

THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

A Quarterly Magazine devoted to the study of Ukraine.

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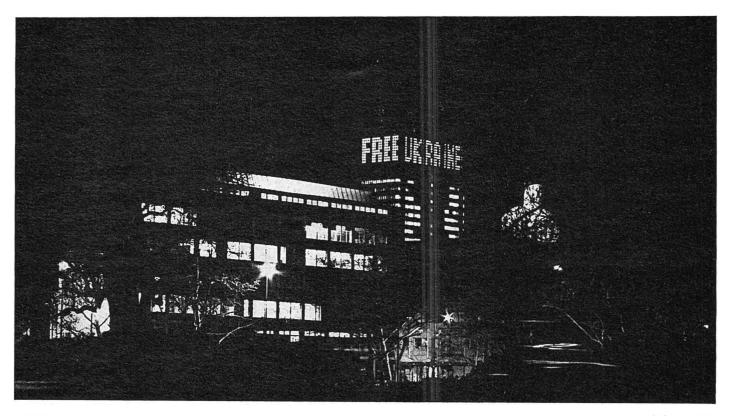
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'Ukraine in lights' — an illuminated sign from the top storey of the Electric Company building in Philadelphia, USA — the cradle of American independence and democracy, January 1983. (Photo courtesy of Omega News Group, USA)

M. MORAVSKY

THOUGHTS ON UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

For most nations Independence Day is celebrated as an extremely joyous occasion. They look back at that historic event as the beginning of a new era. They celebrate the development of the nation since the proclamation and realise that they could only have achieved it through their own endeavours.

Most Ukrainians however, celebrate the proclamation of the Central *Rada*, on the 22nd January, 1918 with mixed feelings. After all the occasion is only celebrated openly in the free world. In Ukraine the occasion is not an occasion; there is no national public holiday; there is no open rejoicing similar to that which occurred on the day of the proclamation in St. Sophia's Square in Kyiv.

Ukrainians in Ukraine dare not celebrate. They may mention the event only to their most trusted friends, but not publicly. For to do so would surely result in a long "rest", perhaps 10-20 years at the pleasure of Mr. Andropov and the KGB, including a period of "returning to sanity" in some psychiatric ward which belongs to the most brutal régime ever known to mankind.

For those of us who are free to, or dare to, think about the events which led up to the proclamation, about the proclamation itself and about the events that followed, it is quite clear that the proclamation of an Independent Ukrainian Republic has a special significance.

As in most Independence Day celebrations Ukrainians look upon the event as the "coming of age" of their nation. The decision to proclaim one's independence is about being able and willing to control one's destiny; it is about wanting to enjoy the God-given right to run your own affairs. In the case of Ukraine that decision, that proclamation was not made with the blessing of some monarch or some foreign power which wanted to rid itself of a problem. That decision was made by our people in the midst of a very turbulent period.

If we look back at the history of Ukraine more that 1,000 years ago, we see a long period of freedom, cultural, social, economic and religious development which reached a peak in the 10th and 11th centuries during the rule of our great Princess Olha, Volodymyr the Great and Jaroslav the Wise. Then followed a long period during which we saw the Tartars invade and ruin Kyiv; the rise of Muscovy and their attack on Kyiv; centuries of Polish rule and slavery; the birth of the Cossacks and their wars to rid Ukraine of Poles, Tartars and Turks. We saw Prussian rule, Austrian rule and Russian rule. Centuries of fighting to maintain an identity, centuries of toiling for foreign rulers. And yet we refused to die. At the end of the 18th and during the 19th centuries come a period of National Rebirth sparked by nation's refusal to die and by such writers as Kotliarevskyj, Shashkevych and, of course, Taras Shevchenko. This period also saw the formation of the first Ukrainian political organisation, secret of course, by Shevchenko, Kulish, Kostomariv and others. In April 1847 the activities of these revolutionary idealists were terminated with a series of arrests by the Imperial Russian Government. And it wasn't until the end of the 19th century that new Ukrainian political parties began to evolve, mainly socialist in character apart from those organised by Mykola Mikhnovsky which were nationalist in character.

The outbreak of World War I saw Ukraine still divided under two foreign régimes: Western Ukraine under the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Eastern Ukraine under Russia. The freedom enjoyed by the Western Ukrainians under the Austro-Hungarian rule allowed them to form a *Rada* at the beginning of the war from representatives of existing Ukrainian political parties. The decision of the *Rada* was to form an army and fight alongside the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Germany against the Russian forces. They saw the defeat of the Russian Empire as the only chance for achieving a united free Ukraine.

The outbreak of the Revolution in March 1917 saw the formation of the Central *Rada* in Kyiv under the leadership of Mykhailo Hrushevskyj, composed largely of Socialist Democrats and Socialist Federalists. In the months to follow the Central *Rada* stood on the platform of an autonomous Ukrainian Republic, without separating from the Russian Republic and respecting its unity... To cut a long story short, the new Russian régime was not interested in autonomy for Ukraine. It answered the Central *Rada's* Third Universal by sending troops in. And thus resulted the Central *Rada's* fourth Universal which proclaimed: "By your strength, will, and word there has arisen in the Ukrainian land a free Ukrainian National Republic. Realized is the age-old dream of your forefathers, champions of the freedom and rights of the toiling masses. On this day the Ukrainian National Republic becomes independent, dependent upon no one, a free sovereign state of the Ukrainian people".

Almost immediately this proclamation had to be defended in the battlefields, and although this was done most heroically, history is witness to the fact that the battle was lost. We can agree that the Central *Rada's* preoccupation with the Federalist question whilst ignoring the need for armed forces to defend its proclamation of an Autonomous State, is the blame for the short lived independence. On the other hand we can surely state that the proclamation of Ukrainian Independence on the 22nd January 1918, although not based on ideological-theoretical beliefs, but rather as a result of practical politics, still had its merits. After all the Central *Rada*, in a period of

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8 months, developed its thinking, from a position of supporting the new régime in Russia, to a position where it physically fought that régime and proclaimed its dependence upon no one. The Central *Rada* had become nationally aware and the idea of national freedom had crystallized.

It is said that the past shows the path to the future. Although history is witness to the fact that within a few years of the Proclamation of Ukraine's Independence, Ukraine was again carved up and occupied by Russia and Poland. The fact remains, that during that short period of the revolution the idea of National Self-Determination and Independence had crystallized in the minds of the Ukrainian people. And thus in the years that followed the revolution, we saw the emergence of the Ukrainian Military Organisation (UVO), the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) which fought valiantly during and after World War Two under General Roman Shukhevych, not only against the Russian forces but Hitler's as well. Shukhevych's forces were not fighting a new war, they were continuing the fight for Ukrainian Independence which had begun in 1918. In fact on June 30th, 1941 Ukrainian Independence was again restored under the leadership of Prime Minister Jaroslav Stetsko. Although the restoration was brief it was witness to the fact that the idea of selfdetermination and Independence born in 1918, had not only survived but strengthened within the Ukrainian masses who had now lived some 20 years under a cruel Bolshevik régime, which through its intensive russification programme was determined to wipe out Ukrainians. Even Stalin's planned famine in Ukraine in 1932-1933, which took the lives of some 10 million people could not stamp out that desire to be free.

Today Russian political prisons, concentration camps and psychiatric wards are filled with thousands upon thousands of a new generation of Ukrainians whose only crime is the burning desire to be free. In other words the war for Ukrainian Independence although changed in form, goes on today and will not stop until the ultimate realisation of the 4th Universal which was proclaimed by the Ukrainian Central *Rada* on the 22nd January 1918.

The Ukrainian people are used to fighting alone for the noblest of causes, the God-given right to Self-Determination and Independence. But the sooner the world realises that Ukraine's battle against a cruel régime, which in 1917 set out on the path of world domination, must be won, the sooner the whole world will enjoy living in peace and without fear. Perhaps events of recent years namely, the invasion of Afghanistan and the current situation in Poland has jolted some governments into taking a harder look at the Russian Empire and its plans for the world.

Perhaps the day is nigh when once again the Ukrainian spirit of independence will be able to express itself freely in Kyiv and throughout Ukraine on the ruins of the Soviet Russian Empire. We can only hope that this is true.

UKRAINE: A SITUATION REPORT

The struggle of the Ukrainian nation for its national independence, sovereignty and statehood in a common front with the other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism in the USSR and its "satellites" had entered a critical phase in the 1980s.* The revolutionary processes in Ukraine have acquired greater strength, as can be witnessed by the ever-increasing number of mass strikes and open protests recently held in a number of larger cities of Ukraine.

The Russian colonialists have responded to this heightened revolutionary activity by instituting a new wave of severe repressions, mass arrests, even outright murders (e.g., Volodymyr Ivasiuk, Ukrainian popular composer, murdered in May, 1979; M. Melnyk, Ukrainian historian, murdered in 1979), together with a more brutally enforced policy of Russification, which in the long run will even further accentuate the ripening dichotomy between the national-revolutionary authority, represented by the nationalist underground, and the colonial pseudo-authority of Moscow.

The elevation of Yuri Andropov to supreme power in the Russian empire, and the recent appointment of V. Fedorchuk — the former head of the KGB in Ukraine — to the post of all-Union KGB Chief and subsequently to the post of Minister of the Interior of the USSR, harbours only ill tidings for the liberation movement of Ukraine and the other subjugated nations. Both men built their careers on a reputation of brutality and ruthlessness, particularly with regard to suppressing any and all manifestations of national liberation.

Nonetheless, the Ukrainian underground national-liberation movement remains undaunted in the face of this new wave of repression. In fact, rather than succumb, the Ukrainian underground managed to organize a series of sabotage actions on all levels of the forcibly imposed colonial socio-economic system in Ukraine, i.e., these revolutionary liberation processes are further exacerbated by the increasingly more acute internal contradictions of the Russian communist system, ranging from the bankruptcy of Marxism-Leninism as a viable political ideal, to the catastrophic ineptitude of the colonial economic system of the USSR. This economic ineptitude is most clearly revealed in the agricultural policies of the Russian empire. Agricultural output over the last three years in the USSR has been catastrophically below quotas projected in the Five Year Plan. Moreover, all indicators point towards yet another catastrophic grain yield in 1982. When one considers that Ukraine, once known as "the breadbasket of Europe", occupies a crucial link in the total agricultural policy of the empire, then one can only conclude that the revolutionary consequences of those disastrous grain yields four years in succession will be most severely felt in Ukraine.

^{*} Presented by the Ukrainian delegation at the World Anti-Communist League Conference in Tokyo, Japan, December 6-9, 1982.

Russification campaign intensified

Nowhere are Moscow's intentions and priorities regarding the subjugated nations more clearly demonstrated than in its brutal Russification campaign, led under the deceitful guise of "building a Soviet people". This process is not only linguistic, or cultural, but in fact pervades all levels of Russian policy *vis-à-vis* the nations that Russia has forcibly enslaved. It represents Moscow's traditional aim of transforming these nations into one, great (sic!), albeit artificial entity — a Russian "super-nation". This policy is a systematic attempt to forcibly and by means of outright terror impose upon the subjugated nations Russian values, Russian mores, an essentially Russian way and philosophy of life. In short, the subjugated nations in the USSR are not only to speak in Russian, to act as a Russian, to adopt Russian traditions and culture as their own, they must also *think* as a Russian and even *pray* in Russian. To act otherwise is tantamount to "anti-state activity", i.e., treason.

Even the *kolkhoz* system in the USSR is a significantly powerful variable of this Russification campaign and a subtle device of national subjugation. The system is totally inimical to the rural population of the rural population of the subjugated nations, particularly of Ukraine, essentially because it represents Moscow's desire to impose on these nations Russian social norms, a traditionally Russian collectivist social ideal, based on the inherently Russian historical institution from tsarist times of the *obshchyna*, i.e., the collectivized ownership of land and the complete negation of private ownership and initiative.

Over the past few years Moscow has intensified its Russification campaign in Ukraine, in a total assault on the spiritual essence of the Ukrainian nation. The use of the Ukrainian language in the capital of Ukraine — Kyiv, and in the other larger cities has become taboo; to speak Ukrainian is inviting arrest. Publications in Ukrainian are far and few in between. Russian is a prerequisite to advancement on all levels of society, including academic institutions. Historical Ukrainian cultural artifacts are continuously being destroyed. In the arts, the official line of "social realism" is nothing more than a clever colonial device to squash any attempts at displaying a separate Ukrainian cultural identity.

This all-out, frontal Russian assault on the vital life-*élan* of the Ukrainian nation has been further intensified by a systematic quasi-academic campaign against Ukrainian history. Historical facts are grossly distorted, manipulated and even completely altered, so as to "prove" that the Ukrainian and Russian "people" (sic!) sprang from a common source. Ukrainian history textbooks are always written as an unimportant addendum to Russian history. All heroic elements in Ukraine's history, that may inculcate the younger generations with a "dangerous" sense of national consciousness and pride, are immediately labelled "bourgeois nationalist" and subsequently effaced from officially-censured history books.

Students are strongly encouraged, even forced to pursue their academic studies in strictly technical and scientific fields, where there is less of a threat that they may develop a latent "bourgeois nationalist" attitude. In fact, Ukrainian studies in the humanities are practically non-existent and what few university-level courses in Ukrainian history, literature, culture and the like are generally second-rate, if not worse, ridiculously distorted and, therefore, ill-attended. Whereas Russian in the humanities have an exceptionally preferred status in universities in Ukraine.

Over the last few years the Russification campaign has taken a peculiar ideological-philosophical twist. Not since Stalinist times has the imperialist régime expended so much energy on seeking to justify and rationalize its brutally repressive colonial policies and its expansionist measures that often require a bloody military invasion and occupation of foreign countries (e.g., Afghanistan), despite excessively high casualty rates from among Russian and non-Russian soldiers in the Soviet army. Among the plethora of articles and books on this subject that have recently flooded all bookstores throughout the USSR, one of the most characteristic is a novel by N. Prokhanov entitled - "A Tree in Kabul", in which the peculiar nuances of this ideological campaign are clearly brought out. The central figure in this novel is a Russian soldier who is depicted as a hero and who rides around the streets of Kabul in a jeep indiscriminately shooting down helpless women and children, later repeating this monstrous act several times over only in different circumstances, e.g., in a helicopter over the mountains of Afghanistan. This barbaric, albeit typically Russian "hero" is completely convinced that he is rendering the Afghan people and all of humankind a special service, since he is portrayed as a "bringer of happiness". The twisted rationalization behind all this is that if there are people in the world too "stupid" to realize the "great happiness" that Russian-style communism offers, then it is the sacrosanct duty of the "Soviet", i.e., Russian soldier to force this "happiness" down these "idiots'" throats.

The function of this ideological campaign seems to be threefold: a. to instill terror and fear into the minds of the subjugated nations by subtly suggesting that no matter how bad things are at present, they could get much worse, even bloody; b. to quell any dissatisfaction that may arise over the many thousands of corpses of soldiers killed in Afghanistan, or elsewhere, in pursuit of Russian imperio-colonial aims; to prepare and mobilize the already chauvinistically-inclined Russian people in the USSR for even further "glorious" (sic!) conquests.

"An Offensive Defence of the Nation" — a proper understanding of revolutionary processes

Despite all these efforts to forcibly amalgamate the Ukrainian nation into a greater Russian "super-nation", the Kremlin leaders can hardly pride themselves with any success in this brutal Russification campaign. Led by

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the underground Ukrainian national-liberation movement, all strata of the Ukrainian nation have taken up what has been termed in clandestine revolutionary circles as "an offensive defence of the nation", in preparation of the final stage of the revolutionary processes, *viz.*, the armed appropriation of national authority.

In order to properly analyze the situation in Ukraine, it is necessary to develop a full understanding of just what is meant by "revolutionary processes" from a total, wholistic perspective. The system of national subjugation in the Russian empire is a total, highly centralized, complex and intertwined system, in which the slightest deficiency in any, even the least significant segment of the system will reverberate throughout the system as a whole. Hence, by undermining the workings of one segment of this system, the revolutionary liberation movement undermines the whole system. For example, by staging a sabotage action in one factory creates problems for the entire industrial complex of the USSR.

In such a system, an act need not be overtly revolutionary, meaning of a directly military nature, to be in fact revolutionary. For instance, a child who refuses to speak Russian in school is commiting a revolutionary act. The raising of the Ukrainian national flag, singing of patriotic songs, or writing nationalist slogans on walls, — all this must be considered factors in the revolutionary processes, since every revolution is first and foremost a process of consciousness-building. In its initial stages a revolution is primarily a moral and ethical process. Only when these process are about to reach their apex, that is when most of the nation has been mobilized, does a national-liberation revolution enter into its final, overtly military stage.

At a certain stage in this progression, individual revolutionary acts are transformed into acts of mass protest and manifestations of proportion to imperialist policies, acquiring mass social proportions. In light of this, we can say that Ukraine has entered this stage, where we can see the beginnings of a mass movement. For example, over ten thousand people took to the streets of Lviv to protest the brutal murder of Volodymyr Ivasiuk. This mass demonstration was held during Ivasiuk's funeral procession in May of 1979. The demonstrators continuously and defiantly chanted anti-Russian, nationalists slogans, such as: "Russia - out of Ukraine", "Glory to Ukraine", "Freedom for Ukraine", etc. Although KGB agents were to be seen everywhere along the route of the procession and at the burial site, they feared making any outright arrests that would have inscensed the crowd even further. Several KGB agents were even beaten up by the demonstrators. Another example of such heightened revolutionary awareness is the mass workers' strikes held last year in Kyiv and in other cities. The strike in Kyiv lasted for several days and the colonial authorities were forced to make several concessions. The protestors were heard to shout slogans such as: "Give us our independence", "Give us bread", etc.

A Heroic Christianity — the Church in the Catacombs

One of the most significant aspects of the Ukrainian national-liberation struggle is the struggle for religious freedom. Despite all the efforts of the imperialist Russian régime to eradicate all forms of religious worship in the USSR, a heroic Christianity has grown in Ukraine, manifested in the growth of a Church in the Catacambs. Clandestine religious services are always being held in most of the cities and villages of Ukraine. They are always attended by a large throng of people, even though there is the constant threat of arrest and incarceration. At a time when the Catholic Church is experiencing a critical dearth of vocational callings for the priesthood, in Ukraine no such shortage exists.

The colonial régime has resorted to terror tactics to combat this religious wave in Ukraine. In recent years, several priests have been murdered outright. Others have been arrested on trumped-up sexually-related charges, so as to discredit these priests in the eyes of the people. Many of the faithful in Ukraine have been arrested and sentenced to long prison terms. Yet, the Ukrainian Catacamb Church continues to exist.

What little churches and cathedrals that the Russians have not yet destroyed are always full (when open) with faithful worshippers, praying in silence. Young people are increasingly seen wearing openly crosses on chains around their necks in a courageous act of defiance. The Ukrainian nation as a whole has completely rejected the officially-sanctioned Russian Orthodox Church of "patriarch" Pimen.

A Search for Ukrainian Roots

Among many young Ukrainian intellectuals, a growing interest in Ukrainian antiquity can be noticed in recent years. For instance, several scholarly articles have appeared in Ukraine, in which the archaeological excavations in and around Kyiv and in other parts of Ukraine are described in great detail. Although the authors of these articles do not say as much, nonetheless after reading them anyone can clearly see that these scholars are trying to prove that Ukraine has an ancient tradition of statehood and that it had developed a highly civilized society long before a Russian people came into being. This, of course, is completely antithetical to the official line, that the Ukrainian, Byelorussian and Russian peoples all have one common root.

One of the more prominent Ukrainian intellectuals, who has taken up this courageous search for Ukrainian historical roots, is a young Ukrainian historian — Mykhajlo Braichevskyj. In one article Braichevskyj subtly but persuasively shows that the roots of Ukrainian independence and statehood can be found in the great Antae state, which existed over 1500 years ago. In this same article Braichevskyj boldly proves that the Russian people are Finnish and, hence, are not to be found in the Antae state. In another article Braichevskyj shows that Kyiv — the capital of Ukraine — was established approximately 2000 years ago and that it can by no means be considered the "mother of all Russian (sic!) cities", since the Russian nation was created only several hundred years afterwards.

Articles such as these are significant factors in the development of a revolutionary consciousness in Ukraine. A young Ukrainian, who possesses even a slight amount of national consciousness, cannot help but be proud of being Ukrainian after reading such articles and scholarly works.

The Destruction of the "Ukrainian Helsinki Group"

In 1975 the so-called Helsinki Accords were signed. The Western Democracies were hoping at that time that these Accords would become a significant vehicle for realizing several basic human liberties in the USSR and its "satellites". In return for these human rights provisions, outlined in the so-called "Third Basket" of the Accords, the West had to recognize the "inviolability" of the borders of the Russian empire.

By signing these Accords, the West created a false illusion in Ukraine and in other subjugated nations that it would now begin a strong offensive to force the Kremlin leadership into abiding by the human rights provisions of the "Third Basket". Subsequently, a number of so-called "Helsinki Monitoring Groups" were formed. One such Group was established in Kyiv. Many well-known Ukrainian freedom fighters became members of this Group. Also, many other Ukrainian patriots, who had until then kept their liberation activity secret, now openly stated that they were members of this Group. Later, it was revealed that none of the members of the Ukrainian Group were aware of the fact, that the Accords recognized the "inviolability", "integrity" and "state sovereignty" of the Russian empire. On the other hand, they were convinced that the Accords could be utilized as an instrument of the national-liberation struggle. In many of the documents from the Group that found their way to the West, the Group's members often emphasized the fact that they were fighting for a free and independent Ukraine.

