainian Orthodox Brotherhood in 1926 renaming themselves the "Zaporozhian Sich". The latter remained active until 1946³¹. Among other "national" and "sovereignty oriented" organizations which emerged in Montreal between 1922 and the Second World War was the "Society of Ukrainian Sovereignists" (T.U.S.) in 1926, the student "Kotliarewsky Club" in 1927 and the "Mutual Aid Society" affiliated with the "Drahomanov Society" also in 1927. In 1934 a second branch of the "Prosvita Society" (Shevchenko) was organized in Lachine. Clearly the fragmented ideological contents in the cultural baggage of second fragment Ukrainians and a certain segment of the first fragment was reflected in their varied responses to the "lessons" of 1917 and in new organizations and activities during the interwar period.

The Fragment III Ukrainians who came to Montreal after the Second World War spent their formative years in Halychyna amidst the passionate debates of the 1920s and 1930s. At this time, a new and unprecedented movement emerged to win the allegiance of a large segment of Halician youth, many of whom eventually emigrated to Canada and Montreal. This intellectual trend has been variously described by many analysts, among them the Ukrainian social observer Mykola Shlemkewych. Shelemkewych argues that the "pathos" of the unsuccessful independence movement of 1917-21 encompassed the whole intellectual life of Halychyna³². It was against the background of this "pathos" that an ideology of Ukrainian nationalism emerged. This ideology found an eloquent voice in the person of Dmytro Dontsov, (1883-1973) one of the most influential thinkers and publicists in Halychyna of the 1930s.³³

Michael Sosnowsky describes the intellectual development of Dmytro Dontsov from socialism, through various shades of nationalism, and finally to "mysticism" in his old age in exile at St. Faustin, north of Montreal. Sosnowsky shows how Dontsov's intellectual evolution related to historical developments in Ukraine in the first half of the twentieth century. Sosnowsky argues that, in response to the unsuccessful independence movement in Ukraine during the First World War, Dmytro Dontsov had, by 1926, developed principles which he intended as a guide in the next attempt at independence for Ukraine. He elaborated the major tenets of this thought in two books: *The Basis of Our Politics* (1921) and *Nationalism* (1926). Between 1905 and 1960 he also published thousands of articles which appeared

in seventy-two different journals and publications. Dontsov addressed himself to a number of major questions: the nature of the world conflict, the reasons for conflict between Russia and Ukraine, Ukrainian foreign and domestic policy, the reasons for the failure of the Ukrainian revolution 1917-21 and the elements of strength for Ukrainian politics.

Dontsov considered the world conflict to be between two cultural-religious conceptions or two civilizations; Asia and Europe, or the Orient versus the Occident. Russia was the westernmost part of Asia and Ukraine was the easternmost part of Europe. The Russian revolution was not a "discontinuity". It was a "continuity" in Russian history. The "Third International" simply took the place of the "Third Rome", which had a natural hostility to "western life" and the "European principle". Consequently, Ukrainian domestic policy must be based on the "cultivation of western culture" and her foreign policy must be based on "separation from Russia". But foreign policy must enjoy primacy over domestic policy. Domestic policy must be suited to foreign policy, which would be based on "linking Ukraine's national interests to those of other European nations, and transforming the European "imperial idea" into an anti-Russian concert of European nations.

The peasantry was further idealized as a "beautiful element" during the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917-21 and compared to the "Ukrainian Ulster". The Russians, Poles and Jews were also a "positive", by contrast, the Ukrainian intelligentsia was denigrated as "spiritually crippled". Thus, all future attempts at independence and freedom must be based on the Ukrainian "peasantry"³⁴.

In later works Dontsov advocated and celebrated such concepts as "voluntarism" and "the will" as the "law of life" and the "motor force of history", "will to freedom" and the "will to rule", "action not subject to the chain of reason", the need to know "the truth of ancestors" and the need to have a social hierarchy and a "ruling caste". He advocated "romanticism", a sense of "mission" and "faith" and "commitment" to "national sovereignty" based on "occidentalism", "capitalism", "private property" and the "separation of church and state"³⁵.

This brief characterization of Dontsov's thought is given out of context, and is therefore not offered as a definitive characterization. In order to highlight his thinking only the more "dramatic" elements of his thought are selected here³⁶.

His biographers Shlemkewych and Sosnowsky both agree that Dontsov was the most influential publicist during the 1930s in Halychyna. This does not however mean that his ideology was accepted by all of the intelligentsia, since sharp opposition to his ideas came from the democratic and Catholic circles. Nevertheless, his philosophy was widely accepted by large segments of the Halician youth and intelligentsia at the time.

Dontsov's ideology also provided the basis for the formation in 1929 of a mass organization, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.). Shlemkewych states that in the 1930s this organization became the spiritual

and political antithesis of all other organized forces in Halychyna and Ukraine, and most ardently demanded a sovereign and independent Ukrainian national state³⁷. During the Second World War the O.U.N. became the ideological focus against the Soviet regime in the east and the Polish government in the west. Their aims coincided with those of the Axis powers, to the extent that at that historical moment they were similar. But they were radically different in that their quest was not empire and conquest but national liberation. It was a "defensive nationalism" waging a "war of national liberation"³⁸.