The colonial authorities in Ukraine began to systematically decimate the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. First, its more prominent members were arrested and sentenced to excessively harsh prison terms. Individuals, such as Lev Lukianenko, Oles' Berdnyk, Ivan Kandyba, Vyacheslav Chornovil and many others were sentenced to ten and more years in Russian prisons and concentration camps. Some were sentenced on ridiculous, trumped-up criminal charges, so as to avoid a possibly embarassing "political trial" for Moscow. In due time, all the known members of the Ukrainian Group were sentenced. As a result the underground national-liberation movement was bereft of some of its most representative leaders and spokesmen. And all the while the West hardly did anything in defence of these courageous individuals, who went to jail expecting to see the Western Democracies

initiate a campaign on their behalf. Moscow, of course, never showed any alarm over the fact that this complete destruction of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group was in violation of the Helsinki Accords.

This year, the President of the United States, Ronald Reagan, issued a proclamation demanding the immediate release of all of the incarcerated members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. However, in light of the series of flagrant violations of the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Accords on the part of the Soviet Union, and also in cognizance of the fact that the Accords considerably undermine the national-liberation struggle of Ukraine and the other subjugated nations in the USSR and the "satellite" countries, since they recognize the "inviolability" of the Russian empire, it would be much more appropriate if the United States and the Western Democracies in general proclaimed the Accords null and void. This would not only be in the interests of the subjugated nations, but also in the interests of the Struggle against Russian expansionism, imperialism and communism are precisely the subjugated nations.

The Sixth Supreme Assembly of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN)

At the time when Ukraine is about to embark on a crucial stage in its national-liberation struggle, it is significant that the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) — the leading revolutionary force of this struggle for over the past fifty years and the political aegis of revolutionary national authority in Ukraine, diametrically opposed to the Russian colonial pseudo-authority — held its Sixth Supreme Assembly in Autumn of 1981.

The OUN Supreme Assembly is the highest legislative body of the Ukrainian national-liberation movement and hence, in the absence of an independent and sovereign state structure, represents the only source of legitimate authority of the Ukrainian nation. Its purpose is to rule on all questions of ideology, political programme, liberation strategy, external and internal policy.

One of the central issues discussed at the Assembly was the very real future possibility of a thermo-nuclear holocaust, which would lead to the extermination of a considerable portion, if not all of humankind. The Assembly voiced its concern in this regard in recognition of the fact that in the event of an East-West nuclear confrontation, the Ukrainian nation would undoubtedly suffer the gravest of consequences, being one of the primary targets of *NATO's nuclear missiles*. The reason for this rather anomalous situation (*viz.*, that Western missiles would be the instrument of the death of many millions of Ukrainians, whom, one should reasonably assume, should be considered valuable allies of the Western Powers in a war against Moscow) is that Moscow has deployed an overwhelming majority of its ominously huge nuclear arsenal on the territories of Ukraine and the other subjugated nations, thereby deftly manoeuvering the NATO Powers to primarily target

these non-Russian ethnographic areas in their nuclear strategy. Hence, in the event of a nuclear escalation of military hostilities, ethnographically Russian areas — the most significant power base of the imperialist régime — would be left relatively unscathed.

With a deep sense of responsibility not only for the fate of its own native Ukrainian nation, but for all of humankind as well, the OUN Assembly posited an alternative political and military strategy based on the national-liberation revaluations of Ukraine and the other subjugated nations, which will ultimately lead to the dissolution of the Russian prison of nations, thereby precluding the very possibility of a future nuclear holocaust by eliminating its only potential *causa sui*.

However, the Assembly also cautioned the Western Democracies that in order for this alternative to be effectuated, the West must take active measures towards its realization strictly for the *sake of its own interests*. The first step that ought to be taken towards this aim would be a clear and unequivocal identification and denunciation of the USSR and its "satellites" essentially as a Russian neo-colonial, imperialist system of national subjugation and repression of basic liberties. This would then require a recognition on the part of the nations of the Free World of the representatives of the revolutionary national-liberation movements on all international fora, particularly at the United Nations, as the only genuine representatives of the will and aspirations of their respective nations.

It is noteworthy that at this Sixth Supreme Assembly of the OUN all the generations of Ukrainian nationalists were represented, particularly a large contingent of the younger OUN cadres who took an active part in the deliberations and decision-making processes of the Assembly. This fact alone manifests the continuity of the national-liberation struggle and of the continued relevance of the idea of an Independent Ukrainian State, from which the younger and older generations of Ukrainian nationalists and patriots receive inspiration in their struggle.

The Fortieth Anniversary of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA)

In 1982 the Ukrainian nation as a whole marked the fortieth anniversary of the creation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which was established on the initiative of the OUN and which together with the OUN revolutionary armed underground fought a heroic war of liberation on two fronts against Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia. This armed struggle, which lasted for over a decade, was led in defence of Ukrainian national independence, sovereignty and statehood, proclaimed by the Act of Independence of June 30, 1941 on the initiative of the OUN, then under the leadership of Stepan Bandera who was later murdered by a Russian agent in Munich in 1959. In this struggle the Ukrainian nation sacrificed its best and most noble sons and daughters from the ranks of the OUN-UPA. A particularly severe blow was dealt the armed Ukrainian OUN-UPA insurgent underground when in 1950 the Commander-in-Chief of the UPA — General Roman ShukhevychTaras Chuprynka — was killed in a battle with Russian MVD forces in the forests of Ukraine near Lviv.

Nonetheless, the OUN-UPA insurgent forces managed to carry out guerilla operations against the Russian occupational forces in Ukraine well into the 1950s. Some of these battles were on a considerably large scale. The strength of the OUN-UPA and the threat that it posed to the Russian empire can be gauged somewhat by Khrushchev's revealing statement, taken from his memoirs, that "in Ukraine every bush seemed to be shooting at us!" Besides the many thousands of enemy soldiers, Nazi and Bolshevik alike, that were killed in battles with the UPA, several prominent enemy officers also fell from the UPA bullets, e.g., Gen. Lutze — Chief of Staff of the Nazi SA, Red Army Marshal Vatutin, Gen. Walter Sverchevski deputy minister of defence in communist Poland, and others.

In November, 1943, on the initiative of the OUN, the UPA General Staff sponsored and organized a Conference of Subjugated Nations, attended by representatives of the insurgent-liberation movements of thirteen subjugated nations. The Conference, which was held in a UPA-liberated area of Ukraine, established the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) as the coordinating centre of the national-liberation movements of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism. As stated in its founding document, the ABN's primary aim is the liquidation of the communist system and the final dissolution of the Russian prison of nations into national, independent, sovereign and democratic states, each within its ethnographic borders. Subsequently, the UPA began realizing the OUN-UPA-ABN strategy of coordinated and simultaneous revolutionary uprisings on the territories of the subjugated nations by carrying out "raids" into the other subjugated nations, where the UPA insurgents organized guerilla units to fight Russian forces of occupation.

Because of the threat posed by the OUN-UPA, particularly in light of its role in directing and coordinating liberation activities among the other subjugated nations, the USSR was forced to conclude a Tripartite Pact with its "satellites" — communist Poland and the CSR — in 1947. The sole purpose of the Pact was to bring the armies of the three countries into a coordinated, massive assault to destroy the UPA. Hence, by the mid-fifties the OUN-UPA's insurgent-guerilla activity was becoming increasingly more difficult and its forces were transformed into clandestine underground detachments.

We are presenting this somewhat lengthy synopsis of the UPA's two-front war of liberation so as to underscore the vast potential of an insurgentliberation strategy in the struggle against Russian imperialism and communism. This concept of liberation continues to be relevant and all the more powerful at the present time.

The UPA Honorary Committee

So as to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the UPA, the OUN, on the initiative of its Chairman - Yaroslav Stetsko, who was Prime Minister of Independent Ukraine following the Act of Independence of June 30. 1941. — decided to form an international Honorary Committee. Among the many distinguished political and military dignitaries from throughout the world, who consented to be members of this Honorary Committee, thereby honouring the fallen heroes of the UPA, are the following: H.R.H. Otto von Habsburg, M.E.P. - Honorary President of the European Freedom Council (EFC), Senator Barry Goldwater (USA), Gen. Sir Walter Walker (Great Britain), Gen. Bruce K. Holloway (USA), Gen. Daniel O. Graham (USA), Gen. John K. Singlaub (USA), Gen. Robert C. Richardson III (USA), Gen. Robert Close (Belgium), Gen. Wego W. K. Chiang (Republic of China), Gen. Adriano Magi Braschi (Italy), Gen. W. D. Whitaker (Canada), Gen. Daron Bentinck (Holland), Gen. E. J. C. Hootegem (Holland), Gen. Alejo S. Santos (the Phillipines), Gen. F. P. Serong (Australia), Gen. Abdul Sabur Scharaf and Commander Nabi Saheli (Afghan "Mujahideen"), Hon. Dr. Ku Cheng-kang (Republic of China), Hon. John Wilkinson, M.P. (Great Britain) - President of the EFC, Mr. Osami Kuboki (Japan), Sen. Dr. Fethi Tevetoglu (Turkey), Prof. Woo Jae-Seung (Korea), and many others.

It is also noteworthy that two Metropolitans and several Archbishops and bishops, representing the traditional Ukrainian Churches, agreed to become members of the UPA Honorary Committee. Moreover, the Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church — His Holiness Josyf I, who spent over 18 years in Russian prisons and concentration camps together with many OUN-UPA prisoners-of-war - wrote a special Pastoral Letter on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the UPA. In bestowing his pastoral blessings on the UPA and on all the heroes of Ukraine's two-front war of liberation. His Holiness Josyf writes the following: "After the war, when the world powers were fraternizing amidst the ruins of war and the mounds of corpses. dividing their spheres of influence, when the atheistic empire began rebuilding its tottering slave system of national and social subjugation, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army continued to fight for many years defending the untarnished honour of its nation and the right to believe in and worship God the Creator. The spilled blood and sacrificed lives of the Ukrainian insurgents sanctified Ukraine, and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army became the legacy and testament for future generations. Although the Russian enemy drove many freedom fighters of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army into prisons and death camps, just as it was done with the hierarchy, the clergy and the faithful of the Ukrainian Churches, the enemy could not destroy the Ukrainian Insurgent Army; it continues to exist as a living legend".

In Defence of OUN-UPA Prisoners of War

In light of the fact that a considerable number of OUN-UPA insurgents continue to languish in Russian concentration camps in Siberia, having already spent 25-30 years in the most inhumane conditions of incarceration, the OUN Presidium initiated a political campaign among the free Western Democracies to attain the release of these Ukrainian Prisoners-of-war. The basis of this action was a resolution of the International Red Cross Convention, held in Geneva in 1978, which placed incarcerated POW's from insurgent-guerilla armies (such as the UPA) on an equal footing with POWs from conventional armies, requiring that both categories of prisoners be rendered equal and proper treatment in accordance with all the rules of the Geneva Convention. During the Madrid Review Conference on the Helsinki Accords, the Chairman of the OUN - Y. Stetsko - held a series of discussions with representatives of several Western delegations, particularly with Max Kampelman — the chief delegate of the USA. In the course of these discussions, Mr. Stetsko raised the issue of the continued incarceration and persecution of the OUN-UPA insurgents, suggesting that the Western Democracies utilize international fora, such as the Madrid Conference, to pressure the USSR into releasing the Ukrainian OUN-UPA POWs.

During the last few years the OUN has utilized all the avenues to Western foreign policy circles open to its disposal to seek the release of Yuriy Shukhevych — the son of the late Commander-in-Chief of the UPA. The younger Shukhevych has spent over 30 years in Russian concentration camps, since the age of fourteen. His only "crime" is that he continues to categorically refuse to denounce his father and the ideal of national independence for which his father fought and died. Unable to break the amazing resolve of this loyal son of Ukraine, the Russian KGB recently blinded him. Presently, as a result of the continuous KGB-inflicted tortures and persecutions, Yuriy Shukhevych's life is severely imperilled.

Recently, Ukrainians have begun to reap some of the fruits of their tireless efforts on behalf of Yuriy Shukhevych. This year the United State Congress passed a resolution (Joint Congressional Resolution No. 111) demanding the immediate release of Yuriy Shukhevych and that he be granted the right to emigrate to the Free World. Also, the Australian Parliament recently passed a similar resolution, demanding that Yuriy Shukhevych and his family be allowed to emigrate to Australia, where some of his relatives had taken refuge after World War II.

UPA Day in the US Congress

In conjunction with the Captive Nations Day observances in the United States, which are always held each year in the first week of July, the heroic two-front struggle of the UPA was also commemorated in the US Congress. In 1981 a similar commemoration was held in the US Congress on the fortieth anniversary of the reestablishment of Ukrainian Statehood. The main speaker at this commemoration was Y. Stetsko — the Head of the sovereign Ukrainian Government from 1941. This year, at the Congressional observances of the fortieth anniversary of the UPA, the main speaker was General John K. Singlaub. After presenting a short synopsis of the OUN-UPA-led Ukrainian war of liberation, Gen. Singlaub went on to conclude his address with the following words: "The subjugated nations are the West's strongest allies and continue the liberation alternative to nuclear war".

It is significant that at these Captive Nations and UPA-Day observances in the US Congress, over a hundred Congressmen and Senators were present.

OUN Activity in Afghanistan

After the brutal Russian invasion and occupation of Afghanistan, the OUN sent its representatives to that war-torn but heroic country. The OUN representatives managed to establish contact with the leading Afghan insurgent units of "Mujahideen", at which time the OUN offered to help the heroic Afghan freedom-fighters in whatever way it could.

Subsequently, tens of thousands of OUN leaflets (in Ukrainian and Russian) were distributed in Afghanistan among the soldiers of the Soviet Army. Most recently, an OUN representative managed to deliver an OUN mobile radio broadcasting station to the Afghan "Mujahideen", which is presently broadcasting the OUN message of liberation to the soldiers of the Soviet Army, appealing to them not to fight against the heroic Afghan people.

Also, the OUN has utilized its numerous contacts with Western foreign policy circles to mobilize support for the Afghan war of liberation.

Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN)

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AN EMPIRE OF TYRANNY AND ANTI-CHRIST

The Declaration of the Presidium of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) on the 60th "anniversary" of the existence of the infamous Russian colonial empire in the form of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).

The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists was formed to fight for the "complete removal of all foreign oppressors from Ukrainian lands" and for the "creation of a politically legitimate formation, to be denoted as the Independent and Sovereign Ukrainian State". (From the Resolution of the Congress of the Organization of Ukrainan Nationalists in 1929). The primary enemy and occupier of Ukraine was and from 1919 continues to be Russia, irregardless of the name under which it now poses. With the strength of her armies, Russia conquered the larger portions of Ukrainian ethnographic territories, and from 1944 — almost all of them, with the exception of those territories that fell under the rule of the communist states of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania. From December 1922 this Russian empire appears under the name of "the Union of Soviet Socialists Republics".

The full sovereignty and national integrity of the Independent Ukrainian State was proclaimed by the Act of January 22, 1919, which united two separate parts of Ukraine: the Ukrainian National Republic — reestablished on January 22, 1918, and the Western Ukrainian National Republic proclaimed on November 1, 1918, both of which were established on the ruins of the Tsarist-Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires in the vortex of World War I. However, the Russian and Polish imperialists, began to destroy both of these states already at their inception and started to rebuild their own imperialist states.

On November 7, 1917 (November 25 by the Julian calendar), the reins of power in the Russian state were taken over by a coalition of Marxist parties, the strongest of which was the Russian Social-Democratic Workers Party (Bolsheviks) led by V. I. Lenin. The Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets, held in Petrograd (November 7-9, 1917) ratified this takeover of power, approved the new name of the state — the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, and the formation of a new government under the name of "the Soviet of People's Commissars" (Sovnarkom). On November 15, 1917 this Sovnarkom issued a "Declaration of Rights of the Nations of Russia", which is the first document of a new Russian, aggressively expansionist state policy.

The new Russian Marxist government immediately issued orders to Russian armies, who were then stationed in Kyiv, to take over Ukraine. This hostile subversive plot was to take place on November 30, 1917. But the national armies of the already existing Ukrainian state under the leadership of the Ukrainian Central Council (Rada) prevented this Russian plan from being effectuated. Then the Sovnarkom of the RSFSR began preparing a regular invasion of Ukraine, naming V. Antonov-Ovsienko as the commander of the invading armies. On behalf of the Russian state, Lenin sent an ultimatum to the First All-Ukrainian Congress of Councils, which took place in the middle of the month of December, 1917 in Kyiv. In this ultimatum the Sovnarkom demanded that the Ukrainian Central Rada recognize the authority of Russian over itself and totally subordinate itself to the Russian government within 48 hours, because otherwise the Sovnarkom would take the position that a state of war existed between Russia and Ukraine. On December 19, 1917 the All-Ukrainian Congress of Councils rejected the Russian ultimatum. Immediately, Russian troops invaded Ukraine. Ukraine entered into a self-defensive war.

Over and again the Russian SFSR embarked on an aggressive war against the Ukrainian state throughout 1917-1920, until it was finally able to conquer Ukraine with the assistance of other enemies of the Ukrainian National State. Several times the Russian proclaimed their colonial régime in Ukraine under various fictitious names. These régimes were predominantly composed of Russians and a handful of various local collaborators and renegades. Finally, Moscow decided on the name — the "Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic", as the form of Russian administration in Ukraine, which had again become a Russian colony. For many years Ukrainian blood was shed in the struggle against Russian aggression. Only at the beginning of the 1920's did the Russians manage to consolidate their "Soviet republics" on the territories of Ukraine and several other subjugated nations, in which the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) held absolute power. The RCP(b) established its branches in the subjugated nations, disguising the fact of Russian control over them by using local names. For example, the Communist Party of Bolsheviks in Ukraine was the product not of Ukrainian Communists, but of the Russian Communist Party. Through the Russian Communist Party and its branches in the conquered nations, the Russian imperialists formally subordinated the individual "Soviet republics" to the Russian SFSR.

Already in December, 1917, Lenin created a terrorist organization known as the *Cheka*, which at its inception began its sanguinary operations in Ukraine. And the Central Executive Committee of Councils, formed on December 24-25, 1917 in Kharkiv, immediately resolved to establish very close ties with the RSFSR. In the spring of 1918 Ukrainian national armies drove the Russians from Ukraine along with their "Soviet Republic" and their "Committee of Soviets". In November, 1918, on the orders of Lenin, a "Soviet government of Ukraine" was founded. It was totally in the hands of the Russians. This "government" liquidated itself on October 2, 1919 and handed over all its authority back to Moscow. The time of the establishment of the "Third Soviet Republic" in Ukraine is a mystery. In December, 1919, when the RSFSR began an offensive against the armies of General Denikin, the *Politburo* of the Russian Communist Party called into being on December 11 an "All-Ukrainian Revolutionary Army Committee" (*Vseukrrevkom*), as the military formation of an aggressive war against Ukraine. The so-called governmental organs of the "All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee" and the "Soviet of National Commissars (Sovnarkom) Ukr. SSR" — were established on Moscow's orders only on February 19, 1920, replacing the *Vseukrrevkom*. This happened after the Russian armies conquered a large part of Ukraine, including Kyiv, Kharkiv, Poltava, Tahanrih and Odessa. So that until February 19, 1920 there did not exist either a "Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic", nor any formal, fictitious or factual "Ukrainian" Soviet Communist government. All power was solely in the hands of the Russian SFSR and the Russian Communist Party.

On orders from Moscow, the so-called Fourth Congress of Soviets of Ukraine took place in Kharkiv in May, 1920. A matter of top priority at this Congress was the adoption of a resolution, which stated that Ukraine was a "member of the All-Russian Socialist Federation of Soviet Republics" and that "Ukraine wants to totally subordinate the most important commissariats of the Ukrainian SSR (these being: military, financial, railroads, agriculture, post and telegraph, and labour) to the appropriate commissariats of the Russian SFSR. Furthermore, the Russian Communist Party issued an order to the Communist Party of Ukraine that the decision about the need to establish a federative state on the territories of the newly reestablished Russian empire be immediately ratified.

Somewhat later, by the treaty of Riga, signed on March 18, 1921, Russia and Poland partitioned Ukraine among themselves. The treaty stipulated that Poland recognized the Russian colonial régime in Ukraine — the Ukrainian SSR. But the Ukrainian national forces did not surrender. In Ukraine a series of anti-Russian revolts took place in the years 1919-1920, supported by the army of the Ukrainian National Republic, which undertook two "Winter Expeditions" at this time.

Moscow wasted little time in undertaking the final consolidation of the formation of the new imperialist state. Although the Fourth Congress of Soviets of Ukraine had, in fact, totally subordinated the Ukrainian SSR to the authority of the Russian SFSR, nonetheless the Sovnarkom of the Ukrainian SSR signed a "worker-peasant treaty of alliance" with the Russian SSR, according to which the Ukrainian SSR became nothing more than a constituent member of the Russian state. Lenin achieved the formal establishment of this new imperialist state in two stages. First, he issued a decree through the Russian Communist Party, which required that a Congress of Soviets be held in the subjugated nations. Hence, the Seventh All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets, held at the beginning of December, 1922, adopted a resolution proposed by Lenin, which underlined the necessity of a "final union" of the Ukrainian SSR with the Russian SFSR. The Byelorussian and Transcaucasian SSR immediately joined the Ukrainian SSR in voicing a similar "demand". Afterwards, a Congress of Soviets of the so-called republics took place in Moscow near the end of December,

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1922. This Congress was renamed the First Congress of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. On December 30, this Congress issued a Declaration and Agreement about the establishment of a new legal state under the name — "the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics". In any case, no real changes were made as a result of these agreements, since the imperialist state was already functioning. Only on January 31, 1924, at the Second Congress of Soviets, was the Constitution of the USSR formally ratified, in accordance with which all the "republics" formally transferred their "independent authority" to the government of the USSR.

With the loss of their own national state, the Ukrainian nation did not capitulate before the occupiers, but began to organize against them an allnational liberation struggle. At first, two underground organizations were founded; the Brotherhood of Ukrainians for Statehood (BUD) under the leadership of Prof. S. Yefremov, M. Mikhnovskyj and V. Otamanivskyj for the struggle against the Russian occupier, and the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO), under the leadership of Colonel Yevhen Konovalets, to fight against all the oppressors of Ukraine. In the mid-1920's other underground liberation organizations were formed: the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (SVU), led by S. Yefremov, and the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM), led by M. Pavlushkov. In 1929 the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) was founded, proclaiming as its primary goal the reestablishment of an Independent and Sovereign Ukrainian State and the destruction of all foreign occupational forces in Ukraine.

The history of the past 60 years attests to the fact of the continuous Russian imperialist, colonial-racist subjugation of Ukraine and of the continuous struggle of the Ukrainian nation to throw off this foreign yoke and to reestablish a national Ukrainian state.

1) From the very first day of Soviet rule in Ukraine until today, there has not been any independent Ukrainian national Soviet armed forces, subordinate to a sovereign Ukrainian authority. Hence, the Ukrainian SSR never had its own military formation, and all the armed forces in the Ukrainian SSR were subservient only to the authority of the RSFSR and later to the USSR.

2) From the very beginning of its existence the Soviet government in Ukraine utilized the organs of the Russian political and state police — the *Cheka* under the leadership of F. E. Dzherzhinsky and subservient to the *Sovnarkom* of the Russian SFSR and later to the USSR. The Ukrainian SSR never had its own Ukrainian Soviet police independent from the Russian SFSR, or later the USSR.

3) The Communist Party of Ukraine (Bolsheviks) never was an independent party from the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), never was its leadership in the hands of Ukrainian communists, and never did it reflect Ukrainian national interests. At the time of the first Russian communist invasion of Ukraine, the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine did not even exist, and the war against the Ukrainian state was waged by the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks). The CP(b)U was founded in Moscow only in July 1918 and on the day of its founding the majority of its members were non-Ukrainians.

4) The Second Congress of Soviets, held on January 31, 1924, ratified the Constitution of the USSR. The source of political authority for the representatives of the Ukrainian SSR was Russia, and not Ukraine, because the Ukrainian nation never gave the governmental organs of the Ukrainian SSR its mandate either with regard to the formation of the Ukrainian SSR, or with regard to the joining of the Ukrainian SSR to the USSR. On no occasion was there an all-national, free, secret, democratic referendum held, or elections of representatives of the Ukrainian nation, authorized to speak on its behalf in this regard.

Thus, the USSR was established without any consent whatsoever of the sovereign will of the Ukrainian nation. The state of the "USSR" was forced upon the Ukrainian nation against its will. In 1944, the USSR (and not the Ukrainian SSR!) occupied those Ukrainian lands that prior to 1939 were beyond the borders of the USSR. In the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in 1946, the absolute majority of the population of these Ukrainian lands, now occupied by the Russians, categorically rejected any joining of these lands to the USSR, by boycotting these elections following the appeals of the OUN, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), and the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR).

The USSR is a totalitarian state of the Russian people, with the assistance of which the Russian imperialists are colonizing, exploiting and destraying the national essence of Ukraine, in keeping with their racist policy of forging all the subjugated nations into one Soviet-Russian nation.

From the first day of its founding, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists waged an uncompromising war for the destruction of the USSR. It is waging this war today and will continue to wage this war until an Independent and Sovereign Ukrainian State and independent states of all the nations subjugated by the Russians will rise on the ruins of the USSR!

The Ukrainian National Republic, The Ukrainian Hetman State (1918) in the period of its full sovereignty and independence, the Carpatho-Ukrainian State (1939), and the Ukrainian National State that was created by the Proclamation of Independence of June 30, 1941 and continued in the epoch of the OUN-UPA-UHVR — all these were sovereign and independent Ukrainian states. They represent an unbroken continuity of statehood in Ukraine, in which the Ukrainian nation was the sovereign. These states were established on Ukrainian ethnographic territories. The USSR is a colonial empire of the Russian aggressively expansionist nation. The Ukrainian SSR is by no means the successor of the Ukrainian National Republic, which was a sovereign and independent Ukrainian state, but a Russian colony, a lackey agent of the Russian imperialist nation. The Ukrainian nation must reestablish an Independent and Sovereign Ukrainian State by militarily dismantling the USSR — the Russian prison of nations into national, independent and sovereign states of Ukraine and the other nations subjugated by Russia.

Already in 1900 Mykola Mikhnovskyj, the father of modern Ukrainian nationalism, asserted that the age of colonial empires was ending. World War I resulted in the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian, German, and Turko-Ottoman empires. And World War II brought an end to the Japanese, English, French, Dutch, Belgian, Italian, Spanish and Portugese empires. Only one empire remains in existence today — this being the Russian prison of nations. Its continued existence impedes the progress of all humankind towards universal national and human freedom, justice and peace.

The history of the USSR, of this most brutal tyrannical empire of all times, is littered with the catacombs of victims of the nations subjugated by Russia. 60-70 million human lives have been lost in the suppression of those nations subjugated in the Russian prison of nations — the USSR! Tens of millions have suffered in forced labour camps and strict régime concentration camps. The path of expansion of this modern form of the Russian empire — the USSR — is strewn with mounds of corpses from the national-liberation struggle of Ukraine and the other subjugated nations.

The coupling of Russian messianism with Marxism-Cammunism strengthened the aggression of the Russians, whose goal is world conquest in keeping with Dostoyevsky's maxim: the Russian national ideal is universal, thus all people should become Russians. This messianistic false ideal has been recently taken up by a number of new Russian colonial writers, who preach it in its present "Soviet" form. The general ideology of this new Russian messianism is that if those nations, that have been "liberated" by the Russians, do not want to voluntarily accept "Soviet" ideals, then it is necessary to force them to be happy.

The 60th anniversary of the USSR is the most infamous period in world history. This is a period of national genocide and mass murder. This is a period of all-out Russification, that is the forced imposition of a Russian, Bolshevik way of life on the subjugated nations in all spheres of life: the Russification of the languages of the subjugated nations, "socialist realism" in culture, collectivization, Russian colonial étatism, a militant atheism and the forced imposition on the subjugated nations of the official Russian religion of the so-called Russian Orthodox Church. All this represents the triumph of the most brutal barbarism in the history of imperialism of all times.

Leninism-Bolshevism, which is a synthesis of Russian historical imperialism and communism, and also the official ideology and way of life forced upon the nations in the USSR and the "satellite" countries, represents the triumph of the Anti-Christ on that part of the world that is subjugated by Bolshevism. The liquidation of nations and the concomitant formation of an artificial, forcibly created "Soviet" nation, which is tantamount to a Russian super-nation, is being brought about with a view towards the subjugation of the entire world in one global empire of the USSR.

The date of the creation of the USSR is the most infamous date in all of world history, because it represents the complete negation of the nation in principle (except for one supernation — Russia), the negation of the human individual, created in the image and likeness of God, the negation of God — the Creator of the world and, hence, the negation of everything divine that is inherent in the Individual and the Nation, as taught and revealed to us by Christ. Whoever considers the 60th "anniversary" of the USSR as anything other than the curse of all humanity of all times and nations, such an individual serves Satan and all evil forces that destroy spirituality and that divine element that is immanent in all of humankind, in the Individual and in the Nation!

The USSR is a prison of nations, whose very existence is a disgrace to all of humankind in the 20th century!

The USSR is a Leviathan that has already destroyed tens of millions of people of various subjugated nations and strives for even more victims — those nations that are still free!

The weapon that the USSR fears most, one that poses a mortal threat to its further existence, is the concept of the dissolution of the USSR from within into free, sovereign states of the presently subjugated nations!

This is why the OUN calls upon all freedom-loving nations and people in the world to strive for the realization of the idea — "Freedom for Nations! Freedom for the Individual!"

The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists has fought in the name of this universal idea since the time of its first leader — Colonel Yevhen Konovalets; it continued this struggle under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, General Roman Shukhevych, and is continuing the struggle today under its present leader — Yaroslav Stetsko, the head of the most recent independent Ukrainian State, reestablished by the Proclamation of Independence of June 30, 1941.

Under the banner of an Independent and Sovereign Ukrainian State and of the destruction of the USSR, we call upon the entire Ukrainian nation and all of the freedom-loving world to join us in this struggle!

Kyiv against Moscow!

The Presidium of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists

November, 1982.

Dmytro CHUB

"INTERNATIONALISM" SOVIET-STYLE: THE RUSSIFICATION OF UKRAINE

While living in Ukraine, we often would not notice how rapidly our lives were being Russified, especially in education, the mass media and in dayto-day business.* True, Ukrainian was still the language used in many schools and offices. We knew that the number of hours of Ukrainian taught in schools had been decreased while Russian was increased. We also knew that the best institutes in Ukraine were Russified in 1940-41.

At the medical institute in Kharkiv, for example, only three instructors continued to lecture in Ukrainian in 1941 — chemistry Prof. Miller, microbiology Prof. Finkelstein, and a lecturer in hygiene, Soboleva. That year, however, a new director, Hasparian, came from Moscow to replace Lovlya, who had been arrested.

Hasparian summoned the three separately into his office and, behind closed doors, ordered them to switch to Russian. When Finkelstein asked for a written directive, Hasparian said the order came from Moscow and that it stipulated that all leading institutes in Ukraine must use Russian as the language of instruction so that students of other nationalities would not be at a disadvantage.

We also were aware that all higher technical institutes already had been Russified for some time.

We never saw book catalogues then; we didn't pay attention to publication figures. Now, however, living outside Ukraine, in the West, as we buy those books and periodicals, we cannot help but notice the drastic decline in the number of copies printed in Ukrainian. (Every Soviet book has its press run figure on the last page — Ed.). And as we met people coming from Ukraine, we would hear a mongrel language, a mixture of Ukrainian and Russian. We began to recognize the problem and our interest grew.

Comparing USSR Statistics, published in Moscow over the last few years, and catalogues of Ukrainian publications for the past 15-20 years, one begins to see the terrible trend of increasing Russification of Ukraine. Take, for example, the 1970 edition of the catalogue New Books of Ukraine — 1,668 titles in Ukrainian were planned for that year. In the 1973 edition, the number dwindled to 1,059, and in 1982 it shrank further to 966. It should be noted that 15-20 per cent of books planned for publication are for various reasons never printed. Regardless, we see that in a span of 12 years the number of Ukrainian books published in Ukraine has decreased by 50 per cent.

^{*} Dmytro Chub is an author and editor of many books in Ukrainian and English. He lives in Australia.

The Russification process becomes even more obvious when comparing the total number of copies printed in Ukraine with that in Russia. In 1963 nine Russian books were printed for every Russian; for every Ukrainian, the figure was two.

Comparing Ukraine with much smaller Hungary, one finds that 45 million Ukrainians could buy 76 million books in their native language in 1963, while 10 million Hungarians had 80 million.

Another Soviet catalogue for 1961 lists 4,041 Ukrainian books and publications; the 1968 edition lists only 2,944.

At the same time that the number of Ukrainian books decreased, the number of Russian books published in Ukraine increased. There were 3,200 Russian-language publications in Ukraine in 1956; in 1960, the number increased to 3,893; to 4,023 in 1965; 4,682 in 1970; and 5,497 in 1972.

The situation with newspapers is no better. In 1962, 15 Ukrainian-language newspapers were changed to Russian. USSR Statistics noted that the combined circulation of Ukrainian newspapers is 2,752,558. Moscow's *Izvestia* alone has a 2,820,000 circulation.

Of all books published in the Soviet Union in 1973, 80.4 per cent were in Russian and only 3.9 per cent in Ukrainian. More recent statistics published in an official bibliographic bulletin, notes that in the first ten days of August 1980, 58 Russian-language books were published in Ukraine, and only 47 in Ukrainian.

According to official Soviet statistics, in 1963 for every 10,000 persons in Russia there were 161 students. In Ukraine the figure was 129 students per 10,000. Every year about 200-300,000 Ukrainian youth go to study technology in Russia. Most do not return to Ukraine after graduation; they are assigned jobs elsewhere in the Soviet Union.

The history of Russification in Ukraine also has a bloody chapter, as evidenced by Prof. Rathaus, who taught at Kharkiv University before emigrating to Israel in 1962. His story is recounted in Roland Gosher's Opposition in the USSR.

According to Rathaus, in 1951 Ukrainian students at Kharkiv University refused to take their tests in the Russian language. As a result, 800 of them were persecuted — most were sent to Siberia, but 33 were executed by firing squad after a closed trial.

Ten years later, on May 23, 1961, Rathaus came to visit a department head at Kyiv University. Outside the university he saw KGB cars and inside, in a corridor, a long line of students with their arms raised. KGB officers were checking their hands for black paint, which had been used to paint the number "33" on the walls, floors and even in basements of seven university buildings. Rathaus surmised that at least 100 students must have been involved.

This symbolic commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the students' execution in Kharkiv was also marked on the walls of Lviv University. Such is the brutality of Moscow's "internationalism".

NEWS AND DOCUMENTS FROM UKRAINE

THE LIFE OF THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE CATACOMBS*

A Samvydav document from Ukraine

(Abridged)

That the Ukrainian Catholic Church is one of the Particular Churches of the Ecumenical Catholic Church is due to the ecumenical endeavours of the Church of the Ukrainian people which has never officially lost or broken off its unity with the Holy See after the enmity of 1054. However, because of the complexity of historical events, ties between the Ukrainian Church and the Holv See were decreasing as time went by. The Church in Ukraine began to experience impoverishment and decline, and in order to save the Church from complete destruction and to safeguard a real and free acknowledgement of the primordial faith, Catholic in essence, Orthodox in terminology, the Ukrainian episcopate after extensive deliberations arrived at the same decision: They would ask the Holy See to restore and grant juridical security to the unity of the Ukrainian Church with the Ecumenical Church of Christ, and to bind it more closely to the Vicar of Christ on earth, the Pope. This act was historically documented by the Union of Brest (1596). From this time the unified Ukrainian Catholic Church (often called "Uniate") suffered brutal persecution in various forms, ranging from falsification and defamation to actual physical punishment, designed to destroy the hated "union" by all means, not excluding bloody retribution. Extensive bloodshed and persecution between 1795 and 1875 left no traces of the "Union" in many areas of Ukraine.

On the territory of Western Ukraine, which remained under Austrian and later Austro-Hungarian rule since 1772, the Ukrainian Catholic Church experienced conditions favourable to progress and development, and was even able to flourish. The population of Western Ukraine (formerly Galicia) used to profess and still professes today the Catholic faith and celebrates Mass in the Eastern (Byzantine) rite. Despite reports that since 1946 Ukrainian Catholics are non-existent in the Soviet Union, and that the population professes the Orthodox faith with Mass being celebrated in the Eastern rite by Orthodox clergy this is only formally true. In reality, only individuals genuinely belong to the Orthodox Church. The majority of the population regard themselves conscientious Catholics and a considerable proportion continues to remain loyal to the Holy See and prove to be

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conscious practising Catholics. In the western regions of Ukraine the socalled "Russian Orthodoxy" is being enforced by terror and physical means.

This brief account of the religious life of the Ukrainian Catholics in western Ukraine cannot fully reflect the entire complexity and nature of the problem of religious life as a whole at the present time (1980), and does not even attempt to do so. Therefore, let the facts, the examples from real life, serve as some source of information concerning our religious life and also as a plea to all Catholics and to all people of good will to say a prayer in our intention so that we could bear with integrity the Lord's cross in the form of all these persecutions, endure all His tests, and hold out to the bitter end in the faith of Christ and in His Church, with loyalty to the Holy Father, because through loyalty to him we are loyal to St. Peter and to Our Saviour, Jesus Christ.

Soon after the death of the Head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church Metropolitan Andrij Sheptyckyj on 1st November, 1944 preparations were started for the "liquidation" of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. On 6th April, 1945 a libellous pamphlet defaming the memory of the late Metropolitan Sheptyckyj was circulated. A few days later, on the night of 10th-11th April, 1945 the following were arrested: the Metropolitan of Halych and Lviv, the Bishop of Kamianets, today's Archbishop Major, His Beatitude Cardinal Josyf Slipyj, and six Ukrainian bishops: Mykyta Budka, Mykola Charneckyj, Josaphat Kotsylovskyj, Hryhorij Lakota, Hryhorij Khomyshyn and Ivan Liatyshevskyj. It was not made known until March 1946 that all the Ukrainian bishops had been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment by a military tribunal.

The Lviv 'Sobor' (church council) convened on 30th March, 1946 announced the "liquidation" of the Union of Brest (1596) and the "unification" — the return of the Ukrainian people to the bosom of the Orthodox Church, to its ancient faith.

It was never mentioned and even today little is said about the two deliberate distortions of historical events. First of all the "Lviv Sobor" of 1946 was not a legally convened body. It was illegal and thus unauthorised to liquidate the Union of Brest 1596. Although these facts are being kept secret, the 'sobor' was convened only by the archpriest Havryil Kostelnyk, while the seven Ukrainian bishops were still alive. At the above-mentioned 'sobor', in violation of all canon laws of both the Eastern and Western Churches, not one single bishop of the Ukrainian Catholic Church was present. All of them, including the Metropolitan, were at that time in prison, because having refused to "sign over to Orthodoxy", that is to be forcefully united with and subordinated to the hierarchy of that public institution, which was controlled by atheists, and having the boldness to call itself the "Russian Orthodox Church", they refused all honours and titles in this Orthodox Church and remained faithful to the Holy See and to the Holy Father, at that time Pope Pius XII.

The Lviv 'Sobor' was only attended by one archpriest, several priests, a

number of the faithful (persuaded by terror), and representatives of the government.

Secondly, historic facts are crudely falsified and all information withheld of the fact that the ancient faith of the Ukrainian people was in essence Catholic because Christianity was accepted by Prince Volodymyr in 988 A.D., that is before the split in the Church in 1054. At that time in spite of the term "Orthodox faith", as it was then called, it was still essentially Catholic, since Byzantium subordinated itself to the Holy See and was in unity with the whole Ecumenical Church.

Finally, after the space of a thousand years the "Orthodox faith" of the 9th and 10th century and the "Orthodoxy" of 20th century, especially "Russian Orthodoxy" came to differ enormously in substance. Thus, the time has come to stop concentrating on the ill-intended falsification of the facts, and to turn our attention to appropriate terminology, in the future, for portraying the diametrically-opposed conceptions.

In his Pastoral Epistle to Cardinal Josyf Slipyj, His Holiness Pope John Paul II set down some very important words about the foundation of the ancient Ukrainian faith. He said, "The Christian faith came to Rus' (the name of medieval Ukraine) from Rome, through Byzantium!" However, this question is a whole problem in itself, which is here only dealt with briefly, in passing, because it sheds light on the heavy distortion of historical facts.

After the conclusion of the 1946 'sobor' the "liquidation" of all the aspects of Catholic life and everything related to Catholicism was initiated. All the monasteries (some two hundred buildings), were closed down and the monks and nuns dispersed. Only one fate awaited the 2000 or so diocesan priests and clergy, who refused to "sign over to orthodoxy" — imprisonment and often exile, without trial, to the far-off regions of Siberia in severe régime labour camps. Not one single bishop or monk of the Ukrainian Catholic Church "signed over to Orthodoxy", and, thus, a great number of them perished in the Siberian snows.

Out of all the Ukrainian bishops only one remains alive today, His Beatitude Josyf Slipyj, as the sole survivor and witness of the religious persecution. He was released in 1963 after 17 years of hard labour, as a result of many attempts by the Holy See, numerous institutions and organisations to obtain his freedom. However, even in Rome the Head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church is not allowed to live in peace. From time to time he is portrayed by the Soviet press in dark light and slandered.

Here we ought to pay tribute to all the Ukrainian bishops, who suffered in the name of Christ by quoting several short extracts from the encyclical of Pope Pius XII entitled "Eastern Churches". He wrote: "Now with great sorrow we turn our attention to another people very dear to us, that is to the Ukrainian people... Especially we wish to mention those bishops of the Eastern rite, who were among the first to suffer grief and contempt for their beliefs..." All Catholic properties and possessions were confiscated by force; around 5000 churches and chapels were defamed and desecrated.

A great number of priests refused to accept "Orthodoxy", they shared the fate of the bishops and monks. However, the majority of the married parish priests (marriage is allowed in the Ukrainian Catholic Church according to the Eastern rite) through fear for the safety of their families "signed over to Orthodoxy", thus, officially breaking away from the Holy See and subordinating themselves to the hierarchy of the Russian Orthodox Church. (But now many of them, reaching retirement or on their death bed make official declarations asking for their signatures to be annulled and to be counted, once again, among the ranks of Catholic priests). Usually after "signing", such apostate priests were allowed to return to their parishes and the congregations followed the pastor to whom they were accustomed, and income came in once more. In a short while parish churches, served by such apostate priests, became forcibly transformed on Orthodox lines and the faithful were compelled to reconcile themselves with the "innovations". However, a part of the married clergy, the faithful who were predominantly from the towns and also from those villages where the congregations were more aware, and more conscious Catholics (actually there were several such families in every village) continued and still continue to be loyal to the Holy See. The clergy was subjected to repression and the faithful were left without Catholic priests. Ukrainian Catholics fulfil their spiritual needs in official Roman Catholic churches (where all Masses are said in Polish), or elsewhere and still are served by Ukrainian Catholic priests, who are under the threat of imprisonment.