The third fragment of Ukrainian immigration was composed of people whose intellectual point of departure were issues and debates raised by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. This is not to say that all post Second World War refugees were members of the O.U.N. or agreed with its ideology, but rather that a significant portion of those who emigrated were active in or subscribed to the fundamental tenets and precepts of this viewpoint.

Most of the Ukrainians who arrived in Montreal after 1947 had spent the immediate postwar years in various Displaced Persons camps in Europe, largely Germany. These D.P. camps were veritable beehives of activity and political debate. The most controversial issue was the division of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in February 1941, into two factions, the O.U.N. (m) or *Melnykivtsi* and the O.U.N. (b) or *Banderivtsi*. This important intellectual-political division during the war had a divisive effect on the patterns of community organization, development and cohesion "in diaspora". However, this split did not affect the essential unity of outlook among the third fragment Ukrainians because the intellectual viewpoint of both factions was fundamentally similar. The differences were personal, generational and tactical with regard to the liberation of Ukraine, but it was not a fundamental schism in worldviews. Nevertheless, this split certainly dominated Ukrainian life in Montreal after the Second World War, as it no doubt did in many other areas. It set the themes for debates and prescribed the issues and concerns of the community for many years.

When Ukrainian refugees began arriving in Montreal in 1947, the existing Ukrainian quarters served as natural receiving societies for them. The refugees also settled in the Central Slum, Frontenac, Point St. Charles and the Lachine and Ville Emard settlements. At first the refugees were treated warmly and sympathetically. The existing "old Canadian" parishes and organizations solicited actively for their membership and support. However, these organizations did not fit the needs or the political outlook of the refugees. Although attempts were made to accommodate them, many conflicts arose by the early 1950s between the third and the first two fragments of "old Canadians".

The pioneers expected the refugees to accept their leadership in the parishes, organizations, associations that they had founded, and to join the rank and file. But this was not always the case. This process of accommodation and integration of pioneers, emigrants and refugees was interwoven with

problems of education, upbringing, speech, poise, religion, experience, political conviction and family.

Although there was discord between the *starokanadtsi* ("old Canadians") and the *novoprybuli* ("new arrivals"), a more intense conflict emerged among the emigrés themselves. It was the factions they formed that were eventually joined or ignored by the "old Canadians". Emigrés are traditionally quarrelsome, and the Ukrainian emigrés that came to Montreal after the Second World War were no different. The conflict among the emigrés tended to dominate Ukrainian political debate in Montreal in the 1950s and 1960s. It had an invigorating and educative effect, and elevated the Ukrainian community in Montreal into a new realm of ideas and controversy.

With the influx of new Ukrainian refugees into every Ukrainian settlement in Montreal, the Ukrainian community was invigorated not only in numbers but in talent, activity and organizations. Between 1950 and 1970 approximately 30 new organizations with clearly nationalist bent were founded in Montreal³⁹. Among these were the Ukrainian youth organization "Plast" (1948), Sport Association "Ukraine" (1949), the League for the Liberation of Ukraine (1950), the Union of Ukrainian Youth of "S.U.M." (1950), the Union of Ukrainian victims of Russia Terror (1950), the Organization of Ukrainian Democratic Youth or "O.D.U.M." (1951), the students' club "Zarevo" (1952), the Brotherhood of Past Members of the Ukrainian Division or "Diviziinyky" (1952), the Society of ex-members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army or "U.P.A." (1952) and the Michnovsky Students' Society (1955)⁴⁰.

Between 1947 and 1967 nine Ukrainian churches were built, renovated or completed in the Montreal metropolitan area and one in Van d'Or, probably more church building than in all of Ukraine at this time. Between 1947 and 1967 three new credit unions were founded and the activities of a fourth, founded in the interwar period, were enhanced⁴¹. Ukrainian language radio broadcasts began in August 1954. Between 1947 and 1967 seven Ukrainian part-time schools ("Ridna Shkola") were organized and staffed by refugee Ukrainian teachers⁴².

The period 1947-67 did not witness the appearance of any major newspapers or publications in Montreal. The Montreal community depended upon larger publications from Toronto, New Jersey, Winnipeg and European centres such as Munich and London. There were however, minor publications. A "Preliminary Checklist" of Ukrainian Canadian periodicals published by Alexander Malychy in *Canadian Ethnic Studies* lists 549 titles of which 36 minor titles come from Montreal. Thirty of the thirty-six titles commenced publication between 1947 and 1967⁴³.

Conclusions

This examination of the Ukrainian community in Montreal has led to several conclusions. Hartz's "theory of colonial history", used to explain the founding of new societies, can be fruitfully applied to the study of minorities

and to the immigration process in general. The key to understanding various immigration waves or "fragments" — lies in their point of departure and their "intellectual baggage".

The Ukrainian community in Montreal emerged as a result of three distinct fragments with different intellectual points of departure. This approach helps us to understand for example, why, while the larger Quebec society can be perceived as moving from "right to left" on the ideological spectrum in this century, the arrival of different Ukrainian fragments tended to push Ukrainian public and community life from "left to right" as evidenced by their organizations and activities. The normal linguistic cultural and religious differences with the larger society were enhanced and magnified by an ideological drift which tended to increase exclusivity and slow down the process of assimilation.

FOOTNOTES

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2. Mamchur, S. W., *The Economic and Social Adjustment of Slavic Immigrants in Canada with Special Reference to Ukrainians in Montreal*. (M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1935), pp. 69-70.
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5. Fowke, V. C., *The National Policy and Wheat Economy*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957, p. 281.
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7. *The Montreal Star* (Editorials), January 6, October 12, October 18, 1905.
8. Smith, A., "Metaphor and Nationality", *Canadian Historical Review*, L. I, 1970, pp. 246-75.
9. Mamchur, p. 69.
10. Bayley, p. 150.
11. In virtually all interviews I conducted the testimony was unanimous that Ukrainians in Montreal were substantially more numerous than any census figures indicated.
12. Mamchur, p. 69.
13. See T. Copp, *The Anatomy of Power: The Condition of the Working Class in Montreal, 1897-1929*, Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1974.
14. Kublijoynec, Volodymyr, ed. *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia*, vol. I, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963, p. 1016.
15. Sosnowsky, Mykhailo, *Dmytro Dontsov: A Political Portrait Study in Ukrainian Nationalism*, (in Ukrainian), Toronto: Trident International, 1974. See p. 405 for Drahomanov. Sosnowsky eloquently argues the importance of Drahomanov at this time and as a precursor to the thought of Dmytro Dontsov.
16. Kubijovyc, p. 685.
17. Sosnowsky, pp. 7, 30, 34, 38, 48, 55, 61, 88, 97, 99, 117, 155, 161, 162, 203, 221, 239, 240, 260, 287, 366.
18. See above pages on Drahomanov in Sosnowsky, *Dmytro Dontsov*.
19. Sosnowsky, pp. 38-48. Later, in the interwar period, the Ukrainian nationalist thinker Dmytro Dontsov accused Drahomanov of having a "Ruthenian complex"

- and of excessively celebrating rationalism, anti-clericalism, materialism and socialism.
20. Interview with Mr. Walter Mayka, January, 1980.
 21. Interview with Mr. Walter Mayka, January, 1980. Mr. Mayka said that many of the Ukrainian "communists" came from the Halician town of Nastasova near Ternopil. "All Nastasovites for some reason were communists".
 22. Interview with Mr. Walter Mayka, January, 1980.
 23. Ukrainian Golden Age Club "Tryzub" (ed.), *The Jubilee Book Commemorating The 85th Anniversary of Ukrainian Settlers in Canada, Province of Quebec*. Toronto: The Basilian Press, 1979, p. 308.
 24. Ukrainian Golden Age Club "Tryzub", p. 308. The name "Kameniar" (Stonecutters) is the title of one of Ivan Franko's famous poems which has entered the popular Ukrainian lexicon and symbolizes or connotes "pioneers" or "pathfinders" or "national trailblazers".
 25. Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History*, Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1970, pp. 357-8.
 26. Shlemkewych, M., *Halychanstvo* (in Ukrainian), New York: Zhyttia Mysli, 1956, pp. 72-81.
 27. Ukrainian Golden Age Club "Tryzub", p. 308.
 28. Ukrainian Golden Age Club "Tryzub", pp. 308-09.
 29. Ukrainian Golden Age Club "Tryzub", pp. 309-10.
 30. *Golden Jubilee Book of St. Sophie*. (1975), pp. 188-93.
 31. Ukrainian Golden Age Club "Tryzub", p. 308.
 32. Shlemkewych, p. 79.
 33. Sosnowsky, pp. 170-92.
 34. Dontsov, D., *Basis of Our Politics* (in Ukrainian), 2nd revised edition. New York: O. O. Ch. S. U., 1957.
 35. Dontsov, D., *Nationalism* (in Ukrainian), 3rd revised edition. Landon: Ukrainian Publishers Ltd., 1966.
 36. Sosnowsky's book became the subject of a vigorous discussion. Some critics say Sosnowsky has not sufficiently appreciated the depth of his subject's thoughts and has unfairly ascribed "borrowing and eclecticism" to Dontsov's "masterful weaving of quotations". These critics also feel that Sosnowsky's final picture of Dontsov as a "Faustian mystic in St. Faustin" is totally unfair.
 37. Shlemkewych, M., pp. 78-81.
 38. This apparent similarity led some observers to conclude that Ukrainians were sympathetic to "fascists" or the Nazis during the Second World War. Parts of early Italian fascism and early German National-Socialism may have been attractive to Halychyna for its own reasons. Hitlerism at any time, was most certainly not. The Halycians may have been impressed with Mussolini's policy of attempting to halt public urinating at church walls by the construction of public urinals, but the Halician intelligentsia did not regard what was happening in Germany and Italy uncritically. In my interview with Dr. Olynyk-Rachmanny he said that in spite of Shlemkewych's claim that Halychyna looked excessively to Germany and Vienna, London was a greater "center of attention" for Halychyna. In London, he said, Halychyna saw "the monarchy", "the imperial idea", "socialism", "the orderly society", the "concept of competition" and "fair play".
 39. Ukrainian Golden Age Club "Tryzub", pp. 309-10.
 40. Ukrainian Golden Age Club "Tryzub", p. 310.
 41. Kelebay, Y. G., *The Ukrainian Community in Montreal* (M.A. Thesis, Concordia University, 1975), pp. 48-50.
 42. Kelebay, Y. G., pp. 56-8.
 43. Malycky, Alexander, "Ukrainian-Canadian Periodical Publications: A Preliminary Check List", *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, University of Calgary, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1969, pp. 77-142.
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Orest B. PYTLAR