"Ukrainian Catholics — No Rights in the USSR"

Up to this day priests of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, both those who returned from exile and the newly-consecrated priests, who acquired the necessary knowledge and experience to work in the clandestine conditions, are not officially registered as priests, but all of them are automatically "registered" for persecution... For the performance of any religious function, be it confession, or funeral etc., priests are fined 50 karbovantsi for each "offence", (the average monthly wage is 70 to 90 karbovantsi, and a threat of 7 years imprisonment for any further religious service. Father Didych was fined 50 karbovantsi on three separate occasions for performing a funeral. From time to time each priest is summoned in front of the government official responsible for religious affairs, where he is subjected to all kinds of persuasion to sign a document obliging him not to perform any functions of a priest. Usually no one signs such statement and, thus has to face punishment. Some priests are thrown out of their place of residence, others are relieved from their jobs or suffer similar penalties. Every priest who is not yet due for retirement is compelled to work anywhere he can in public institutions. The majority of them work as watchmen, stokers or janitors and in other similar positions.

During searches, which are organised at any time of day or night for no particular reason, the police, which cooperates with the KGB, confiscates all items necessary for pastoral duties, such as, breviaries, books, vestments and other articles needed for Mass, not to mention the gold chalices, discs and monstrances. After such "inspections" it is impossible to serve the Holy Mass or perform other pastoral functions.

We Ukrainian Catholics have absolutely no rights whatsoever. We do not exist in the Soviet Union, regardless of the fact that Article 52 of the new Constitution of the USSR guarantees its citizens the right "to profess any faith... and to perform the religious cult". It seems that this right was probably inserted to embellish the constitution. The constitution and some religious activities are always shown to various foreign delegations to demonstrate the "freedom of conscience" in the Soviet Union, but in reality it is purely a veil skilfully placed over the eyes of the visitors. We take full responsibility for these words, because our statements are supported by life itself.

Regardless of the numerous attempts, or the plea three years ago to the Department for Religious Affairs of the Council of Ministers of the USSR to register the religious communities of the Ukrainian Catholics (e.g. in the village of Mshana, in the Horodockyj *raion* of the Lviv *oblast*), and despite many promises to "solve the problem positively", up to now (the beginning of 1980) we do not possess a single officially registered church or a place of worship. We simply "do not exist".

We are excessively and maliciously persecuted on every occasion and being compelled throughout the last thirty years to forget everything related to Catholicism. The authorities attempt to force us to become atheists or in the final event to become members of the "Russian Orthodox faith". For over thirty years now the forced liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Catholic faith in the Western Ukrainian areas continues.

Periodically we are warned that "we shall never again see the Church of Sheptytskyj. Also we are being systematically persuaded that "the Union was enforced on the Ukrainian people by Polish magnates and the Vatican, and that "Volodymyr accepted the Orthodox faith". All their articles, books and pamphlets skilfully distort facts, insert into the concept of the ancient Orthodox faith the Orthodoxy of our times, and, thus suggest only one conclusion to the reader — that there was always in existence a Catholic West and an Orthodox East. Such falsification does definite harm to the population, since many families do not own any books, cathechisms, prayer books or other sources from which they could discover the Christian faith and the truth.

Nevertheless, however much the authorities attempt to "successfully introduce atheist" propaganda, the result has been the recent growth of interest amongst the people in religion. It is obvious that the population has had enough of atheism and material happiness as expressed by St. Augustine: "My heart is restless and troubled until it finds its rightful place in You, O Lord".

The Destruction and Closure of Churches

On our territory some of the churches are closed because there are not always enough parish priests, or there were instances when the congregation boycotted a priest, who "signed" (i.e. went over to Orthodoxy) and he was forced to leave the parish. In these closed churches the faithful keep order, supplement the necessary church articles, and gather for communal prayer on Sundays and religious holidays. And in May, June and October they gather every evening to sing a Litany to the Virgin Mary or to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Mass is sung by the congregation itself (the special parts), and occasionally (when the Catholic priest turns up) there is a Holy Mass and distribution of the Holy Sacraments.

It was in the last two or three years that the "assault" on these Catholic shrines was commenced. Because the people worship in these churches, they are themselves persecuted and the shrines either knocked down, turned into storehouses, or closed. The representatives of the local authorities (the police, the KGB, the party and executive committees) arrive in cars often carrying arms and bring with them police-dogs, which they proceed to set loose on the praying congregation, just as the Nazis used to do, and turn the churches into slaughter-houses. Such was the case in Mshana, a village in the Horodockyj raion of the Lviv oblast. Without any warning from the local authorities at 10 a.m. on 8th December, 1977 four cars full of police, KGB, representatives of the regional authorities, as well as armed persons with dogs, arrived at the church. The faithful did not have a chance to come anywhere near the church because the dogs were set upon them and they were beaten. The shrine was mercilessly descrated. All the altars were destroyed, the benches, icons, banners and the iconostasis torn down from their places. Everything including the empty sanctuary for the Holy Sacraments was removed. All that could be carried off was taken away; vestments, cassocks, chalices, various church utensils, numerous embroidered tablecloths, icons, and even all the broken pieces.

The faithful appealed to the Council for Religious Affairs of the Council of Ministers of the USSR in Moscow. At first the authorities shouted at the delegation of faithful and frightened them, then on the next day they heard their case and promised to "look into" the matter, even to accept the documents for the registration of the religious community. As it happened later, these documents "could not be found" and copies of the particulars of the necessary 20 people, and a statement (for the registration of a religious community) about the registration of the religious community had to be sent by registered post.

Although this affair has now dragged on for three years, no positive progress has been made. Over one hundred different letters have been written and eleven delegations of the faithful have already been to see the Council for Religious Affairs, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and other relevant central institutions. These either sent the delegations off to the Orthodox church, as the sole "Ukrainian Church", or made promises, which they never follow up with positive deeds.

One of the applied tricks was the promise in the Council for Religious Affairs that the religious community would be registered when "the faithful renounce the jurisdiction of Cardinal Slipyj". Nobody ever signs such a statement or document. Recently the delegation was told that even the Pope appealed on their behalf but the government can "never register a church which lies under the jurisdiction of Cardinal Slipyj, because he is an 'enemy' of the Soviet state, because he 'collaborated' with the Nazis, and because the Catholic Church is generally hostile to the Soviet state..."

It is difficult to reconcile such statements with Article 52 of the new Constitution of the USSR where it states that citizens of the USSR have the "right to confess any religion at all". The authorities should have been consistent and should have written in the Constitution consecutively "any religion except Catholic", or otherwise following the Article 52 not to make such nonsensical statements.

The faithful of Mshana submitted an official statement and all the required documents including the particulars of the necessary twenty people. The Council for Religious Affairs did not accept these documents where it was stated that the faithful ask for the registration of the religious community of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, despite the fact that this Church is in existence and its title is accepted throughout the whole world. It was only after extensive attempts and pleas that a "favour" was done and the documents were accepted only when the faithful wrote that they "ask for the registration of a religious community of a Roman Catholic Church of the Eastern rite".

Already several commissions from Moscow and Kyiv have come to the Mshana church, which is still closed, and turned into a store for a television factory, stacked now with rolls of paper. The persecution continues. The majority of the faithful have been fined 10 roubles on many occasions, and Anna (Bosa) Hurka, Maria Chornenka and the Mykhajlyshyn family were all fined 50 roubles. Nobody is bothered that Anna Mykhajlyshyn has brought up nine children and does not have a state pension, or other form of financial aid or the means to pay the fine.

The citizens Olha Duda and Anna Olijarnyk were summoned to appear at the regional authorities. Since one of the women had been on the last delegation to Moscow she expected to be called to receive the result of her efforts. The women went to Horodok — the regional capital, but from there they did not return home. They were locked up in prison for fifteen days for "hooliganism".

Later it was revealed that they were charged with "hooliganism", because one of them dared go to Moscow, and the other, ill and elderly, along with other faithful attempted to defend the church during the second incident in the spring of 1979. At the start of 1979 all the television sets were removed from the church and the people held hopes that in a short while they would have their shrine back and more so because of the numerous promises from Moscow and Kyiv to regulate this affair.

But to their disappointment one day the people saw once again armed men around the church, guarding a convoy with rolls of paper on its way to the building. The faithful asked for an explanation as to why, without a previous decision, manufactured goods were once again delivered to the church turning it into a warehouse. In response to some people physical force was applied. Elderly women, who formed the majority of the congregation, were thrown in the mud, their hair torn from their heads; other people were beaten.

The local authorities explained their behaviour as "the preservation of law and order" because the people of Mshana's religious community, not officially registered, gather for illegal prayers. At the same time they stubbornly refuse to register the present religious community of the Ukrainian Catholics.

The faithful are persecuted because they wish to pray — to pray in their own shrine, built by their grandfathers in 1771 and demand that the church, a place both holy and dear to their hearts, should not be transformed into a warehouse... Nobody demands the impossible... only to register their religious community, (this has been dragged on now for three years) and, the return of the church to the faithful. Also they ask for the realisation of that "freedom of conscience". which is advertised so emphatically in the Constitution by Article 52. That is all the faithful ask for. How long do they have to wait for the realisation of this?

This is how the "freedom of conscience" appears in reality in Western Ukraine, despite what is written into the new Constitution of the USSR.

The church in Kolodynka, a village in the Kaminskyj-Buh *raion* of the Lviv Oblast, was destroyed to such an extent that even the electric wiring was ripped out of the walls and excrement was left on the main altar...

In the village of Nadorozhna (Tlumachskyj raion, Ivano-Frankivsk oblast) on one occasion the sectional representative of the KGB and the head of the village council broke into the church. They began to strangle an eighty year old woman in the attempt to find the key. At that moment she was tidying up inside the church and did not have the key, having been let in by another woman. A young man, Slavyk Hrynchuk, rushed in on hearing the old woman's screams. Both of them were taken away and locked up in prison and later fined 50 roubles and then released. When the old woman asked where she was to go to get the money to pay the fine, she was told to go out and collect it and then pay. She then had to go round begging for money until she had collected the required amount to pay.

In order to compel the Catholics to pray in Orthodox churches the authorities do not hesitate to use any methods. In 1979 in the village council a fictitious list was fabricated of twenty faithful from the village of Muzhy-lovychi (Yavoriv *raion*, Lviv *oblast*), supposedly asking to be registered into an Orthodox parish and for an Orthodox priest to be designated for them. This was done only to obstruct the Catholic church.

Persecution During Easter and Christmas Festivals

Article 52 of the new Constitution guarantees "the right to profess any religion... and to practise religious cults".

In reality things look like this:

During Easter in April 1979 in the village of Nadorozhna, where the faithful are served by Bishop Wasylyk, the church was guarded, from Good Friday until Easter Tuesday (20th to 24th April 1979) by the police, representatives of KGB, party members and commissars from almost the entire district. The forest, in which the church was situated, was constantly searched and guarded so that there was almost no chance of getting to the church either for the bishop or the priests. The faithful, who managed to reach the church had their Easter baskets torn from their hands. The Easter bread was scattered around the forest and trampled underfoot. Butter, cheese, meat and Easter eggs, meat for blessing, were also scattered on the ground. Many people were arrested and the rest fled. So that the people would not be left without the traditional blessed Easter food or without hearing Mass, the Service took place inside the houses of the faithful and the Easter bread was blessed. Everybody prepared hastily what was left of the Easter food to be in time to have them blessed...

The situation was not better during the Christmas celebration on the 6th-7th January 1979. The church was surrounded by the police and it was impossible to come anywhere near. The Christmas Service took place in the private homes of the congregation, and they managed to have the Mass for the people in the church only as late as 13th January.

In the village of Verkhnyj Haj near Drohobych (Lviv *oblast*), two weeks before the religious holiday (Easter, 1979) the sexton was summoned by the local authorities and warned that no services were to take place in the church. Furthermore, all the church utensils must be handed over to the local Orthodox church of Nyzhnyj Haj, because this church will be used as a store.

The congregation wept during the blessing of the Easter bread, but they managed to carry out the ceremony under cover of night.

These days the church has become a target for frequent police raids with the object of getting control of the building and turning it into a museum. Already on several occasions the "scouts" arrived. The members of the congregation took turns to watch for 24 hours and, as Zaporozhian Cossaks did in the past during Tatar raids, in the event of trouble, they let everyone know of the coming danger by a prearranged signal. All who are able gather then in the church with hoes, brooms, scythes and other implements, to defend their church.

The faithful proposed that they would collect the necessary funds to build the premises for the museum on the condition that the church, built by their grandfathers and great grandfathers for the worship of God, is not touched by the authorities. However, the police raids, consisting of between twenty to thirty men, still continue unceasingly. The lastest of these raids occurred 4 days before Christmas Day in 1980.

It is not possible for the authorities to agree with the proposition of the faithful. Since the state does not have the necessary funds to build the museum then can it not come to an agreement with the population of the village to build a modern building suitable for these purposes with their own money and to leave the church alone? Surely only such a decision would correspond to the spirit of Article 52; the population would have a museum and the unnecessary "struggle for the church" would be avoided.

However, this fact only goes to stress once more the true situation relating to "Freedom of conscience", "freedom to profess any religion".

In the village of Vilshanytsia near the regional town of Yavoriv (Lviv *oblast*) on Easter Saturday (21 April, 1979) the old church and chapel of the Basilian Order in the grove were surrounded by the police, and in several places near the entrances to the church an ambush was set up for the priest Josaphat Kavatsev. However, the faithful spotted this in time and at the last moment literally twenty to fifty metres from the village (about half a kilometre from the church) they warned the priest about the danger.

Under the shelter of night the danger was avoided, despite the fact that two police vehicles and twenty policemen were sent in pursuit. The congregation used the opportunity that no armed men were left at the church and sang the Evensong of Resurrection and themselves blessed the Easter bread with water from the well, which is situated in the chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

In the village of Holubotov (Stryj *oblast*, Lviv *raion*) during the Easter Evensong police and KGB men came disguised to the Mass with the intention of seizing the priest. However, the faithful soon recognised who they were, understood their intentions and pushed them outside against the fence, allowing the priest dressed as a woman to escape capture.

In the village of Hradovka (Horodockyj raion, Lviv oblast), the congregation is served by the priest Osyp Roman, the church was surrounded for six days (19th to 24th April, 1979) by the police, representatives of KGB and local party members from nearly the whole region. A lock was placed on the church door. The people attempted to break in three times and broke the lock, but still did not open the church fearing to desecrate it in the event of a police raid. Then they gathered further away from the church and began to sing religious Easter songs and also that Jesus said not to weep for Him but for yourself and your children. Maybe this had an effect. That remains unknown. After some time the officials moved away from the church and the people were able to sing the Easter Evensong and bless the Easter bread outside the closed church.

In the same village four days before Christmas the administration of the *kolkhoz* along with the representatives of the local authorities organised a conference. During the conference they warned that no services were to take place and not to bother calling a Catholic priest. The Mass was sung on Christmas Eve (6th January, 1979), and from 7 p.m. until morning the

police and other representatives of the party and the authorities did not leave the church. The people sung carols and even invited everyone to come and join them and see "what they were doing that was illegal", for what they are persecuted, what kind of crime it is to pray and sing carols. Only in the morning the "commission" left the village.

Persecution of Legally Recognized Churches

The officially existing Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches do not possess much greater freedom.

Because moral and spiritual support is given to the Ukrainian Catholics in the Lviv (Polish Catholic) Cathedral, the parish priest is periodically "summoned for cleansing" by the authorities. At one time even the late Father Halanevych received an order forbidding him to carry out any services for a month. Thus, the Holy Mass was not served, no confessions or communion were performed. The priest prayed in the sacristy so that the Lord would shorten the days of heavy testing, and agents constantly watched to see if they could manage to close down the church for the slightest infringement against the law. Priests taught the people brotherly love because the ferment of hate of the Poles for Ukrainians, and viceversa, smouldered all the time.

Orthodox priests were forbidden to administer the Holy Sacraments to children and young people up to the age of eighteen. Since the Orthodox church in Russia is a very peculiar institution, because its representatives are atheists and the clergy forced to carry out all their instructions. Thus all christenings, marriages, funerals are registered in detail and everything is handed over to the authorities... in consequence the faithful suffer persecution for their religious beliefs. Even for the Christian burial of their parents children are persecuted regardless of the fact that the parents may have left such instructions in their will. Therefore, to avoid all forms of bureaucratic unpleasantness, not all people reveal openly their true faith and views.

In Orthodox academies and seminaries, in the word of one of the students, three quarters of the candidates for priesthood are open atheists, servants of the KGB, whose task it is to compromise religion, and to conduct espionage through confessions and so on.

Children are forbidden to go to church. From time to time Komsomol raids and patrols of teachers prevent the children from entering the church, especially on days of religious significance. Afterwards in school the children are "re-educated" into atheists. On many occasions the people entering and leaving the churches during religious holidays, are photographed by cine-cameras...

School children and students receive so-called anonymous forms to fill. The following facts testify as to their true anonymity. If anybody returns such a form unfilled or "incorrectly filled in", he is immediately made to "rectify this mistake". Under the teacher's instructions the children (aged 7-8) write, who do not even understand what it is they are writing, state that they themselves and their parents are non-believers and do not practice any religious cults and have no icons at home. After that such statements serve as proof before the world of the atheism of the Soviet citizens.

Such strange things occurred in 1979 — the Year of the Child.

The situation of the students is not much better. Entrance into a Institute of Higher Education, or even a Secondary Special School such as Technical schools and Teaching institutions, is extremely difficult. Often a large sum of money is unavoidable, so the majority of the students decide that in their conscience they can remain loyal believers, and write "no" in answer to the question what are their religious beliefs so as to be left in peace. If however, somebody decides to write the truth, stating his real views, the school authorities begin to "re-educate" him. Such a person receives a special tutor and both of them "work" together until a statement of the "reeducated" person is produced about his "atheism".

To avoid unnecessary worry and stress the people prefer to remain silent about their true beliefs. Priests are, without doubt, against such ways of confronting the problem, but they are helpless to teach the people how to withstand this spontaneous adversity. They are obliged to teach and educate the people individually. And for the teaching of religion each priest is subject to punishment, as this is against the principles of the state.

The shelves of all the libraries and clubs are filled with atheist literature. Books with a religious content are prohibited. The homebased "industry" of the production of religious literature (some people rewrite books, others photograph them and make copies) cannot satisfy the demand of the population. Catechization of the population is made more difficult by the fact that few people can speak Polish (even among the Polish population, as for example in Vynnytsia region, or in Kyiv).

It was also decided that in Moscow, Leningrad and Odessa the word of God is to be preached in Russian. The difficult situation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church is made more so by the following factor.

These days one finds a hostile attitude and behaviour towards Ukrainian Catholics on the part of some of the Roman Catholic priests (usually Poles). The Ukrainian Catholic Church is regarded by them as inferior, as one that is "thinking differently", un-Catholic, and of a lower category. On several occasions Roman Catholic priests refused to hear confession, or accused people (among them even Ukrainian Catholics) of participating in services and receiving the Holy Sacraments from Ukrainian Catholic priests.

Perhaps these hostile tendencies, hightened by chauvinism, are strengthened by attitudes from outside. They are indeed, as can be clearly seen from the following occurrences. Recently a group of priests from Poland visited the Lviv Roman Catholic Cathedral. They were literally outraged that Ukrainian Catholics visit the shrine and take part in Services there, and even spoke about having all Ukrainians sent away from the shrine, so that they would not pollute the place of worship with their presence. As it happens however, if there were no donations on the part of these hated "boars" (a derogatory name for Ukrainians) then not one single Polish Catholic church would have survived to this day, because there are not many Poles, and of those not all attend their church. And yet those who are hostile to the Ukrainian Catholics "do not see this", or rather they see it only too well, but remain silent about it.

It would be advisable for those high and mighty people to reflect whether it is right for people of their rank to breathe with chauvinism and hostility, instead of brotherly Christian love towards Catholics of a different nationality, and, what is more, towards those, who are already persecuted and who do not possess their own place of worship, nor any right as Catholics, only because they are Catholics and do not wish to leave Christ's Church...

A Plea to Christians Around the World

We have already asked all people of good will and go on asking them to pray for us. We are not aware as to how many of our pleas manage to get past the borders of the state in which we live (USSR) but this much we know that to some degree they do reach you, and due to your voices being raised in our defence, our persecutors were sometimes compelled to listen to them. Only they are very cunning. Recently the tactics of our persecutors changed. The policy is now such that the Catholic Church does not hinder anybody, but at the same time a powerful campaign is waged against it. The authorities strive to stain it in any way they can, to bring defamation on to the Catholic Church, especially the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and to present it as an alien institution, and accuse it of colaborating with the Nazis.

It was in the second half of 1979 that the campaign burst into flames around the incident involving the Italian priest Bernardo Vincenzo, who supposedly arrived with a mission to the Ukrainian priests, especially to Bishop Josaphat Fedoryk, bringing a large sum of money for "undermining activities" from the priest Ivan Ortynskyj, who lives in West Germany. Involved in the affair was His Beatitude Josyf Cardinal Slipyj. A press conference was held where an "uproar" was fabricated in the media about the anti-Soviet activities of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, which it was said, collaborated with the Nazis and still continues to be hostile to the people.

Perhaps all this speeded up the death of Bishop Josaphat Fedoryk on 28th December 1979...

And yet the religious life of the Catholic parishes continues. Once a month and sometimes two or three times, in each Catholic church Holy Mass is celebrated. During Lent priests do not manage to hear confessions of all those wishing to confess. The same is true of Sundays and other church festivals. Every time the Holy Mass ends with the singing of the supplication to the Virgin Mary or to the Heart of Jesus Christ. During Lent the Passion of Christ and His sufferings on the way to the Cross are remembered very solemnly. For the children the great day is the festival of the Holy Eucharist and the Holy Heart of Christ, when they can throw flower petals in the air during the procession, and sing with everyone else the special Eucharist hymns. For many of the faithful the practice of celebrating Fridays in honour of the Holy Heart of Jesus, and the shortening of the Eucharist fast to one hour enables people to receive communion regardless of when the Mass takes place during the day, in the evening, or late at night.

And by the closed church in Mshana, where the congregation gathers for joint prayer in all kinds of weather, for the third year in succession on Christmas Eve the Child Jesus is born once more as He did so long ago in Bethlehem, in the open air, bringing to us, Ukrainian Catholics, not only His blessings, but also the happiness of Christmas and the strength to face the victorious Easter.