HISTORICAL INEVITABILITY FOR THE RISE OF A UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTIC MOVEMENT

In the Western World of to-day there exist some false notions of nationalism as of something new, suspicious and morbid, a creation of the modern era, a survival of the French Revolutionary chauvinistic spirit, or even a product of the Fascist regimes of the Thirties. These ideas are widely accepted most of all among our Anglo-Saxon co-citizens, whose frankly anti-nationalistic attitudes have largely contributed to their sad and continuous defeats in the so called "cold" (and not so cold) war. To make it simpler, our friends have been indulging in a skillful game of semantics.

To them:

A nation — is an existing political state structure, no matter how inorganic in its national origin and composition (multi-national empire, multi-tribal former colony).

The "national" interests, borders, "internal problems" are sacrosanct. And on the contrary — liberating nationalism, meaning efforts of the subjugated nations to change the existing status quo are regarded as destructive and anarchic, to be ignored or to be condemned.

However, these statements of political convenience or naiveté do not agree with the simple historical facts.

First of all, the nationalism of the subjugated nations is not basically different from the national policies of those nations which are lucky enough to be free, victorious and expansionist. Both phenomena are not a creation of modern times, they originated at the dawn of the human civilization, the moment when primitive tribal structures were succeeded by clearly defined "national" units with separate cultural, linguistic, and sometimes racial characteristics, and even with distinct religious beliefs as the earliest expression of national identity and coherence. According to Oswald Spengler, the first step towards an eventual defeat and destruction of those early historical "cultures" (=nations in our sense) had been the loss of their establishment religious beliefs. A "culture" which preserved its national beliefs could survive even a loss of its independent statehood, which was then succeeded by a period of liberating and revolutionary nationalism (obviously known in those times under different names).

To cite just one historical example familiar to all: The struggle of the Jewish national-religious movement of a Bar-Kokhba or of the Maccabees was not less, perhaps more, impressive than the much vaunted, short lived, and fast corrupted era of the Kings, of whom there were only two glorious ones — David and Solomon.

What are the pre-requisites for the creation of a liberating and revolutionary nationalistic movement? There are three basic ones, one being positive:

The existence of a collective "national conscience", meaning a wish for national freedom and unity within one's own independent statehood — and the two negative ones, being:

1. Domination by foreign power in the form of a colonial or semi-colonial dependence, and/or
2. Absence of a national unity consequent upon division of the national territory between two or more foreign invaders — or even between the local dynastic interests.

All of these conditions existed in Ukraine since that or off time when the medieval Kyivan state fell under the impact of the barbaric Tartar hordes, and was consequently subjugated by the less civilized but more fortunate neighbours (lucky, because of the absence of the open steppe areas in their territories) — Lithuanians, and Poles, and finally Russians.

It is no wonder that Ukrainians were among the pioneers of the nationalistic liberation movements in Europe. In Ukraine this movement took place in the two distinct historical periods but followed roughly similar ideological and political paths, peculiar to the liberating nationalisms:

1. A cultural renaissance, cultural and literary activity, ideological effervescence, followed by
2. Revolutionary eruption with the resulting establishment of a more or less lasting political statehood.

The first period of the Ukrainian liberating nationalism was that of the XVI-XVII centuries, with the intense cultural activity of brotherhoods and academies of Kyiv, Lviv and Ostroh, and with religious polemical literature with a clear line of defence of national, Eastern-Orthodox Church — in the first phase — and in the second phase — creation of the cossack military organization and a victorious revolution under the leadership of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, with the resulting establishment of an independent cossack state.

The famous historical words of Khmelnytskyi in 1649: "I shall free from the Polish yoke all Ukrainian people. All my people help me — as far as the Vistula river. And I shall stand on that river and shall tell the Poles beyond: 'Sit there and be quiet, you Poles!'" — show a clearly refined, modern nationalistic spirit, rather surprising at the time, when the greatest European (Thirty Years') war had just been fought in the name of supra-national, religious divisions.

The second era of the Ukrainian liberating nationalistic movement took place in XIX-XX centuries, starting with the great, prophetic genius of a national poet — Taras Shevchenko — and going through the same usual two phases of liberating nationalism:

First — a literary and cultural renaissance, and then — an active revolutionary movement of the popular masses, the creation, in 1929, of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, with its long revolutionary activity, its triumphs, and defeats, and losses, its Ukrainian Insurgent Army, and the Holocaust of the German and Soviet “extermination camps”.

Unfortunately for Ukraine, its great historical opportunity for national liberation — the catastrophe of the First World War and the resulting defeat and desintegration of both imperialistic powers which had been dividing the Ukrainian national territory between themselves — the Russian and the Austro-Hungarian empires — came at the time, when the revolutionary phase of its nationalism was not ready yet, when there was no clearly defined nationalistic ideology, and no revolutionary organization comparable to the O.U.N. The Ukrainian intelligentsia of 1917 was dreaming of international brotherhood under the influence of socialistic dogmas. The broad masses of the people were neither organized, nor sufficiently awoken to their national aim. Consequently, the Ukrainian National Republic of 1918-1921 could not withstand the assault of the new, revived Russian imperialism, this time under red guise. With the help of its other “good neighbours” Ukraine was divided again into four parts, not unlike the division of Poland one hundred and forty years before. Also, somewhat similar to the Polish national awakening in the XIX century, the national disaster of Ukraine has provoked not only much soul searching and mutual accusations among the Ukrainians in the Twenties, but also the birth of a new liberating nationalistic movement. And so the O.U.N. was born like a Phoenix from the ashes of the national defeat. It has not yet brought about the national liberation of Ukraine. Looking at the result of its past activity any practical minded Westerner might see nothing but hundreds of thousands of dead and exiled and prison camp slaves — nothing but defeat.

But we, who know what it was all about, we know better. We know that whenever a liberating, revolutionary nationalism had been started, it must, with a historical finality, bring about in the end a victory and liberation of the subjugated nation. These are not my own words, by the way, but those of prof. Seton-Watson, a well known British author, an expert of the Eastern European problems, and well acquainted with the nationalistic movements of that area.

Or — to quote that newest exile from the Soviet Union, the representative of the new Ukrainian nationalist spirit, Mr. Valentyn Moroz, “The liberation of Ukraine is no longer a probability, it is now only a question of time”.

Theodore MACKIW

KOMENSKY AND SKOVORODA — SLAVIC EDUCATORS OF THEIR TIMES

Jan Amos Komensky (or Comenius as he used to call himself) and Hryhorii Skovoroda, although they were born and lived in different times and different countries, have many things in common.

Komensky was born on March 28, 1582 in Nivnice, (Czechoslovakia), the son of a miller. Having completed his elementary school, he attended a Latin secondary school in Prerov and studied theology at the universities of Herborn and Heidelberg. His interest was also in Philosophy and Education. From 1613-14 he travelled extensively in Germany. For two years (1616-18) he taught in Prerov, where he was also a leader of the Hussites. After the Czech defeat at White Mountain in 1620, he became a permanent exile. Elected bishop of the *Unitas* in 1632, he considered his main mission as a theological writer and an educator. He taught in Poland, Hungary, England, and in Sweden. In the last two countries he reformed and elaborated the entire educational system. Several times he in vain tried to return to his native country, but finally he settled in Amsterdam, where he completed his works and died in Naarden on February 15, 1670.

Komensky in his writings, which range from such topics as theology, politics, philosophy, and science (as he understood science) to linguistics and education, as well as in his personal life, combined such contradictory strands of thought as world immanence and world transcendence, interest in science and dependence on false prophets, progressivism, and apocalyptic expectations. In order to understand this mingling of ideas, we must project ourselves into the baroque age, when so many illustrious minds were wandering from one extreme to another. Thus, despite scholastic and Calvinist influences during his years of study, Comenius' concept of the divine regime contained a notable admixture of Neoplatonic, evolutionary, mystical, and pantheistic ideas. God was for him the God of Nature as well as the God of Heaven. However, all these pantheistic leanings did not shake the foundations of Comenius' faith, and throughout his life he clung to the fundamentals of the Christian dogma. Nevertheless, it was the cosmic curiosity in Comenius' religion which opened his mind to the unfolding of the natural and humanistic sciences. Yet Comenius lacked any real understanding of science in the Newtonian sense. The generic concept under which he subsumed the new scientific pursuits was that of "Light", to be understood as both the "Light of God" and the light of reason that God has kindled in man in order to guide him on his way toward eternal truth.