We are grateful to all who help us either through prayer or by a voice raised in our defence. Let the Lord reward you all.

Fellow Christians of the world, and people of good will pray so that God may shorten our period of ordeal and grant us the strength to bear all persecution for the glory of God and confirm the words of Jesus Christ:

"The door of hell shall not overcome Her". (Mt. 16:18)

January 1980

Note: This document can also be found in the Russian language archives of Samvydav No. 4625 in Radio Liberty, W. Germany. * Oblast and raion are terms denoting administrative divisions of a region, the

* Oblast and raion are terms denoting administrative divisions of a region, the former being the larger.

HANNA MYKHAILENKO'S TWO YEARS OF PSYCHIATRIC TORTURE

Ukrainian patriots of Odessa knew very well that Hanna was always as if waiting to help someone in need of help.

If anybody in the small Ukrainian community of Odessa had a guest whom the KGB was watching ther. Hanna Mykhailenko willingly received such a guest. Hanna's friends knew also that her audacious persistence would help if a need were to arise to prevent pursuers from entering her private accomodation. Slowly her home in Odessa became a centre of Ukrainian life. Thanks to her hospitality the students who attended the art historian's Wasyl Barliadanu's seminar found a refuge (we shall say more of him in due course).

Something else her friends knew was that Hanna was prepared to share her pitiful earnings (Hanna is a librarian) with those who did not even get that.

Her pen, always to the point, stood her in good stead on many an occasion when campaigns of repression increased and someone needed to be constantly defended from some highhanded act. Just whom did not this

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woman defend though she herself was physically frail: the Siryi family with their many children, Leonid Tymchuk, a solitary and much persecuted man, the author of these words after her ordeal when she had just left the concentration camp. But the most important of her inherent qualities was her faithfulness to the principle: that a Ukrainian should only speak Ukrainian on Ukrainian soil.

In Russified Odessa Hanna Mykhailenko set an example to those who had grown weary in the face of the onslaught of the foreign tongue and had consequently lost their strength to defend the Ukrainian language. Working in the library of school No. 1 in the city of Odessa, Hanna insisted that every child took home with him or her from the library a Ukrainian book.

In this way Hanna acquired all those traits which were needed by one to be recognized by the KGB as a Ukrainian patriot and having been recognized as one — to be treated as a Ukrainian nationalist.

It is very difficult now to remember when they came to Hanna to conduct their first search: it could have been in 1970 or perhaps a year later. She was persecuted by the KGB for at least 10 years. By arbitrary searches and interrogations they tried to frighten her, so as to drive her away from any involvement in the contemporary revival of Ukrainian community life.

In 1977 they began to fabricate a criminal case against Hanna Mykhailenko. According to the laws of the USSR the administration where the accused works sends to the courts an official account of the accused. According to a convention of officialdom inherited from Tsarist Russia this account is written in Russian. And here in the account about Hanna, written in Russian, amongst other peculiar details, stands the following: while working in school she demanded too much attention to the Ukrainian language.

With such a unique account of herself Hanna Mykhailenko got ready for her appearance in court in the autumn of 1977. The amnesty which was announced that year on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution gave freedom to those who had been tried on criminal charges. Because of this the case against Hanna was stopped in 1977 and instead, two years later, they fabricated a new case: resisting Russian chauvinists, her attempt to defend her dignity as a Ukrainian was treated as an act of hooliganism.

In 1979 the court in Odessa considered the case of this Ukrainian patriot who had been accused of hooliganism. This court ruled that Hanna should deduct from her monthly earnings 20 per cent for the duration of $1\frac{1}{2}$ years. But Hanna had lost her job as a school librarian after her first criminal prosecution, though she was not convicted. She is not fit for physical work because her state of health (she suffers from heart disease, asthma and still feels the effects of a surgical operation for an oncological illness). The judge saw all the certificates which showed her state of health but nevertheless sentenced her to, what was in effect, physical work. This set the scene for further repression for not having any work and for non-payment of the fixed monthly amounts.

No person whom Hanna helped sometime in the past could now help her, because according to the law in the USSR such payments to the courts can only be made out of money which the accused has earned after the trial. And so that those, who have been given this financial punishment, do not use the help of neighbours, measures are taken to prevent payments in this way: the accused does not pay his debt in person — this is done for him by the administration of the establishment where he works.

Hanna Mykhailenko was one of those who supported the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. The arbitrary arrests of the members of this Group took place along with repressive measures taken against potential new members. It became clear that the persecution of Hanna Mykhailenko in 1977-79 was a prelude to the harshest punishment yet.

In February 1980 Hanna Mykhailenko was placed under arrest. We now know that in September of that year she was taken for psychiatric observation to the Serbsky Institute in Moscow. In November 1980, on the very day that the Madrid Conference convened she was put on trial in Odessa. This court sentenced her to a psychiatric prison. Ukrainians in the free world who were then in Madrid announced a hunger-strike in protest and called a press-conference at which information was disseminated about this outrageous act of repression in Odessa.

In March 1981 a protest demonstration was held in front of the Soviet Russian embassy in Washington at which Ukrainians from Baltimore and Washington gathered in defence of Hanna Mykhailenko.

From the time of her trial in Odessa very meagre reports about Hanna reach the West. All that is heard is her change of addresses.

According to the laws of the USSR the court does not recognize the duration of incarceration in psychiatric hospitals.

Hanna's address in the psychiatric prison: Kazanskaya SPD 420082 Kazan:, ul. Ershova, 49, uch. UYo — 148/st.-6 Mykhailenko Hanna Vasilivna

USSR — СССР Казанская СПБ, 420082 Казань, ул. Ершова, 49, Уч. УЭ—148/ст.-6 Михайленко Ганна Василівна

Nina Strokata-Karavansky (Former political prisoner in the USSR)

OKSANA POPOVYCH: 23 YEARS WITHOUT FREEDOM

Oksana Popovych, 54, a dissident and member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, began her exile term in October after completing an eight-year labour-camp sentence, according to reports recently received in the West. Ms. Popovych, who is an invalid and must get around on crutches, was arrested in 1974. In addition to the labour-camp term, she was sentenced to five years' internal exile. She was charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda".

She had previously served a 10-year term between 1944 and 1954 for her participation in the Ukrainian liberation struggle.

A nurse by profession, Ms. Popovych lived in Horodenka in the Ivano-Frankivske region before her arrest. Unmarried, she supported her elderly mother, who was blind.

Just prior to her arrest, Ms. Popovych underwent a major operation which left her unable to walk without the aid of crutches. Although she was scheduled for a second operation to correct her condition, the surgery was cancelled because of her arrest, leaving her a cripple.

In the summer of 1979, she joined the camp-based Helsinki Accords Monitoring Group while in a labour camp.

It was reported recently in the West that Ms. Popovych was transferred last summer to a prison in Saranska for processing before being sent into exile. The exact location of her place of exile is not known.

Nina Strokata, herself, a prominent former political prisoner writes:

"Oksana Popovych was born on February 2, 1926. She grew up at a time when the Ukrainian nation was in a desperate war with German Fascist and Soviet Communist invaders. During the war — 1944 — Oksana was sentenced to 10 years in a Soviet labour camp for her participation in the two-front war for Ukrainian independence.

After her release in 1954, she worked at various manual-labour jobs since her previous incarceration prohibited further education or any other type of work.

In 1974, Oksana was arrested again, this time for disseminating samvydav materials. Shortly before her arrest, she underwent orthopaedic surgery on her hip. Her operation called for a lengthy and special convalescence. Yet, responding to KGB orders, her doctors issued a report permitting interrogation.

As a result, a warrant was issued for her arrest, and she was taken into custody on a stretcher. As a protest, Oksana went on a 45-day hunger strike, which ended after she was force-fed by prison authorities.

Oksana Popovych was sentenced to a term of eight years in a strictregime labour camp and five years' exile.

In 1975, the International Women's Year, she entered a Mordovian labour camp on crutches. Today, she must walk with the aid of two canes.

During her imprisonment, she conducted constant protests against the unjust and cruel treatment of inmates by the prison authorities, and she refused to do forced labour at the camp. Only those who have experienced imprisonment in Soviet labour camps can imagine the additional danger confronting this invalid woman after she refused forced labour.

In 1979, while in prison, Oksana joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

At the time of this writing, her prison term is nearing completion. Still ahead, however, are five years of internal exile. According to Soviet law, someone with Oksana's serious health problems may be released from the exile term. Nevertheless, past inconsistencies in the application of criminal law in the USSR do not bode well for her release from the exile sentence.

The defence of Oksana Popovych could promote her release from the exile phase of her punishment. It is important to understand that conditions in exile are in fact not better than in the labour camps, and in many cases are much worse".

Oksana Popovych's labour-camp term ended in October 1982. Her exile term is scheduled to expire in October 1987.

It does not touch me, not a whit, If I live in Ukraine or no. If men recall me, or forget, Lost as I am, in foreign snow, ---Touches me not the slightest whit. Captive, to manhood I have grown In strangers' homes, and by my own Unmourned, a weeping captive still, I'll die; all that is mine. I will Bear off, let not a trace remain In our own glorious Ukraine, Our own land — yet a stranger's rather. And speaking with his son, no father Will recall, nor bid him: Pray, Pray, son! Of old, for our Ukraine, They tortured all his life away. It does not touch me, not a whit, Whether that son will pray, or no ... But it does touch me deep if knaves, Evil rogues lull our Ukraine Asleep, and only in the flames Let her, all plundered, wake again ... That touches me with deepest pain.

Taras Shevchenko (Translated from Ukrainian by Vera Rich) Ivan MIRCHUK

HISTORY OF UKRAINIAN CULTURE

Part 6

UKRAINIAN PHILOSOPHICAL THOUGHT

THE PROBLEM OF SLAVIC PHILOSOPHY

Occasionally one hears the objection that it is difficult to speak in terms of a history of Ukrainian philosophy since there has never been a Ukrainian philosopher with an independent system whose writings have attained a high level. The reason for this can be found in the restless history of the Ukrainian people, bereft of stability. "Inter arma silent musae", philosophy included. Of course, the exception proves the rule, as when Giordano Bruno driven on by restlessness challenged his opponents to allow his intellect full flight. Militant natures of this type usually do not bring mankind any new truths or methods, their task is rather to announce the new discovery to the world with flaming words. However, as we know from the history of philosophy, people like Descartes went into solitude to write his "Discours de la méthode". Kant did not leave his Königsberg because he needed quiet in order to complete his major work on the new methodology of thought. This and many other examples demonstrate that great systems arise only in conditions of complete quiet, in a kind of detachment from the world. A certain level of material well-being is also necessary so as to involve the energies of a people completely not only in the struggle for existence but also to provide extra energy for other aims. This is the only reason why philosophy in the real sense of the word appears at a relatively late stage in the cultural development of mankind and only begins to take effect when other sciences have already developed to a certain extent and have thus prepared the ground.

Human intelligence in the same way as any other psychic function needs a certain period of time to become fully developed. Hitherto it has served the day to day requirements of the standard of living of the individual as well as the race expending its entire energy on them. Only when external life is quite secure can the powers of the intellect be turned towards other, higher aims. Philosophical thought can only prosper and develop when the life of the state is secure and under better and more stable living conditions, and at least some sections of society can afford the time to ponder on the eternal, loftier mysteries of life.

It is precisely these conditions so necessary if a people are to be lifted

ever higher on the scale of spiritual development that Ukrainians have almost completely lacked for centuries. One can scarcely talk of an independent Ukrainian state for Ukrainians who were already stateless at the beginning of their historical existence. In spite of gigantic efforts they have not been fortunate enough even today to finally regain their independence. Even as components of foreign state organisms Ukrainians have not enjoyed peace. As a result of Ukraine's geographical position it was always open to dangers which prevented the achievement of a physical and spiritual equilibrium. Moreover, fate would have it that when Ukraine was occupied by another state it was ruled by peoples who felt it their duty to severely oppress any expression of their own cultural life or any spark of independent thought. During the centuries of foreign rule Ukrainians lost their upper social strata who due to their better material position could have been the bearers of cultural development; the bourgeoisie and aristocracy joined the opponents of the nation and were gradually assimilated by the masses of the ruling nation. The entire population reduced to the level of small-holders were not in a position to create for themselves a more comfortable and carefree life which alone could free spiritual powers and direct them to higher aims. Everything that has already been mentioned as conditio sine qua non for the development of philosophical thought exists in the case of the Ukrainians though mathematically it is designated by a negative sign. Instead of its own free state life there have been centuries of foreign rule; instead of a secure and quiet life even in the framework of a foreign state organism there have been continuous catastrophies; instead of prosperity there has been the abject poverty of the smallholder masses, the sole representatives of the entire nation; instead of a modicum of freedom in the sphere of culture at least there has been relentless suppression by the foreign ruler. It is therefore not surprising that under such circumstances all the energy of the people was spent in another direction; in the struggle not only for the survival of the people as a whole but of every individual in particular. Consequently, there was no extra energy available for matters such as philosophy.

There are further reasons which to a certain extent explain the meagreness of Ukrainian philosophical writing measured by Western European standards. In the first place, not only Ukrainians but all other Slavs have achieved little in the field of philosophy. In actual theoretical philosophy the Slavs have not produced a single great thinker or single system which could compare with philosophical systems of other European peoples. If we consider such branches of culture as literature or art (painting, music, architecture) or even the exact sciences, it is clear that both in the past and present the Slavs *ceteris paribus* have kept up with other European nations and have even been preeminent in some areas. Philosophy alone has laid fallow. Russian historians, for example, admit openly that Russian philosophy has not developed beyond imitations of Western European and predominantly German models. "The Poles even today feed off Hegel's scraps", says Heinrich Struwe, former Professor of Philosophy at the University of

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Warsaw and himself a Pole, in his article "Polish Philosophical Writings". His noteworthy statement continues:

"If I now undertake in the following to give a detailed description of Polish strivings in philosophy and agree in the future to familiarise the readership of the monthly magazines with the more important philosophical works of Poland and other Slavic nations, then I must emphasise that the above general remarks are not aimed at arousing hopes that Slavic philosophical writings contain any particularly lofty works or mark a hitherto unnoticed advance or a new stage of development in philosophy."

The Czechs have only the distinguished pedagogue Komensky and the Ukrainian, Skovoroda, is an important figure to Eastern Europe. His greatness, however, falls far short of the other systematicians of philosophy. Why is he great? I would like for the time being to posit the hypothesis that in the case of the Slavs in general and the Ukrainians in particular, spiritual energy in the form of philosophical thought has been aimed at breadth and not depth. We do not find any rallying points in the heads of highly gifted personalities, there are no sudden peaks in the curve. Instead, we discover a uniform high-level of philosophical thought among the people as a whole. In Ukrainian Folk Poetry in the widest sense we come across a wealth of philosophical thought. A Weltanschaung emerges based on original metaphysics, in the relationship with God, the Universe and fellow man. We find a system of ethics adapted to the consciousness of the people and original aesthetics whose practical worth and realisation are displayed in the finest examples of artistic creativity. All this points to the decidedly philosophical culture of the broad Ukrainian masses.

PHILOSOPHY IN UKRAINE IN 11th-117th CENTURY

After these introductory remarks we turn to history and find that formerly philosophy and its problems first came to Ukraine from Constantinople together with Christianity as a whole. The higher clergy showed a particular interest. The Kyivan Metropolitan Clement Smoljatyč was regarded as an eminent philosopher of the 12th century and is said to have been conversant with Plato and Aristotle. Theological literature in the newly converted Kyiv State often had a philosophical character. And more particularly, the works of the Church Fathers, John of Damascus, Clement Areopagus and Maximus Confessor contain trains of thought which involuntarily relate to Plato though on many points there are conscious links with Aristotle who set the tone in the Middle Ages. Indeed, we can conclude that the entire philosophical output of this period consisted in the superficial acceptance of foreign thought. It was not yet time for new home-grown works to be written.

It was much later that as a result of the collision between two religious trends a genuine philosophical interest was awakened. Nevertheless, it is

debatable as to whether this fell on good ground. We know that in the 15th century a sect began to spread from Kyiv. It was declared a heresy by the official Church. The sect founded by Zacharias and known as the "jewifying" or "jewified" sect partly diverged from Jewish Orthodoxy in its teachings, however, it was aimed primarily against Christianity. The representatives of this sect could not satisfy their religious needs in the framework of Orthodox Judaism and turned via Judaism to other sources in Arabian, Greek and Jewish philosophy. The information we have on this movement stems from various translations which although written in the official Church language throughout Eastern Europe, Church Slavonic, bears distinct traces of Ukrainian cultural influence. They consist of a work by the Arabian 12th century philosopher Algazali; the work on logic by Moses Ben Maimon from the same period - "The Gateway to Aristotle", an original introduction to ethics and statemanship. One can assume that this literature was more extensive but was persecuted by the Church and destroyed: due to its emphasis on reason, however, it was not suitable for arousing a deep response in the Ukrainian psyche.

More serious philosophical interests which have left a lasting testimony in Ukrainian literature were also the product of later religious struggles. As a result of purely political events and indeed the forced annexation of Ukraine, which remained loyal to the Orthodox Faith, to Catholic Poland, an ecclesial-religious conflict broke out over the entire Ukrainian territory. It was to have far-reaching consequences in the extension of all philosophical development. On one side there stood the "Ancestral Faith", the sorely pressed Orthodox Faith, on the other side, Catholicism, filled with new aggression after the defeat of the Reformation in Poland. Likewise, out of purely political motives part of the Ukrainian Orthodox clergy joined the Roman Church and concluded a union with the Pope. The aim was to win over Eastern Europe for Catholicism and thus compensate for losses suffered due to the Reformation. Clearly, the fateful campaign between Orthodoxy on the one hand and Catholicism and the Uniate Church on the other would have to be decided by spiritual weapons. Crude force and state authority were not enough to produce lasting success. This aim required arguments couched in fine logic, evidence based on metaphysical speculation or reference to the greats such as Aristotle and his successors, St. Augustine, Thomas Aquinas and others. If necessary, reference was made to the opponents of one's own enemy, thus Luther, Melanchton, Zwingli and other revolutionaries of the period were read.

Knowledge of the above kind could not be acquired at home. People had therefore to travel abroad to the Universities of Cracow, Prague, Leipzig, Vienna, Königsberg, Paris, Leiden and Padua, visit the Jesuit Colleges in Rome and other Catholic Centres or even read the great masters themselves. However, the difficulties of any journey abroad, particularly from Eastern Europe, were so great at the time, the need for specialists with theological and philosophical training so urgent, that it was decided to establish higher

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schools of learning at home to train suitable defenders of the threatened faith. Thus the first Ukrainian Academy was established in Ostroh (1580–1608) to counterbalance the well-organised and ever increasing Jesuit Colleges. It was a first-class cultural centre which in spite of its short existence was of paramount importance to the future of Orthodox Thought and the spiritual development of the Ukrainian nation. Similar motives led to the formation of the Brotherhood Schools in Lviv, Lutsk, Peremyshl and other Ukrainian cities. However, the cornerstone of the spiritual life of all Eastern Europe at the time was without doubt the Kyiv Academy which owed its position in the cultural life of the Eastern Slavs chiefly to the initiative and devotion of Petro Mohyla, Metropolitan of Kyiv. It was therefore also rightly known as the Mohyla Academy.

Without going into the details of the infrastructure and curriculum of the Academy, if we consider only the nature of philosophical study pursued there, it is evident judging by the numerous literature available that the Aristotelian System set the tone for both the initial conception and similarly the treatment by later commentators whose compendia became the basis for philosophical instruction in medieval Europe as a whole. There is a compilation extant of manuscripts from the course in philosophy at the Kyiv Academy in the 17th and 18th century which supports our above claim.

Usually the compendia contain such philosophical disciplines as logic, dialectics, physics and metaphysics, sometimes even ethics, set out in Thomist-Aristotelian fashion as is clearly evidenced by their titles: Popovskyj's "Universa philosophica commentariis scholasticis illustrata, doctrinam peripateticam complectens ingenuo auditori Roxolano exposita" (1699); "Organum Aristotelis seu aurea scientiarum clavis ad universalem rationalis philosophiae portam 1702 Octobris die 23 a Reverendo patre Christophoro Czarnucki illustratum"; "Cursus philosophicus doctrinam Aristotelis Stagiritae ex methodo quae traditur in scholis complectens inchoatus sub R. P. Hilarione Jaroszewicki in Collegio Kijivo-Mohilaeano anno argumentati servi Dei hominis 1704 die 8. Septembris". This policy is perhaps a reflection of the style of the period. The Academy, probably due to competition from the Polish Jesuit Colleges where Aristotle reigned supreme, followed the same principles in order the give Ukrainian youth the same training.

Two works stem from this period whose authors did not belong to the scholarly circles of the Kyiv Academy. The first of these earliest philosophical publications in Ukraine was "The Mirror of Theology" by Cyrill Stavrovečkyj (1618) which contained a philosophical section written in the Thomist spirit. The second work was "Treatise on the Soul" by Kassian Sakovyč (1625 in Cracow), a passionate polemicist who left Orthodoxy for the Uniate Church and finally settled in the bosom of the Catholic Church. Philosophical questions are pursued in Mohyla's "Confessio orthodoxa", a work fundamental to the Ukrainian Church, and likewise in the work "De processione spiritus sancti", written by a German, Adam von Zernikau from

Königsberg and circulated in manuscript form, it represented the points of contention between the Orthodox and Catholic Church.

All the above works were dominated by Thomist-Catholic theology and philosophy and Aristotelian thought.