No doubt a certain utopian chiliasm inspired Comenius, but he also shared with the greatest minds of his time the enthusiasm about a new discovery, the discovery of "method", understood as a form of systematic and empirical inquiry which would guarantee the harmonization between man's reason and the natural — and perhaps even the supernatural — universe. The man who impressed Comenius most of all was Francis Bacon. Through Bacon, he became convinced that the new inductive method would shed light not only on the *arcana naturae* but also on the mysteries of the human mind and of human learning. The long title of Comenius' *Great Didactic (Didactica Magna)* tells the reader that the author believes he has found a system to teach "all things to all men". Comenius was one of the first to grasp the significance of a methodical procedure in schooling, to project a plan of universal education, and to see the significance of education as an agency of international understanding. Often quoted are the eight principles of teaching which Comenius expounds in Chapter 9 of the *Great Didactic*, in strange analogy to what he supposes to be the economy and order of the sun's functioning in the universe. Still valid in these principles is the emphasis on the interrelation between mental maturity and learning, on the participation of the student, and on the logical interconnection of the subjects in the curriculum.

Komensky wrote over 140 books of which 49 deal with education. The most important works are *Didactica Magna (Great Didactic)*, *Orbis Sensualism Pictus (the primer of the most important things in the world)*, and *Pansophiae Diaty Posis (an encyclopedic synthesis of universal knowledge)*.

In *Didactica Magna* Komensky recommends that education should be extended to both sexes and to all peoples everywhere and that students should proceed from easy and simple to more difficult and complicated subjects. As far as methodology is concerned, he recommends that in the school, noise, boredom and unnecessary punishment, and torment should be avoided. Instead a more pleasant approach and attitude in teaching should take first place. "Applying such an attitude" — wrote Komensky — "the state will have less illiteracy, crime, and violation of law in general, but more peace and order".

Furthermore, Komensky considered school as a very important element in the state, social, and cultural development of a nation. Therefore already in the beginning of the 17th century he recommended a public school system for all children.

Komensky was also concerned about the method of teaching. According to him, nature itself is a good guide. Nature develops order in the right time and right place, leads gradually from general concept into details, does not make jumps or long stops and avoids all kinds of contradictions and hurts. "Man should follow nature" — says Komensky. The education of the students should follow in the religious spirit and by the inductive method, without leaps, but proportionally and systematically. Knowledge comes from the senses and through the senses. Memory and concentration in studying enlighten our knowledge. Exercises and application help to retain our

knowledge. The teaching should be direct, clear, and obvious, which not only helps retention, but makes teaching pleasant. For this purpose Komensky wrote textbooks that apply to the age of the students.

According to Komensky, the following elements make a school: good books, classrooms, the students and the teachers. The goal of a school is to give students knowledge, virtue and piety (“scientia, prudentia et pietas”). In addition to these subjects he also recommends physics, metaphysics, hyperphysics, and music.

In *Didactica Magna* Komensky distinguishes four stages of human intellectual development:

1. Childhood, where children should be educated by the parents;
2. Teenage, where boys and girls should attend an elementary or public school, where the subjects should be taught in the native tongue;
3. Youth age, where the students should attend a Latin school or gymnasium;
4. Mature age, where the students should study at a university or should travel.

For each age Komensky wrote textbooks. Komensky did not forget the importance of preschool-age children. He called attention of the parents to the fact that if children will get good basic education at home, their future may be better. To help parents he wrote two books: *Schola Materni Gremii* and *Informatorium der Mutterschul*.

For the elementary school he wrote the famous *Orbis Sensalium pictus*. For gymnasium he wrote several textbooks, to mention just *Artum rerum et linguarum ornamenta exhibens*.

For the college students Komensky wrote *Pansophia* — or an Encyclopedic synthesis of universal knowledge with the aim of a *dilucidatio* (systematic interpretation), where he spelled out the goal of education. For the promotion of the great and worldwide mission of education he recommended a “Universal College” of the great and wise men of the whole world, and easily constructed international languages for peace and “for the reform of the whole world” as an “antidote to the confusion of thought”.

Finally, Komensky emphasized discipline in the school. Quoting the Czech proverb, he said that the school without discipline is like a mill without water. The punishment, however, has to be without emotion, anger, and revenge. The student has to understand for what he is punished. Scolding and beating will not help to correct the student, but to the contrary. He also mentioned that in order to achieve good results in the class, the teacher himself has to be well qualified and well trained to perform his duties.

In conclusion is to be said that although Komensky’s contributions to educations were enormous nevertheless he was not recognized by his contemporaries, but later has been considered as the father of modern education.

Like Komensky, Hryhorii Skovoroda came from a lower social class. He was born in the village of Chernukhy, Poltava province, on December 3, 1722. Having completed his elementary school, he studied theology at the Kyiv Academy, but after graduation he rejected the priesthood and went abroad, where he studied classic philology, philosophy, and education in Vienna, Munich, and Breslau.

Having returned from abroad, Skovoroda dedicated his life to teaching and philosophical writings.

In 1750 he was appointed as professor of poetics in the seminary in the city of Pereyaslav, where he wrote a book *Meditations about Poetics*. As professor, he taught in the spirit of humanism and like Komensky, he encouraged his students to use the native tongue-Ukrainian. This attitude was not approved by the local bishop and he was dismissed from his position. Skovoroda rather accepted dismissal than to teach against his own conviction. He did not go into exile like Komensky, but became a travelling teacher, who taught in private homes. In 1759 he was appointed as a professor of the classic philology and ethics in the college of Kharkiv. There he was accused of heresy and resigned in 1768.

From now on, like once Socrates, Skovoroda taught in markets, festivals, private homes, and everywhere in Ukraine, where he was invited, and thus he became a teacher of the people. He died on November 9, 1794 in the village of Ivanivka, province of Kharkiv.

Skovoroda, who is generally known as the "Ukrainian Socrates", wrote his works in the form of dialogues and made a profound anthropologism the source of his philosophical contemplation. To him man is the greatest riddle in life, and self-knowledge the most important means for its solution. The philosophical system of Skovoroda embraces three aspects: the ontological, the cognitive, and the ethical. According to him, man is a microcosm reflecting the macrocosm. In order to get to know the universe one must first know man, that is, oneself. Self-knowledge, therefore, was for Skovoroda the first aim of philosophy which he approached with the Socratic maxim "Know thyself". The universe had two aspects for him, one visible and material which was worthless, and the other invisible and spiritual, which was of inestimable value and to which alone man's life should be dedicated. However, the search for truth is not an end in itself, but only a means which prompts us to exercise our wills and to use our hearts. The great value of Skovoroda's philosophy lies, therefore, not in his theoretical speculations, but in his practical quest for happiness. It is happiness, which, according to Skovoroda, is the aim of our lives; not, however, the happiness which results from material satisfaction, but that which comes to us when we fulfil our inner quest, and through it, God's will. Thus self-knowledge and living one's life according to the natural order and therefore in accord with God are the major premises of Skovoroda's thought. He was a keen student of the Bible which he carried with him wherever he went.

Skovoroda loved teaching and was a great friend of his students, who loved him very much. He was against the old scholastic system and introduced a new direct teaching method. He also promoted individual contact

with his students. The contemporary educators often did not understand him or did not want to recognize his modern approach and tried to punish him by dismissing him from the college, but Skovoroda preferred to resign rather than to contradict his own beliefs, i.e. than to serve the truth.

In his educational works Skovoroda discussed not only problems of education and methods of teaching, but also problems of ethics and sociology. All these problems are part of his philosophy, which is expressed in such works as: *Asbuka svity* — (*rimer of the World*) *Dushevnyi Myr* (*Intellectual World*), *Blahorodnyi Eradii* (*Noble Eradii*), and others. His theses are illustrated by examples and symbols. In addition, Skovoroda wrote many tales, which he used as a method and means to express his educational and philosophical ideas. In these tales he describes human characters, observes human behaviour and thus can be considered as a father of modern behavioural science.

Like Komensky, Skovoroda also recommends nature as a guide in teaching. "One does not have to teach an apple tree how to bear apples, nature takes care of itself. All the man has to do is to build a fence around the tree so that the animals will not hurt it", said Skovoroda. The main duty of a teacher according to Skovoroda is to develop the inborn talents of the student to the highest degree of his intellectual abilities. The education and qualifications of the individual should correspond to his character and the work he is best suited for in life. Skovoroda believed that persons put into the wrong occupations can do much more harm than good for society. "It is funny when a wolf plays a flute or a bear is dancing", says Skovoroda, "but when the wolf becomes a shepherd and the bear becomes a monk-then it is not funny, but dangerous".

In conclusion it is to be said that both, Komensky and Skovoroda wrote theological, philosophical, and educational works. Both of them were teachers and introduced a modern method and approach to teaching. Both of them not only recommended that children be taught in their native tongues, but taught this way themselves. Both of them as educators recommended education for all men in all countries.

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BOOK REVIEW**THE CRIME OF MOSCOW IN VYNNYTSIA
(Testimony On The Murder of 9,439 Ukrainians by The Soviet NKVD).**

Preface by Lewis Brandon. \$3.00. 1980. The Institute For Historical Review. P.O. Box 1306. Torrance, California 90505.

The timely re-publication of this booklet by the Institute For Historical Review coincides with the increasing current interest in the Katyn and Vynnytsia massacres. Louis FitzGibbon, the foremost expert on Katyn, authored the book, *KATYN*, and served as Honorary Secretary to the Katyn Memorial project. He designed the Katyn Memorial obelisk which was ceremoniously unveiled on 18 September 1976 in London, England, much to the consternation of the Soviets and their apologists.

Turning his attention to the Vynnytsia massacre, Mr. FitzGibbon authored the article "Vynnytsia: The Forgotten Forerunner of Katyn" which appeared in the May 1980 issue of the journal, *EAST-WEST DIGEST* (No. 9, Vol. 16). He speculates in the article that the Soviets might have used a larger caliber bullet at Katyn because of their Vynnytsia "experience" and the difficulties encountered in using small caliber bullets for mass executions.