MODERN TIMES

In time, however, slowly but surely an unceasing awareness grew of the inadequacy of scholastic methods of instruction. Nevertheless, it was not until nearly the mid-18th century that a clear break was made with the old tradition. Indeed, this took place when David Naščynskyj, educated in Leipzig, became Prefect of the Kviv Academy. On the basis of knowledge gathered in Germany he suggested to the Patron of the Academy, the Kyiv Metropolitan Tymofij Ščerbackyj,, that Baumeisters Wolffian based "Elementa philosophiae recentioris" be used as the basic textbook for philosophical instruction. His suggestion was based quite understandably in psychological terms on the consideration that Wolff's philosophy had found avid readers and admirers both among Germans of all walks of life and religious confession and a host of European peoples: French, British, Italian, Dutch, Danish and Swiss. This was sufficiently clear evidence to support its right to exist and demonstrate its superiority to other systems. The shortcomings in Baumeister's system were replaced by appropriate chapters from Winkler and other textbooks which were also based on Wolff.

The new textbooks on philosophy soon conquered Kyiv. We read in the reports of contemporary professors of philosophy that they expounded Baumeister's philosophy quite faithfully together with all its prologues, prolegomena and constituent parts. At the same time various possible explanations were considered for difficult passages. It is not hard to imagine the factors behind the success of the new system at the Mohyla Academy: architectural beauty, clarity of exposition, general lucidity, not forgetting the evenness of thought which goes with these. All this contributed to the great popularity of Baumeister's thought both in Ukraine and other European countries.

Several decades later by about the middle of the 18th century Wolffian philosophy conquered the second cultural citadel of Ukraine, Lviv. Following Naščynskyj's example at the Kyiv Academy his perhaps better known countryman Petro Lodyj (1764–1829) advocated "Elementa philosophiae" as the basic primer for both courses in philosophy at the "Collegium Ruthenum", Lviv University. Following the main spiritual currents of old Austria Lodyj based his lectures on the Wolffian system with Baumeister as guide and instructor. Since not many Ukrainian students knew Latin at that time and there was no textbook in Ukrainian on philosophy, Lodyj decided in 1790 to publish a translation of "Elementa philosophiae" as an aid to philosophical study. He did not translate the whole book but only the second part which contains the "Philosophiae Moralis Institutiones Ethicam et Politicam complexae", since the terminology could be derived

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from everyday expressions and therefore was not as difficult to translate as abstract metaphysical concepts.

The foremost adherents of Baumeister in Western Ukraine were Lodyj's successor at the "Collegium Ruthenum", Professor I. Łavrivśkyj (1773-1846) who in fact regarded Wolff and Baumeister as the only authorities on philosophy; he was followed by the philosophy teachers at the spiritual seminaries of the dioceses of Peremyshl and Lviv. They were responsible for educating future generations of Ukrainian clergy before the founding of the "Studium Ruthenum". The primers used at the seminaries: "Institutiones Logicae" (Vienna 1760); "Institutiones Metaphysicae Partes quattuor" (Vienna 1769); and "Grundsätze der Logic"* (Augsburg 1777), were written by Sigismund Storchenau, a professor at Vienna University and himself an adherent of Baumeister.

It is quite comprehensible psychologically that Wolff's philosophy in time also dominated the Slavic world. Not even Kant's revolutionary work could displace it. People began to fathom the different trains of thought in critical idealism and endeavoured to understand Kant. However, his works were unable to arouse enthusiasm. It is therefore not surprising that Lodyj in his textbook on logic not only demonstrated openly his loyalty to Wolff but even made discrete attempts at criticising Kant in paragraphs 47, 48, 67, 69 and 176. It is likely that his observations on the division of logic pure and applied and on the categorical imperative do not stem directly from Lodyj but are taken from Anesidemus Schultz whom he greatly respected.

It should be mentioned in this connection that even before the complete changeover in favour of Wolff's system there were attempts to introduce other Western European thinkers into Ukraine. Their influence, however, was much less significant. An increasing number of libraries contained the works of Bacon and Descartes; Leibniz was studied at the Kyiv Academy; Prokopovyč based his defence of the reforms of Peter the Great on the legal-philosophical thought of Hobbes, Grotius and Pufendorf, On the basis of our scanty knowledge of these philosophers it can be said that more modern philosophical works were generally known to teachers and pupils at the Academy. Even though the lecture notes we have show complete domination by Aristotelian thought and there is no mention of modern directions we must still assume that modern ideas were mentioned and discussed via oral lectures outside the official framework. It is highly likely that they were also approved of by the listeners. Evidently, on their visits to Western Europe Ukrainian scholars must have learnt of the leading trends in philosophy and on their return felt it their duty to inform the students of events and hearsay abroad. The reasons why there was no mention in official publications of the innovations may well have been religious. Religious criterion held considerable sway at the Kyiv Academy in particular and in Eastern Europe in general.

^{*} Principles of Logic

THE PHILOSOPHY OF H. S. SKOVORODA

The philosopher Hryhoryj Skovoroda (1722–1795) is, without doubt, one of the most outstanding figures in Ukrainian culture. His spiritual complexion reflects in augmented, idealised form the characteristic traits of the entire nation. Son of a simple Kozak family from the province of Poltava he studied at the Kyiv Academy. After completing his studies he went abroad to deepen his knowledge and is said to have visited mainly the German speaking universities of Vienna, Munich and Königsberg. Skovoroda took a lively interest in religious questions partly because he thus remained faithful to the traditions of his Academy and partly because at the time Ukrainian society was preoccupied with religious discussions. This predilection also sprang from his study of the Bible, the "wisest of all books, which quenched his constant hunger and thirst with divine truth". Well versed in the theological scriptures he endeavoured to explain the text of the Bible with the help of a key of symbols which he had compiled.

The history of Ukrainian letters has rightfully conferred on Skovoroda the title: "Ukrainian Socrates". The comparison between the two thinkers is attributed to the fact that both were very similar in their teaching and spiritual exposition. In spite of the fact that Socrates far exceeded Skovoroda in terms of his historical significance in the development of mankind it should be remembered that like his prototype of antiquity Skovoroda also had a "ti daimonon" to sustain him through the most important moments of his life. In his case too practical philosophy predominates over purely theoretical questions. The Ukrainian thinker in the final analysis left as little as Socrates of the fruits of his thought to posterity in the form of a complete system. A hundred years after his death his works first appeared in print in the form of a number of incoherent propositions and comments which were left to the publisher to articulate into a harmonious whole. The emphasis on the practical sphere in both Skovoroda and Socrates was bound up with the inner urge to reproduce clearly through their own lives and creativity, the inner ideals which they championed. In the case of Skovoroda this relationship is reversed. His philosophy was actually the theoretical substantiation and interpretation of the ideals which he advocated. Consequently, the conformity between deed and word, thought and reality is so complete that it would be difficult to find a better example in modern philosophy of the transposition of theory into practice.

Skovoroda's main works written in the form of Socratic dialogues reflect a profound anthropologism on which his philosophy is founded. Accordingly, man himself is the key to the solution of all the important problems and riddles of life which can be solved simply through self-knowledge. In fact, Skovoroda's anthropologism is threefold in nature: ontological, cognitive and ethical-practical. Ontologically, man is a microcosm who metaphysically speaking reflects the macrocosm. Skovoroda then proceeds to make cognitive deductions from this. In his view man is the starting point for all perception which in terms of scope and principles is limited to self-knowledge. It is consequently the only way of knowing the world and God.

The world which man strives to understand consists of two elementary principles or natures: visible and invisible. The visible principle is the material world, matter in the widest sense which is transient and not of lasting value. The second principle according to Skovoroda is "Truth, Beauty, Essence, Plan, Thought and Spirit".

The human being, a part of the world, must exist by analogy: firstly as a material, visible body and secondly as an immaterial essence. Skovoroda attaches no importance to the body and devotes himself purely to the spirit. The spiritualisation of the "ego" can be regarded as the second birth of man.

The theoretical, that is to say, self-knowledge and perception of truth based thereon can only justify its existence if it is closely bound with practical morals. Man's being is not a function of purely theoretical truth but demands in the first place the action of the heart and will. For this reason the onus of Skovoroda's philosophy is not on cognitive deliberations but existential matters. They include again the question of the ultimate and supreme aim which every human being strives for most: "Our greatest wish is to be happy". Skovoroda is therefore an eudemonian, though his happiness is of a particuliar kind. It lies in the voluntary submission to God's will or in living in harmony with the true nature of things. When striving for happiness we must understand our true nature through selfknowledge and live accordingly. All activity is easy and pleasant if it comes naturally. He emphasises in particular that nature takes its revenge on people who choose an occupation to which they are not suited. Unhappiness, boredom and sorrow come from playing an unfamiliar role on the world stage. "It is better to be a natural tom-cat than a lion with the nature of an ass." Happiness consists in following an occupation to which one feels a calling. It is only in this way that one can live in accord with nature and be at peace with God. Self-knowledge and knowledge of the world and God based on this; shaping one's practical life according to one's innate abilities, in other words, in keeping with Nature and God, these are the most important elements in Skovoroda's philosophy of life.

Other Ukrainians were involved in philosophy at the same time as Skovoroda although their works benefited mainly foreign cultures. It is a well-known fact that a number of philosophical authors who wrote in Russian and a number of translators into Russian who made a considerable contribution to the formation of Russian philosophical terminology, were Ukrainians. Notable examples are B. H. Poletyka (1725–1784) the alleged author of the celebrated work "Istoriya Rusiv" and S. Hamalija (1734– 1822) who translated the works of Jakob Böhme into Russian.

By the 18th century there were distinct Western European and primarily German influences visible in Ukrainian philosophical thought. In the following century, however, it was clearly under the tutelage of mainly German Idealism.

WESTERN PHILOSOPHY IN UKRAINE

In Carpatho-Ukraine the tip of Ukrainian national territory closest to Western Europe we find in the first years of the 19th century an enthusiastic follower of Kant in the person of V. Dovhovyč (1783–1849). At the beginning of his scholarly career his particular interest was critical philosophy. Already during his theological studies at Užhorod he was absorbed in exact philosophy mainly German Idealism. His favourite authors were Kant, Fichte and Schelling. After making exhaustive studies in German philosophy he wrote his works in Latin:

- 1. Critica purae Rationis Kantiana in Compendio per Basilium Dohovits, Tyrnaviae 1808.
- 2. Critica practicae Rationis ex operibus Immanuelis Kant et Bendaviduna cum aliorum observationis breviter deducta per Bas. Dohovits, Tyrnaviae 1809.
- 3. Definitiones philosophicae, quae sunt vel praecipuae et cardinales, vel controversae desumptae scriptoribus Kant, Wenzel, Bendavid, Werdermann, Karpe, Baumeister etc.... collectae a Basilio Dohovits 1809.

The works of the young Kantian remained unpublished since not many people were interested in philosophy in Carpatho-Ukraine. Even today they have not been thoroughly examined and it is therefore not possible to make a definitive judgement on their originality. We can only assume that Dovhovyč referred to the copious compendia and commentaries on Kant which were available at the time. The case of Dovhovyč is, however, interesting in that as opposed to Slavic philosophy's predominant aversion to cognitive questions and metaphysical speculations, and contrary to the pronounced inclination of the Slavs to consider only problems of practical philosophy and ethics, here in some unknown part of Carpatho-Ukraine there was a Ukrainian Catholic priest who was an ardent follower of Kant.

What strong influence Kant was unable to exert in the Slavic world his followers made up for completely. Fichte and primarily Schelling and Hegel have a permanent place in the spiritual realm of the Slavic world.

When the realisation began of the plan to establish the first university on Ukrainian soil, in Kharkiv, Fichte was offered the chair in philosophy. Even though the material prospects offered were excellent Fichte declined the honourable post for the justifiable reason that he could only devote his maximum effort to fulfilling his tasks and duty on behalf of his own people in a post on native German territory. The second candidate considered for the chair in philosophy by Count Potocki on the recommendation of Goethe and Schiller, was Fichte's most gifted and faithful adherent in the early days of his literary work, I. G. Schad (1758–1834), the then lecturer in philosophy at Jena. Enticed by the high wages promised by the Russian Government, Schad accepted the appointment in Kharkiv in 1804 and was already in his post the following year. The Jena period (1799–1804) was the most fruitful period in Schad's life; he produced the following works "Grundriss der Wissenschaftslehre", "Geist der Philosophie unserer Zeit", "Transzendente Logik", "System der Natur und transzendentale Philosophie".¹ We shall be concerned chiefly with the works which appeared in Kharkiv for a characterisation of the author's philosophy teaching during his stay in Ukraine. They include: "Institutiones philosophiae universalis. Tomus primus Logicam puram et applicatum complectens", Charcoviae et Halle 1812; "Institutiones juris naturae", Charcoviae 1814; "De libertate Europae vindicata" 1814, an impassioned speech during a festival at Kharkiv University referring to the final liberation of Russia from the threat of Napoleon.

Schad is of no particular interest as a philosopher. We are only interested in the content of German philosophical thought in his lectures at Kharkiv University which the students listened to enthusiastically. He had a considerable following among the student body. His influence was significant, proof of this is evident in the fact that young Ukrainians showed a great deal of interest in philosophy. Without previous preliminary study in philosophy 12 people registered for doctorates. We find among Schad's adherents the two Carpatho-Ukrainians A. Hevlič and A. Dudrovyč. After Schad's expulsion from Russia in 1816 Dudrovyč was in fact appointed his successor.

A. Dudrovyč (1782–1829) also very popular among the young students was like his master heavily influenced by German Idealism. He was particularly interested in Schelling, however, Schad's expulsion by the Russian Government on account of the prohibited ideas of Schelling obliged him to be careful about expressing his sympathies too openly. The writings of Dudrovyč show his clear predilection for the elements of Schelling's system which involve religious mysticism. He based his position vis- \hat{a} -vis the latter on such followers of Schelling as H. Schubert and F. X. Baader.

Schad also had a supporter in N. H. Bilous (1799–1854) a Ukrainian from Kyiv who as professor of philosophy advocated the ideas of his master at Nižyn Academy. After being reported on he lost his job. Broadly speaking Schad's influence in Kharkiv was greater than can be judged by the available research work. Schad and Dudrovyč built the bridge which lead from Fichte to Schelling and his adherents in Ukraine. The number of followers of Schelling and Hegel in Ukraine was by no means overwhelming and it is thanks to a Ukrainian, a pupil of the Kyiv Academy, D. Kavunnyk-Vellanskyi (1774–1847) that Schelling became known to the whole of Eastern Europe. Son of poor parents with divine and human assistance, he came to study at the Kyiv Academy. After graduating in 1801 he went abroad where he came into contact with Schelling and the representatives of Natural Philosophy, Steffeis and Oken. Returning from abroad he went

^{2.} Outline of Philosophy: The Spirit of Philosophy in our Time; Transcendental Logic; The System of Nature and Transcendental Philosophy.

to St. Petersburg where he became a professor at the Medical Military Academy deputising in many subjects during his career up to 1837: physiology, botany, pharmacology and pathology. His lectures in philosophy were popular among the students and though not of a particularly high calibre they compensated for this in terms of topicality with an exposé of Schelling's views on Natural Philosophy. Vellanskyj had been personally acquainted with Schelling during his stay in Germany. He did not expound the entire Schellingian system in his lectures and especially not the theoretical part. To assume this would be to overestimate the interest in philosophy and education of his audience as well as his own ability to do so. He accepted the theses of Natural Philosophy in good faith without bothering to make a critical analysis of its principles. M. Maksymovyč (1804-1873) the famous ethnographer, literary historian and first vicechancellor of Kyiv University was another Ukrainian disciple of Schelling. Both his first works on Natural Philosophy and his subsequent work on ethnography and folklore reflect Schelling's considerable influence.

J. Michnevyč (1809–1885), pupil and then teacher at the Kyiv Academy and later professor at the Richelieu Academy in Odessa was a less wellknown Schellingian. In his works: "The Effects of Greek Philosophy"; "The Problem of Philosophy, Its True Essence, Content and Classification", he strives to attune his thoughts to divine revelation and the demands of worldly power. He also wrote: "An Attempt at a Simple Explanation of Schelling's System by Association with Other German Philosophers" (Odessa 1850).

Hegel's philosophy was an the whole very popular among the Slavs and laid the philosophical foundation for an important spiritual movement known in short as Messianism. Messianic ideas widespread among the Poles, Russians and Czechs hardly affected the Ukrainians leaving no lasting vestiges. Symbol of an entire epoch, Hegel did have followers in Ukraine though he was more popular among the other Slavic peoples. The Ukrainian dsiciples of Schelling do show Hegelian trains of thought. It would be natural to expect the two philosophers to overlap. Michnevyč, for example, though his sympathies are with Schelling shows a slight leaning towards Hegelianism. O. Novyckyj (1804-1884), however, was much more clearly influenced by Hegel. A pupil and teacher at Kyiv Academy he was later to become a professor at Kyiv University. When in 1850 lectures in philosophy at all academies in the Russian Empire were banned Novyckyj entered the bureaucratic treadmill though he continued to pursue his philosophical interests. It was at this time that he wrote his fundamental work, a reply to the ban on philosophy: "The Gradual Development of Ancient Philosophical Doctrines in Association with the Development of Pagan Religions", 4 vols., Kyiv 1860-1862. However, the work was not properly appreciated either by official government circles or Russian liberal circles. M. Tulov, Professor of Literature at Nizyn Academy and T. Tupycia whose

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name is mentioned in Shevchenko's diary also belonged to the Ukrainian Hegelian entourage.

S. Gogočkyj (1813–1889) pupil and teacher at the Kyiv Academy and later professor at Kyiv University was an outspoken Hegelian as can be seen clearly enough in his writings. The following are worth special mention: "A Critical Appreciation of Kantian Philosophy" (Kyiv 1847); "A Survey of Hegel's System" (Kyiv 1860) and his monumental (at the time) "Philosophical Lexicon", 4 vols., (1857–1873). These works still have a certain value today. In keeping with Hegel's trichotomic principle, Gogočkyj divides the history of philosophy into three periods whose respective character depends on the extent to which the spirit became realised in matter. Though Kant was without doubt the pioneer of a new epoch in philosophical thought, Gogočkyj was highly critical of him. Hegel gave us the loftiest philosophical system, and in spite of the boundless enthusiasm which he inspired Gogočkyj even had certain reservations about him mainly due to his recognition of the immanence of the divine in human thought and his deduction of personality from abstract categories.

Later followers of Hegel included P. Redkyn (1808–1891), Professor of Philosophy of Law at the Universities of Moscow and St. Petersburg and author of "An Insight into Hegelian Philosophy" (1861); J. Čafikovskyj, author of "An Attempt to Combine the Sciences" (1863); and K. Han-kevyč (1842–1924) author of "The Chief Traits of Slavic Philosophy" (1873) and the first writer on the subject.

Philosophical thought in Ukraine was later championed by P. Jurkevyč (1827–1894). He made a penetrating critique of Kantian "scepticism" and turned to Plato's idealism in an attempt to rescue philosophy: A. Potebnja (1835–1891) the linguistic philosopher who was influenced by W. Humboldt and H. Lotze: and finally the positivist V. Lesevyč (1837–1905) whose work "Empirical Criticism the Only Scientific Viewpoint", is based on the ideas of von Laas, Riehl, Hering and later Avenarius and Petzold. The celebrated Ukrainian political economist M. Tuhan-Baranovskyj (1865–1919) had links with the Ricker and Windelband school of thought and was joined by the legal philosopher B. Kistiakovskyj (1868–1920) author of "A Critique of Marxism".

Vjačeslav Lypynskyj (1882–1931) a historian of high repute introduced new, original ideas to contemporary Ukrainian philosophical and political thought. He was the first of the spiritual leaders of his people to liberate himself from the tutelage of foreign remedies and set a course for achieving independent statehood by native Ukrainian ideas and initiatives. He subsequently advocated the old national traditions such as the Hetmanate, established the peasant farmers as the carriers of modern Ukrainian Statehood and gave the thorny, sacrificial path of his people into the future the aura of a historical, global mission.

In Soviet Ukraine as in the entire Soviet Union philosophy has been

banished from spiritual life. Dialectical materialism in its myriad forms and with its numerous representatives is thus cultivated even more comprehensively. In 1952 in the Philosophical Glossary published in Kharkiy (in Ukrainian) we find mention of only two Ukrainian names: Skovoroda and Ivan Franko. The latter, a renowned writer, scholar and politician even can scarcely be regarded as a philosopher. Emigré philosophers limit themselves mainly to research into past philosophy (e.g. D. Čiževskyi's "Notes on the History of Philosophy in Ukraine", Prague 1931, in Ukrainian) without offering a philosophical system of their own.

(To be continued)

Translated by W. Slez

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Alexander SOKOLYSHYN

ON THE 400th ANNIVERSARY OF THE APPEARANCE OF THE 'OSTROZ'KA BIBLIA'

Among the great anniversaries of Ukrainian cultural life*, as for example the 1500 anniversary of the founding of Kyiv, which many of our researchers regard as the 2000th anniversary, or the coming Millenium of Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine in 1988, in 1981 we celebrated two great anniversaries of Ukrainian culture, namely 490 years since the appearance of the first printed work using Slavic-Cyrillic characters and also 400 years since the appearance of that 'pearl' of Ukrainian printing the Ostroz'ka Biblia.

There are problems connected with the history of printing in general, and Ukrainian printing in particular, as, for example, the dispersal of sources concerning the history of printing, the small interest shown in them, the shance-treatment of them, reflected by the fact that only small news items on this subject appear in the Ukrainian press and periodicals, as well as the lack of any proper objective monographs on the history of Ukrainian printing.

Of the shortcomings cited above I want to dwell in this lecture on the history of Ukrainian printing in general and on the marking of the 400th anniversary of the Ostroz'ka Biblia in particular.