The current interest in Vynnytsia should be attributed to the Institute For Historical Review located in Torrance, California. This new Institute, not afraid to study "taboo" historical subjects, sponsors annual scholarly conventions for "Revisionist" historians. The Vynnytsia massacre was designated to be an area of prime interest for study in the Resolutions passed at the very first Revisionist Convention held at Northrup University in Los Angeles, California in 1979.

This reprint is of the booklet first published in 1952 by The Scottish League For European Freedom in Edinburgh. That booklet was a translation from the Ukrainian edition published in New York 1951 by the Ukrainian American Youth Association, Inc.

This edition has a concise preface by the Director of The Institute For Historical Review, Lewis Brandon. The cover jacket of the book reproduces a colourful German propaganda poster which was exploited by the Nazis for anti-Soviet purposes.

Although this is not a scholarly work, it well serves to introduce the reader to this subject. The Institute For Historical Review has followed up the publication of this Vynnytsia booklet by offering a one thousand dollar scholarship to further the study of the Vynnytsia massacre. The scholarship is available to any serious student who is interested in pursuing this subject.

It is a pity that Ukrainian scholarship has done so little in contributing to Ukrainian Holocaust studies. The lone exception is the London published book, *Russian Oppression In Ukraine*. Perhaps with the publication of this

booklet and the scholarship initiative shown by the Institute For Historical Review, Ukrainian academia will now examine this aspect of the continuing Ukrainian Holocaust processes.

Roman DOLYNIUK

UKRAINIAN DUMY. Original texts. Translations by George Tarnawsky and Patricia Kilina. Introduction by Natalie K. Moyle. Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1979 (1980). Pp. 219. \$5.95.

So far, in the Western hemisphere Ukrainian *dumy*, or folk epics of the fifteenth to the eighteenth century included, were translated only in French by Maria Scherrer — *Les dumy ukrainiennes: Epopée Cosaque* (Paris, 1947). Now the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies has published a “minor edition” of 33 epics in English — for the first time.

The book consists of the original Ukrainian text of *dumy* facing the English translations by George Tarnawsky and Patricia Kilina (pseudonym of Patricia Nell Warren). The introduction is written by Dr. Natalie K. Moyles, a specialist in folklore, who examines the content and verse structure of *dumy* against the background of “the Europe-Middle East-Central Asia cultural continuum”. Her comparison of the heroes of the Ukrainian epics with those in *Chanson de Roland* and *Nibelungenlied* and the characterization of the *dumy* from the viewpoint of “a combination of heroism and tragedy” (p. 12) are most illuminating. Indeed, this is an excellent though concise piece of scholarship with a new approach — to look at Ukrainian oral literature in the context of world folklore.

Translations by G. Tarnawsky and P. Kilina are good and inclined rather to poetic criteria than to exact rendering. Since *dumy* have verses of different length, the translators tried, often quite successfully, to reflect it in English, while omitting the peculiar rhyming observed in the originals. This can be attested by the following famous lines from “Duma pro vtechu tr’ox brativ z Ozova”:

Oj to ne pyly to pylyly,
Ne tumany vstavaly, —
Jak iz zemli turec’koji,
Iz viry busurmans’koji
Z horoda Ozova, z tiazhkoji nevoli
try bratyky vtikaly.

Oh, it was not dust swirling,
And it was not fog rising,
But from the Turkish land,
From the infidel faith,
From the city of Azov, from bitter slavery,
three brothers were fleeing. (p. 79)

Dumy depict the struggle of the Ukrainian nation mostly against Tatar and Polish invaders. Naturally, the warriors are enormously glorified, their feats are comparable to those in legends and similar mythological works. The translators rightly gave preference to these works in their selection, but they also translated the other masterpieces — “The Storm on the Black Sea”, “Conversation Between the Dnieper and the Danube”, “The Death of a Cossack Bandurist”, and “A Dream”, which deal with different, deeply human topics, in highly poetic presentations.

The book is intended not only for general reading — it may be successfully used as the teaching material for students of Ukrainian literature and folklore. The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies and its collaborator, the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, deserve high commendation for issuing this important and valuable publication.

Yar SLAVUTYCH
The University of Alberta

UKRAINIANS IN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES A Guide to Information Sources

Published by Gale Research Co., *Ukrainians in Canada and the United States: A Guide to Information Sources* (236 pp.) is Volume 7 in the Ethnic Studies Information Guide Series. The annotated bibliography lists and describes nearly 1,000 books, dissertations, directory sections list 175 national organizations, more than 550 churches, one hundred periodical publications (active as well as retrospective), and ninety publishing houses and bookstores in Canada and the United States.

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Ukrainians in Canada and the United States: A Guide to Information Sources. Edited by Aleksander Sokolyshyn, Senior Librarian, Brooklyn Public Library. (Volume 7 in the Ethnic Studies Information Guide Series, part of the Gale Information Guide Library.) Published by Gale Research Co., Detroit, 1981. CIP: L.C. Card No. 81-6748. ISBN 0-8103-1494-0. \$38.00.

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