The art of printing was known long ago, even before the discovery of the movable type method by Johann Gutenberg (1400-1468?) in 1450, more accurately in 1455, when the famous Gutenberg Bible was printed. Already the Chinese and the Koreans in the Far East were familiar with printing. The earliest Slavic printed work appeared in Czechia, when in 1468 in the town of Pilsen a book entitled "The Trojan Chronicle" was printed in Latin. Poland came next where in the years between 1473-1474 Casper Straub printed four books also in Latin. In 1483 our fellow-countryman, Yuriy Kotermark from Drohobych, who lived in the years 1450-1494 and is also known as Yuriy Drohobych, printed in Rome, using the Gothic script and the Latin language "A Prognostic Appraisal of this 1483 Year" by Magister Yuriy Drohobych of Rus', Doctor of Art and Medicine of the University of Bologna, printed in Rome by Eucharius Silber.¹

In 1968 a reproduction of this publication was made by the Lviv State Scientific Library in a limited edition of only 150 copies. Thus we should consider Ukrainians as being among the pioneers of Slavic printing in general. An article entitled "Yuriy Kotermark of Drohobych (1450-1494)"

^{*} A lecture first given in Ukrainian at the Conference of the Bibliological Com-mission of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in New York. It appeared in printed form in Vyzvol'nyi Shliakh (Liberation Path) London in January, 1982. 1. Yaroslav Isayevych. Yuriy Drohobych, Kyiv, Molod' Publishers, 1972, 121 pp., ill. facsim., in the biographical works series 'Lives of the Famous'.

A > HEORHCANTS WIEACH AAMENTEMER , HATTHENAENACE aitma hereennaseyes HANSMA TOTUNE NEEMA AAAHEHH TYCHTTEAG NE No BIB SAKONIS THH ۰. BIAA FCO . METEZAKONIS FTO I IA ANG HHOUTS HEX MIKAA as camena mpinex anunxis HRETIN ABIG HARTING GREEFEMALEHE HAHEITIGETENIWIAJEMIL, HECALAN RA AWEMBOOHMITE , oventemis . He MAROHETEEMINBIN , NEMARO . HOMKO neagra iremi anzmitmaim atmens, WANYA SIMAN . CETEPAAN HIBGERPE ENSITTS HETECHTHEIN MACSAR , HHITE LUNNYS' SILCOSIS TPASENSIXIS MISO stantemere nyme nyaseneixte חאחה אנזננת אה איצוה היא האנותה

A page from the 'Ostroz'ka Biblia' and I. Fedorovych's publishing emblem.

by Serhiy Seniuk appeared in the Ukrainian Calendar for 1970, published by the Cultural and Social Society in Poland in 1969 (pp. 153-155) with a portrait.²

However, the first Slavic printed works in Slavic language appeared in Venice in 1483. This was the Roman Breviary printed for the Croats using the Glagolithic script.

At this time the Slavs used two alphabets: Glagolithic and Cyrillic. In time, Cyrillic forced Glagolithic out of use and became the dominant form of writing among the South-Eastern Slavs.

The first printed works using the Cyrillic script appeared 490 years ago in Cracow, when the first coryphaeus of Slavic printing, the Lemko, Sviatopolk Fiol' in 1491 published five printed works: the Oktoikh of Ivan Damaskyn, Horologium, Triod' Pisna, Triod' Tsvitna, and Apostol which did not survive to our day and is known only from descriptions.

These are the so-called incunabula prints (all prints which appeared before 1500 have this name). In German they are called Wiege prints, that is 'cradle' prints, first prints. Few Slavic nations can boast of them. It should be mentioned that Muscovy does not have such printed works and none have been found there. Mladen Bošnjak has published a separate monograph on Slavic incunabula in which he also describes the printed works of Sviatopolk Fiol'.³ Editions of Fiol' are very rare and as proof of this, I want to give the example of the collected edition prepared by the associate member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, P. Popov and published in Kyiv in Russian under the title "Slavic Books in Cyrillic of the Fifteenth to Eighteenth Centuries" in which we find a description of only two works by Fiol' from the 15th C. These are the Triod' Pisna and the Horologium. A note is inserted to the effect that they are kept in the State Public Library of the USSR in an incomplete form.¹ It should be mentioned that the Triod' Tsvitna by Fiol' can be found in the rare books department of the New York Public Library and a few separate sheets in the library of the Stamford Diocese of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the United States. From time to time news appears that more printed works of Fiol' are to be found, as was the case when the historian Ivan Khomenko, an employee in the Museum of Regional Studies 'took yet another dustcovered book from the shelf', this time in the 14th C. Mukachivskyi Monastery, built by Prince Fedor Koriatovych, and found that this was a work by Fiol'. Fiol' also published Cyrillic printed works at the Hrushevskyi Monastery after he had been accused by the inquisition in Cracow and his

^{2.} Serhiy Seniuk: Yuriy Kotermark of Drohobych (1450-1494). Ukrains'kyi Ka-lendar 1970 (Ukrainian Calendar 1970), Warsaw, Ukrainian Socio-Cultural Society, 1969, pp. 153-155, with a portrait of Yuriy Drohobych (In Ukrainian). 3. Mladen Bošnjak: A Study of Slavic Incunabula, Zagreb, 1968. Izdavacko knji-zarsko produzece "Ml'adost", English version by Ferdinand Dobrowolsky, 195 pp. with ill., facsims., Bibl. p. 190-195. 4. Akademija Nauk Ukrayinskoho SSR (Ukr. SSR Academy of Sciences). The

Library. Books in the Cyrillic Script of the 15-18th C., Kyiv, Edited by P. M. Popov, 1890-?

printing works in that town were destroyed with everything in them. That is why they are so rare today.⁵.

The Oktoïkh of Fiol comprises 337 pages. On the back of the first page is the engraving entitled 'the Crucifixion' with the Saviour's legs drawn apart. The same type of engraving in the West is printed with the legs crossed, this being the difference between Eastern and Western Rites and, incidentally, would be an interesting theme for research. The final page has a colophon with the arms of the town of Cracow and a Cyrillic inscription set in six columns. Also his Horologium has a final page set in seven columns. An incorrect explanation of these final pages caused a polemic about the national origin of Fiol'. The Polish researcher K. Oestriecher explains the words Yz nmets as three words Y z nimets, meaning that Fiol'. a citizen of Cracow, printed this book together with the German of the name of Frank. According to K. Oestricher Fiol' was not a German. Panteleymon Yuryev, who also wrote about this in Nasha Kultura (a monthly literary supplement to the Ukrainian weekly newspaper Nashe Slovo in Warsaw), is of the same opinion, as is also Orest Medvnskvi, who in 1922 wrote in the Carpathian Calendar that Sviatopolk Fiol' was not a German but in fact a Lemko-Ukrainian. Moreover, he lived in the royal free town of Levochy in Slovakia, then later in Mukachiv and eventually died somewhere in Carpathian Ukraine at the end of 1525 or at the beginning of 1526 as Stepan Siropolko states.⁶ Besides the Germans the Byelorussians also, especially V. Panucevič from Chicago, USA, publisher of the scientific journal Litva, lay claim to Fiol'. In the first issue of this journal, in 1967, he reproduced the final page in the Cyrillic print of Fiol' from the Oktoikh published in Cracow in 1491, claiming it to be the first Byelorussian printed work.7

As can be seen from this, each nation wants to have its own *incunabula*. which is not unusual, but it is necessary to ascertain definite factual evidence for this.

Since we are on the subject of the printed works of Fiol' then it should be mentioned that one of the important points about the history of printing in Ukraine is the question when the first printing press was established there. Lately more attention has been given to this question in Ukraine. I just want to point out here the statement given by Orest Maciuk to the effect that printing existed in Ukraine before 1460. In the archives in Ukraine a string of unknown documents has been uncovered which proves that in L'viv before 1460 there existed a Ukrainian printing press. In one of these documents it was noted that in 1460 a citizen of L'viv, Stepan Drapan, donated his printing press to the Monastery of St. Onufriy run by

^{5.} Treasures of the Mukachiv Monastery, an article in the Ukrainian newspaper in Brazil Pratsia, 13 January 1966 which is a reprint from the newspaper Robitnycha

In Brazil Fraisia, 13 January 1960 which is a reprint from the newspaper Robinsteina Hazeta No. 212 of 10th September 1965, p. 4.
 6. Stepan Siropolko: Schweipolt Fiol, The First Printer of Slavic Cyrillic Books, Ukrains'ka Knyha, Cracow-L'viv, No. 5, 1943, pp. 11-13, (In Ukrainian).
 7. Vaclau Panucevič: Pierša Bielaruskaja Drukarnia Š. Fijola u Krakavie. (The first Byelorussian printing works of S. Fiol' in Cracow) Litva, a scientific journal, January-June, 1967, Chicago, Ill., USA, p. 3-49 with ill., facsim., Bibl. p. 3-49.

the Basilian Fathers in L'viv.⁸ This means that a printing press existed there previously to the date when he donated his machinery and stock. In tracing the beginnings of Ukrainian book-printing we find yet an interesting article in the quarterly *Bukovyna* (September, 1981)⁹ by Orest Maciuk and also in the 'Letters to the Editor' column of *Svoboda* newspaper (New Jersey, US, No. 191 of October 1981) where Larysa Onyshkevych mentions the same fact in discussing printing in Ukraine before Fedorovych.¹⁰ I refer to all these mentionings on this subject as proof of the difficulties involved with the question of research into the history of Ukrainian printing by us here, in a foreign land, outside of our subjugated native country. Information is difficult to come by and, moreover, is scattered in various almanacs or calendars, periodicals and newspapers.

The second coryphaeus of Slavic printing is Francis Skoryna who published in Prague in 1517 the Psalter using Cyrillic script and in 1519 the *Rus'ka Biblia*. A study of new Soviet publications on Francis Skoryna can be found in the *Journal of Byelorussian Studies* in English, published in London by the Anglo-Byelorussian Society (No. 3-4, 1980)¹¹. Skoryna printed the *Rus'ka Biblia*, which is not specifically Byelorussian, so Skoryna could also be considered a Ukrainian printer.

At the moment we are interested in the third coryphaeus of Cyrillic printing, Ivan Fedorovych, who together with Petro Mstyslavych in 1564 printed the *Apostol* in Moscow from where they were expelled, their printing press destroyed. They fled to Poliss'ya, then a part of the Lithuanian Commonwealth where they were commissioned by Het'man Hryhoryi Khodkevych to establish a printing press in Zabludova and where in the years 1568-69 they printed the *Uchytel'na Yevanheliya* and a Psalter.¹² But Fedorovych was attracted by the princely town of Lev (Leo) — L'viv, an important cultural and economic centre of Eastern Europe and Ukraine at that time. In 1572 he continues with 'God's work', namely printing, but now in L'viv. There on 25 February 1573 he begins to print the famous *Apostol* or *L'viv Apostol* which he completes in 1574. This was the first known printed work using Cyrillic script on Ukrainian soil to which may be added his recently-discovered *Bukvar* also of 1574, the sole original copy of which is kept in the Library of rare publications at Harvard

8. Orest Maciuk: Printing Presses in Ukraine in the 15th C., Ukrayins'kyi Kalendar (Ukrainian Calendar 1971), Warsaw, Ukrainian Socio-Cultural Society in Poland, 1971, pp. 340-345, with a flat engraving of Ivan Fedorovych by L. Bihanych.

9. Orest Maciuk: Beginnings of Ukrainian Book Printing, Toronto, Canada, Ukrainian Independent Quarterly Bukovyna, Vol. 7, No. 3 (25), September 1981, pp. 10-11.

10. Larysa Onyshkevych: Printing in Ukraine Before I. Fedorovych. In the 'Letters to the Editor' column, Ukrainian daily Svoboda, Vol. 88, No. 191, 9, 10, 1981, p. 2.

11. James Dingley: Some Recent Soviet Publications on Francisk Skaryna. The Journal of Byelorussian Studies, London, The Anglo-Byelorussian Society, 1980, Vol. 4, No. 3-4, pp. 148-154.

12. Dr. Lyubomyr Vynar: History of Early Ukrainian Printing 1491-1600, Chicago-Denver, published by Ukrainian-American Publishers, Chicago, 1963, 88 pp. with ill., portraits, facsim. (In Ukrainian).

University. In 1975 the *Bukvar* was published once again in $Kyiy^{13}$ and also in Moscow in a miniature form.¹⁴ However, the editors of this particular edition of the Bukvar consider it to be one 'of the first Russian text-books' despite it being published in L'viv, as its final page in Ukrainian clearly indicates. About this affair I wrote already in 1964.¹⁵⁻¹⁶

If this were a Russian printed work then it would surely have the words napechatano (Russian for 'printed') and god or godu (year, of the year) and not roku (as in Ukrainian for 'year'). The Apostol or L'viv Apostol has on its final page the heraldic arms of the town of L'viv and the printer's stamp and the signature of Ivan Fedorovych and not Fedoriv, as Moscow readily calls him, and also that he is a printer from Moscow (drukar-moskvyn tr. note), that is to say he is an inhabitant of Moscow and not that he is a 'Muscovite' or 'Russian' as official Russian scholarship in the USSR and Ukraine suggests, thus claiming that printing came to Ukraine from the 'elder brother' i.e. from Moscow and at the same time forgetting that the Lemko-Ukrainian, Sviatopolk Fiol' as early as 1491 was printing books in Cracow in Church-Slavonic, using the Cyrillic script known amongst Eastern Slavs, Moldavians and especially Ukrainians. Consequently, printing came to Ukraine from the West and not from Moscow.

But the crown of Ivan Fedorovych's printing skills is his Ostroz'ka Biblia of 1581. This is truely the pearl of Ukrainian printing or 'queen of books' as Dr. Maksym Boyko of the Volhynian Research Centre puts it.¹⁷ It appeared thanks to the great patron of Ukrainian culture, the founder of the Ostroz'ka Akademia (Academy of Ostrih, in Volhynia), Prince Konstantyn Ostroz'kyi (1526-1608). The prince at that time gathered around him a large group of scholars and commissioned them to translate the Bible from Hebrew, Latin and Greek into the Slavic language, which the Pole Petro Skarha considered unfit for Mass or for printing. The prince wanted to prove the contrary and to give the chance to have the necessary books for religious services as well as for the people in order to promote literacy amongst them. The printing of this Bible was commissioned by Prince Ostroz'kyi to the well-known printer Ivan Fedorovych who was even appointed manager of his printing works. On 30th May 1980 at the Harvard Institute of Ukrainian Studies an academic conference was held on the occasion of the 400 Anniversary of its first publication in conjunction with an exhibition of books mounted by Edward Kasinets, at that time the librarian of the Ukrainian collection at Harvard University.

^{13.} Bukvar Ivana Fedorova (An A-Z book by Ivan Fedoriv), Kyiv, Dnipro Publishers, 1975, 95 pp., facsimile copy from the original.

^{14.} Ivan Fedorov: Azbuka (The alphabet), Moscow, Prosvieshcheniye Publishers,

^{14.} Ivan Fedorov: Azbuka (The alphabet), Moscow, Prosvieshcheniye Publishers, without pagination, miniature edition: 9 cm.
15. Dr. O. Sokolyszyn: U 390 richya poyavy Apostola i Bukvarya Ivana Fedoro-vycha u L'vovi, (On the 390th Anniversary of the publication of the Apostol and Bukvar of Ivan Fedorovych, 8 pp., with ill., Lecture No. 22, T. Shevchenko Scientific Society, New York, 1964, (In Ukrainian).
16. Dr. O. Sokolyszyn: Istoriya vidnayden'a Bukvarya Ivana Fedorovycha, (The history of how the Bukvar of Ivan Fedorovych was found), London, Ukrainian Publishers, 1964, 12 pp., bibliography: pp. 9-12, (In Ukrainian).

The Ostroz'ka Biblia comprises 628 spacious pages or rather 1256 sides with 2 columns of 50 lines each with initial letters, illuminations and other decorative elements such as ligatures and the like. Two colours are used in the publication: black and red. In the introduction the Bible has two texts — in Church-Slavonic and in Greek. Two poems are included on its final 8 numbered pages, the first written by the Rector of the Ostroz'ka Akademia and the second probably by Harasym Smotryts'kyi. The first poem is dedicated to the heraldic arms of Prince Konstantyn Ostroz'kyi, the sponsor of this richly-ornated printed work, and the second poem in the final part of the preface tells about the bitter plight of the Ukrainian nation under the opression of the despotic rulers of that time. It is decorated, as we have already mentioned above, with fine patterns, characters, adornments, initial letters and illustrations. On the whole, there are about 3,240,000 printed characters in this publication. It was completed on 12 August 1581 or 7089¹⁸ according to an older way of date-calculation. An exact description of it has been given by Dr. Maksym Boyko in his monograph "Ostroz'ka Biblia — the Queen of Ukrainian Books", published in Bloomington, USA, in 1981. Also worth consulting in this connexion is Stepan Radion's bibliographical review of this particular publication.¹⁹

The Ostroz'ka Biblia was circulated in Eastern Europe and Ukraine and for this reason a significant number of copies have survived. At present, according to specialists working in this field, there are about 200 copies still extant to this day throughout the world. Around 117 are supposed to be in the RSFSR (Russian Federation), about 53 in Ukraine, about 10 in the United Kingdom, 9 in Poland, 7 in Bulgaria, 3 in the United States, 2 in West Germany and 1 each in Austria, Canada, Rumania and Sweden.

Between the years 1663-1810 it was republished 11 times in Moscow with the word *rus'kyi* changed to *velykoruskyi** in the preface with no alterations in the text. The same was also the case with editions which came out in Petrograd and also, as a matter of course, in Kyiv, Pochaiv and even in Serbia.

In the last few years studies on the printing activities of Ivan Fedorovych have been revived in a series of works in Polish by Mieczyslaw Gembarovych

18. Leningrad State University: Katalog Knyg Kyryllovskoy Pechaty: 16-17 vekov. (Catalogue of Books in Cyrillic script of the 16-17 C.). Edited by A. X. Garfunkel, Leningrad, Leningrad University Publishers, 1970, p. 18.

19. Stepan Radion: Catalog of the Publications of the Volhynian Bibliographic Center, Bloomington, Indiana, 1982, pp. 34-35. Item 18. The author gives an analytical description of the work of Dr. Maksym Boyko which appeared as Publikatsia Volyns'koho Bibliohrafichnoho Tsentru No. 18. The original work comprises 163 pp., including illustrations, (In English).

* Rus' is the ancient name for Ukraine, as in the name 'Kyivan Rus'', whereas velykorus'kyi — 'Great Russian' is a term invented by the Muscovite Tsars to distinguish between what in their eyes was 'Greater Russia' i.e. what was earlier 'Muscovy' and *Mala Rosiya* — 'Little Russia' — a derogatory term for Ukraine. (Ed. Note).

^{17.} Dr. Maksym Boyko: Ostroz'ka Biblia — the Queen of Books, Almanac of the Ukrainian National Association Inc., Jersey City—New York, Svoboda Publishers, 1981; pp. 201-207 with a facsimile of a page from the Ostroz'ka Biblia of 1581, (In Ukrainian).

"Ivan Fedorovych and His Work During the Years 1569-1583 in Relation to His Epoch" which appeared in two volumes of the annual library report in Wroclaw-Warsaw in 1969.

Also Y. D. Isavevich included in the collected volume Kniga, published in Moscow in 1974, an article entitled "The Final Years of the career of Ivan Fedorov" in connection with the 400 Anniversary of bookprinting in Ukraine which also has a series of reproductions including the title-page of the Ostroz'ka Biblia of 1581.20

The researchers in our own country. Ukraine, are not far behind. Proof of this is the 'Collection of Documents' dedicated to the 400 Anniversary of book-printing in Ukraine entitled "Ivan Fedoriv - the First Printer and His Successors in Ukraine (16th C. to the first half of the 17th C.)" which was published by Naukova Dumka in Kyiv (1975).²¹ Included are 137 documents, usually in Latin and Polish with the Ukrainian translation. From this source I would like to quote some passages as proof of Ivan Fedorovych's nationality. In Document No. 3 he is called Impressor Rutenus; Document No. 6 of 1574 states that he printed Libri Rutenici and Document No. 7 states that he was *Ivanus*, *impressor literarum rutenicalium* and so forth **

As can be seen from these publications, research into the history of printing is continuing and we can expect that before long it will bring us new valuable results. What needs to be done is to gather material and then conduct a proper and objective study.

The hard working life of this giant figure and corypheus in the history of Ukrainian printing came to an end on 6th December 1583 in L'viv where he was buried in the grounds of the Monastery of Onufryi. Since, the grave-stone has mysteriously vanished and still needs to be found. The building of this monastery has now been turned into a museum of the history of Ukrainian printing. However, thorough studies of the career of Ivan Fedorovych still await their badly needed objective researcher.

To conclude my lecture I wish to paraphrase the words of Prof. Ivan Ohienko, later the Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Canada and since deceased, to the effect that the 400 Anniversary of the publication of the 'pearl' of Ukranian printing, the Ostroz'ka Biblia of 1581 is truely a heyday of Ukrainian culture²² and this anniversary should be remembered by future generations.

(Translated from Ukrainian by *Ihor Kravec*) 20. Y. D. Isayevych: Poslednye Godi Deyatel'nosty Ivana Fedorova (The last years of Ivan Ferorov's career), published on the 400th Anniversary of printing in Ukraine. Moscow, Kniga Publishers, 1974, pp. 79-97, the publication includes illustrations and facsimiles, (In Russian).

21. Rada Ministriv Ukrains'koyi SSR (Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR) Central State Historical Archives of the Ukr. SSR: Ivan Fedorov — the First Printer in Ukraine and His Successors (16th- first half of the 17th C.), Kyiv, Naukova Dumka Publishers, 1975, 341 pp., (In Ukrainian).

** Rutenus was the Latin name for Rus' — the ancient name for 'Ukrainian', see

also previous note. 22. Prof. Ivan Ohienko: Svyato ukrains'koyi kul'tury (A celebration of Ukrainian culture), An outline history of the beginnings of Ukrainian printing, Nash Svit Publishers, Warsaw, 1924, 34 pp. with facsimiles of the L'viv Apostol of 1574 on p. 5.

Oleh MARTOVYCH

THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY

(On the 40th Anniversary since its formation in 1942) (Part 4)

The Soviet methods of combatting the Ukrainian Resistance Movement

In the Soviet methods of fighting the Ukrainian Resistance Movement we must distinguish two factors: (a) an ideological-political fight against Ukrainian "nationalism" which gave birth to the Ukrainian Resistance Movement, (b) an armed terroristic fight against the Ukrainian Resistance Movement itself.

In their ideological-political fight against Ukrainian nationalism, the Bolsheviks widely use (1) misinterpretation of historical facts concerning Ukrainian history and their unscientific explanation, (2) liquidation of all free centres of Ukrainian science by means of arrests, tortures, shootings, deportation of scientific workers, (3) suppression of whole series of scholarly works that had already been published, and destruction of works which were ready for publication, (4) terrorization of the Ukrainian scientific institutes and their workers.

In consequence of such measures, scientific and all academic work in Ukraine lost its objectivity and its value and assumed the character of a pseudo-scientific service to aid political propaganda and governmental designs.

This is especially true of research in Ukrainian history. As early as 1930, Prof. M. Hrushevsky, the head of the department of History at the Ukrainian Academy of Science in Kyiv, and the creator of the modern historical school, was exiled. At the same time, many renowned historians, such as Slabchenko, Vasylenko, Hermaize, and Ponomarenko were liquidated. After the re-occupation of the Western Ukraine, such West Ukrainian historians as Krypiakevych, Korduba, Terletskyj and many others were forced to make retractions, and to say that they had been led onto "false nationalist paths" by Michael Hrushevsky. Ukrainian history is now to be written and taught according to Stalin's prescriptions of 1932, "How to write the history of the Soviet people". This new history of Ukraine has two characteristics. The first is its slanting of national affairs to the political line of the Communist government of the Soviets. The second is adjusting this history to Marxist dialectics; then it becomes interwoven with quotations from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Thus, any historical work becomes simplified Communist literature, without any scientific value.

Because of this slant Soviet-Ukrainian historical books sharply diverge from the fundamental ideology of all Ukrainian historians outside the Soviet Union. Just as in the days of Tsarist Russia, the Kyivan period of Ukrainian history now has to be treated as a period common to both Ukrainian and Russian history, although it is a historical fact that the Russians first made their appearance as a national entity during the 12th century, in the form of the embryonic Suzdal-Rostov principality on the vast colonial stretches of the ancient Ukrainian Kyivan state. Ukrainian relations with Russia are presented either one-sidedly, or completely ignored if they are inimical and impossible to explain. The treaty of Pereyaslav, 1654, concluded by Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky is interpreted as one of "allegiance to the Muscovite Tsar", whereas in fact Khmelnytsky concluded a treaty of alliance with Muscovy with the provision that Ukraine will retain her full independence in all internal and external affairs. Also as during Tsarist times, Ukrainian historical personages who endeavoured to free Ukraine, such as the hetmans Vyhovsky, Doroshenko and especially Mazepa, were politically anathemized by the Reds. Hetman Ivan Mazepa, the nationalist who declared war against Russia, is regarded as a traitor, and an enemy of the Ukrainian people. The same is said of *Otaman* Simon Petlura, the leader of the Ukrainian national forces in the Ukrainian War of Independence (1918-1921) and the Ukrainian struggle for independence is presented as the work of bourgeois elements opposing the interests of the workmen and peasants of Ukraine, although exactly the contrary was the case. The entire interpretation of Ukrainian history aims to show the paths along which Ukraine is being brought closer to Russia, under the tutelage of the Russians playing the role of the "elder brother" among the enslaved peoples, i.e. to the further enslavement of Ukraine.

After the re-occupation of Western Ukraine the Russians disbanded the Shevchenko Scientific Society at Lviv (which is now celebrating its seventyfifth anniversary, in emigration). For three quarters of a century, since its foundation in 1873, it has been the outstanding centre of all Ukrainian scientific and scholarly work.

As to the Ukrainian language, Stalin was willing to allow its existence but he has made clear that all articles written in this language must be approved by the "big brother" of the Ukrainians, the Russian people, and by the Supreme Politbureau of the Communist Party sitting in Moscow and dictating the destiny of the entire Soviet Union. He made it clear that the culture of Ukraine is to be Communist-Russian culture, merely expressed in Ukrainian.

Russian Communism is trying to attack the very soul of Ukraine. It is attacking not only the leaders but also the masses. It is trying to eradicate all those principles under which the Ukrainians, like other Christian peoples, have lived for nearly one thousand years. Yet the attack too, is failing, for apart from physical extermination, the spirit of the Ukrainians is unquenchable. An attempt can be made to corrupt by the shameless rewriting of the Ukrainian past, the distortion of the world of Ukrainian literature, and the slandering of the great men of the past and present, but truth will ultimately prevail.

The attack of the Communist Party and its agencies on Ukrainian literature grew to tremendous proportions. It began with the distortion of the classics of Ukrainian literature. The fate of Shevchenko, the greatest national poet of Ukraine (1814-1861) is typical: With monotonous regularity, the Soviet critics stress his friendship with the Russian radicals of his day. They ignore his great works which emphasize cultural differences and historical diversity between Russia and Ukraine. Such works as the Rozryta mohyla (The Plundered Grave), where the poet dealt with the past of Ukraine and her relations with Russia, are entirely ommitted and the poet is only shown as a foe of the old Tsarist order and not a foe of Russian imperialism. The attack of the Russian Communists on Ukrainian literature finished with the physical extermination of Ukrainian writers and critics. Ruthless terror conducted against Ukrainian literature in 1932-1939 and after the Second World War, caused the death of hundreds of Ukrainian authors and critics. Among the hundreds of Ukrainian writers executed by the Soviets, we find talents honoured and known not only in Ukraine, but throughout Europe.

After the Second World War a new wave of terror flooded the country, bringing with it new persecution of writers and artists. Despite continuous terror, what is surprising, is how Ukrainian literature perpetually regenerates itself. At times when all seems to be lost and extinguished, new names appear, new works are born. By the very existence of Ukrainian literature, in spite of all the cruel and ruthless persecution, the Ukrainian nation proves that it never was and never will be reconciled with the Russian occupiers. Ukrainian literature still exists and the bare fact of its existence is a miracle and proof of the unyielding spirit of the people in the struggle for independence.

At the XVII Congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party, Prime Minister Khrushchev charged that Ukrainian communists failed "to organize widespread criticism of the hostile Ukrainian bourgeois Nationalist ideology in the literature and the press". He complained that "owing to this, there have been ideological mistakes and distortions, attempts to allow rebirth of the bourgeois Nationalist concepts of the historian Hrushevsky and his school, in some books, magazines, and newspapers". At the meetings of the Union of Ukrainian Writers in Kyiv, several writers and editors were criticized and censured for spreading theories tainted with Ukrainian nationalism. They were said to have propagated Ukrainian nationalist ideas, alien to the Soviet ideology", according to the opinion of the Politbureau. Furthermore, it was charged that in their books, they had "ignored progressive leaders in Soviet literature, exaggerated the influence of Western European literature, and failed to emphasize the ties between Russian and Ukrainian literature". Several writers and poets were denounced for "forgetting fundamental ideological demands of the Party". L. Smiliansky was accused because he "openly opposed the Ukrainian people and culture to the Russian people and culture". Another writer, A. Kundzich, was charged with spreading the idea of "patriarchal self-generating origins of Ukraine's people and its culture". A woman writer, V. Cherednychenko, "idealized the remote past and distorted the life of the Soviet people". L. Kovalenko, I. Pilhuk, G. Lazarevsky and Ostap Vyshnya, all critics, were severely criticized for 'distorting' the actual conditions of Soviet life.

Premier Khrushchev's revelations, as well as all these "criticisms and self-criticisms" at the meetings of the Ukrainian writers and critics show that, despite the policy of persecution and mass deportation, the Ukrainians remain bitterly opposed to Stalin's régime and do not cease fighting for their liberation. And we must not forget that, under Soviet conditions, such "criticisms and self-criticisms" mean as usual deportation of a writer to Siberia, or in the best case 'expulsion' from literature.

Another subversive tool of the ideological and political fight against the Ukrainian Resistance Movement, is the slandering of it and its leaders throughout the Soviet Union and the whole world. By this means, the Soviets aim to undermine the confidence of the Ukrainian people and of the whole world in the Ukrainian Resistance Movement. In their written and oral propaganda against the Ukrainian Resistance Movement, the Bolsheviks speak of an "independent" Ukraine as a "German" or an "Austrian" intrigue to divide "indivisible Russia". Therefore, they speak of "Ukrainian-German" Nationalists as Nazi-German "collaborators" and "traitors" who "sold Ukraine to Germans". In speaking to the Western World the Bolsheviks maintain that the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) is composed of "armed terroristic gangs which raid and pillage the villages and murder their population", or that they are "fascists", "Red Army deserters". "Vlassov army" or other "criminal elements". Even the Minister of the Ukrainian SSR Mr. D. Manuilsky, in his address delivered at the Conference of teachers of Western Ukraine on January 6, 1945 (i.e. on Christmas Eve according to the Greek-Catholic rite!) maintained that the UPA had "staged massacres of the Ukrainian population, committed atrocious crimes, tortures, and murders, forced the Ukrainians into German slavery, and had deceived the Ukrainian people by saying that they had gone underground to struggle against the Germans".

The spreading of lies about the Ukrainian Resistance Movement is widely used in Bolshevik propaganda. Now the UPA and the Ukrainian Resistance Movement are no longer called the "hirelings of German Nazi fascists" but the "spies" and "diversionists" either of the Vatican or of "American warmongers". The term "Ukrainian-German" Nationalists has disappeared from the Soviet press and, gradually, has changed to "Ukrainian-American" Nationalists. The Soviets are attempting to convince the population at large to believe that the UPA has entered the "service of American fascists". In January 1948, at the celebration of the "30th Anniversary" of their bloody and barbarous conquest of Ukraine, Premier Khrushchev delivered a lengthy harangue against the Ukrainian Resistance Movement, and, of course, against the United States and Great Britain in the presence of Molotov who himself was dispatched by the Kremlin to deliver "a message of friendship" to the Ukrainian people from Stalin. Khrushchev claimed that the USA and Great Britain are actively supporting the Ukrainian underground. After admitting that the Ukrainian Resistance Movement had been giving some serious trouble to the MVD-MGB and the entire Soviet administration in Ukraine, Khrushchev called upon the Ukrainians themselves to "exterminate" the Ukrainian nationalist elements, "lackeys of the Anglo-Saxon powers, the worst enemies of democracy and humanity".

The last appellation — "lackeys of the Anglo-Saxon powers" — is significant because of the time as well as the linking of the USA and Great Britain with the Ukrainian underground. First, it becomes evident that the opposition against the totalitarian power of Soviet Russia in Ukraine is not negligible; second, the Russians apparently intend to identify the Ukrainian Resistance Movement with the United States and Great Britain, now their top enemies in the Russian hate-campaign against the West.

But this is not the first time that the Russians have found it expedient to tag the Ukrainian Liberation Movement as a foreign intrigue, dumped upon Ukrainian soil. For example, at the time of the Polish uprising, 1863-64, the Ukrainian movement was branded as a "Polish intrigue". Before the First World War it was called a "German intrigue", after the fall of the Ukrainian democratic state in 1921 all Ukrainian patriots were branded "agents of capitalist intervention" and were dealt with accordingly. In the early thirties when fascism and nazism appeared on the horizon, all Ukrainians wishing liberation from Russia became "Hitler's and Mussolini's spies". Significantly, this calumny was skilfully disseminated by Russian agents in the countries of the West, especially the United States. As a result, even today, when one country after another falls under Soviet despotism, there still are Americans and sundry "experts" who cling to this pro-Soviet line.

It is extremely disturbing to note the degree to which the Russians have succeeded with their propaganda. Ukrainian insurgents, these ordinary people, akin to American Revolutionary heroes, have been accepted as "bandits", "fascist hirelings", "SS-men", etc. by certain organs of the Wesern democratic press. In this case the Western pressmen have swallowed not only the Red bait hook, but also the line and sinker.

The truth is one and it is "indivisible". The truth is, the Ukrainians are now fighting for those ideals which are common to the whole Western civilized world and it is the chief reason for such a hate propaganda against them by the Soviet "super-democrats" of Moscow.

It must be emphasized here that the lies spread by the Bolsheviks are very easily accepted by the Western world. The basis of the ideal of a free press has been the idea that by informing the people of the true facts

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involved, they will sooner and better draw true and logical conclusions, and their resultant acts will thereby be just and of benefit to the common welfare. This idealistic policy is daily implemented by the American and Western European press in their coverage of what goes on in American or Western European life. But in regard to events which take place in eastern Europe, the exceptions from this golden rule are very seldom. Unfortunately not only the Ukrainian Resistance Movement is misrepresented and maligned all over the world, but also the story of the heroic Ukrainian Resistance against both the Nazis and the Communists during the last war, and the facts of national and religious persecutions by the Soviets, today, are completely ignored or distorted, if not silenced by the world press under the influence of Kremlin propagandists and their press agents all over the world.

Experience in Ukraine with Soviet tyranny tells us that the Soviets often use deceit and lies to further their political ambitions. Lenin himself stated that "we have to use any ruse, dodges, tricks, cunning, unlawful methods, concealment, veiling of truth" in daily political manipulation. By this weapon of Bolshevik strategy, the Ukrainians and their sympathetic friends everywhere were denounced as "fascists" by the genuine scarlet fascists in Moscow. By means of this weapon, any group in the world courageous enough to raise its voice against the savageries of Soviet dictatorship is conveniently dubbed "fascist" by the Soviet political opium dealers. By means of this weapon, any patriot-fighter for liberation of a nation subjugated by Reds is dubbed a "bandit", any democrat— "bourgeois "nationalist", anyone who criticizes the Soviet system—a "warmonger". The ideological basis of this Soviet weapon is a Muscovite megalomania based on a bottomless immorality, sanctioning as morally good every lie, falsehood, or crime against a non-Communist person, nation or state.

The old world of Western civilization must defend itself against the Soviet malicious propaganda, or surrender to Communist totalitarianism. The Ukrainian Resistance Movement can be its valuable ally in the fight, not only against the complete enslavement of the body, or the free minds but the free souls of the rest of the world.

In their armed-terroristic fight against the Ukrainian Resistance Movement and its armed branches, the UPA, the Bolsheviks applied the following measures: (a) broad actions carried out by the army and police troops supported by artillery, tanks, and aeroplanes against the UPA units, (b) the garrisoning and the prolonged blockading of villages and woods in the insurgent territories, (c) sudden round-ups in villages and woods, (d) the deforestation of the country by the burning of the forests, (e) the use of bacteriological warfare, (f) the organization of planned starvation of the Ukrainian population, (g) the public torturing and murdering of the Ukrainian insurgents, and their relatives as well as the murdering of the Ukrainian population, (h) the organization of special gangs for fighting the UPA, (j) the forcible deportation of the population to Siberian and Kazakh deserts as well as farther east and north, (k) the economic pillaging of the population, (1) the amnesty and propaganda campaign against the Ukrainian Resistance Movement.

During the spring and summer of 1944, the Red Army began advancing into insurgent territory. The Soviet commanders decided that they were sufficiently strong to deliver one sweeping *coup de grâce* to the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). Consequently, the Red commanders worked out an almost brilliant plan for combatting the UPA-North operating in Volhynia and Polissia. They aimed to divide it into two parts separating it at the same time from the UPA West and South. The Soviets decided to start their first action against the UPA-North in April, 1944, just after seizing this territory from the Germans. The Red Command thought that if one expedition force could pin the UPA forces in the Polissia marshes, and the other sweep around their left flank in the Kovel area, the chief mobile force consisting of 30,000 elite troops, largely cavalry and tanks, would encircle the main UPA forces of the UPA-North in the Kremyanets area and capture or destroy them. The plan was carried out.

The proceedings during such an action which became a model for all future actions, against the UPA are as follows. First the insurgent territory is saturated with spies weeks in advance. Then the troops are concentrated in the villages and woods in the vicinity of the target. Strong reconnaissance troops are sent to find out the position of the enemy. The heavy equipment is moved up and the attack is opened. The woods and villages are advanced upon by the troops in skirmish line. The insurgent nests are attacked and the insurgents are pushed back into the waiting arms of the blocking forces called "bags".

The first action against the UPA-North began in April, 1944, by blocking the Kovel area in Western Volhynia. Here two Red Army divisions were used in combatting the UPA and in cutting it off from the front rear area. Another expedition force started blocking the access to the Polissia marshes in the north. Here another 2 divisions were used. The chief mobile force consisting of 3 divisions supported from the air and 2 tank brigades encircled the Kremyanets area in southern Volhynia in April, 1944, aiming at the destruction of the main forces of the UPA-North who had their base in this area. The action ended with a big battle at Hurby, on April 24, 1944. This battle ended with a partial victory for the Ukrainian insurgents. Around 5,000 UPA fighters were able to escape from the encirclement inflicting on the attacking Soviets heavy casualties (at least 33% of the total strength of the Red infantry). However, the Ukrainian casualties were also very high. Many Ukrainians were either killed or wounded, for instance, Gen. A. Stupnytsky, chief of staff of the UPA fell in this battle. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) survived many actions of this kind. The first action against the UPA base in the Carpathians, the 'Black Forest' prov. Ivano-Frankivske) was carried out by the same scheme using 2 Red divisions between 1st and 4th of November, 1944. This attack was forced back by forces of the "Black Forest" causing the Soviets heavy

casualties. Immediately all rayon centres in the vicinity of the 'Black Forest' were attacked by the advancing victorious insurgent units. Unsuccessful also was the attack of one Red Army division and of numerous police troops against the so-called "Hutsul Republic" in the "Black Mountains" (south-eastern part of the Carpathians). This started the Khrushchev-Rvassny offensive of April, 1945. Concerning this operation, the commander of the UPA group, "Hoverlia", stated in his report of June 30, 1945: "The battalions of my group pushed back the attack of the 271st Red Rifle Division supported by many NKVD troops, and raided 8 administrative centres. The death roll of the enemy in these incidents was 3.975 persons including 6 majors, 10 captains, 30 lieutenants, 17 NKVD officers and party leaders and 1,385 persons wounded, 21 truck-loads and 5 locomotives were destroyed, 9 bridges were blown up and 22 machine guns, 103 sub-machine guns, 29 automatic rifles, 321 rifles, 38 pistols and ammunition were captured. Our losses: 215 killed and 129 wounded fighters. 20 fighters blew themselves to pieces with hand grenades in order not to be captured alive by the enemy."

Further actions of the same nature were: (1) the attack on the forest block Yaniv-Zhovkva-Yavoriv to the north-west of Lviv, in June 1945, carried out by 2 divisions supported by tanks and air-planes, (2) the simultaneous attack of 2 divisions on the forest Lopatyn-Hrycevola-Toporiv-Triyca north-east of Lviv in June and July on 1945, (3) the second operation against the "Black Forest" in July, 1945, carried out by 3 Red divisions with the support of the air force and NKVD-troops, (4) the operation against the Zavadivsky forest between Kovel and Volodymyr Volynsky in July, 1945. All these operations aimed at the total destruction of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and were part of the big Khrushchev-Ryassny offensive in 1945 in which 3 army corps and many divisions of NKVD troops were used against the UPA in the provinces, Ivano-Frankivske, Drohobych, Lviv, and Volhynia (Lutsk). This offensive had to be withdrawn because the Red Army units used in it showed themselves to be rather unreliable in the fight against the UPA.

The big Ryassny-Moskalenko offensive against the UPA started in December, 1945, and lasted until June, 1946. It was preceded by the attack against the UPA mountain nests of Hoverlia and Chornohora, in October and November, 1945. This time 3 elite NKVD divisions could not succeed in ejecting the Ukrainian insurgents from the Carpathian mountains. The NKVD troops waged campaign of terror unheard of before against the mountains people (Hutsuls) and tried to annihilate the population of the mountain *rayons* by a terrible blockade which caused hunger and typhus among the civilian population. The UPA carried out a general inoculation against typhus and shipped large quantities of food from Rumania and Hungary into the *rayons* threatened by starvation.

The Ryassny-Moskalenko offensive against the UPA practically ended with the assassination of Gen. Col. Moskalenko. Even this offensive could not prevent the Ukrainian population from boycotting the February, 1946, elections to the Supreme Soviet, and could not succeed in liquidating the Ukrainian Resistance Movement.

The last big action of this kind was the Swierczewski offensive against UPA-West from February to July, 1947. Gen. Swierczewski was killed during this offensive on March 27, 1947. Following his assassination, a tripartite pact between Soviet-Russia, Poland, and Czechoslovakia was concluded aiming at the total destruction of UPA-West. Large enemy forces were thrown into action. According to this anti-Partisan pact, Poland brought into action one motorized infantry corps of three divisions, the Soviet Command of the Sub-Carpathian Military Area at Lviv brought one tank division and special anti-partisan units, and Czechoslovakia brought one mountain brigade. All these troops were supported by the Soviet and Polish air force. Fierce fighting continued in a large area during that spring and summer of 1947. The centre of this anti-partisan activity was the district Lisko in south-eastern Poland. A Soviet tank brigade passed the Soviet-Polish frontier and advanced against the main insurgent force. With the help of Polish troops, it tried to encircle the insurgents, but the latter succeeded in escaping southwards and reached Slovakia and Carpatho-Ukraine. Another group of Ukrainian insurgents passed the river Sian and reached Ukrainian territory concealing itself in the forests north of Lviv. Still another group of the UPA escaped northwards in the direction of the Polissia marshes. The insurgent group under the command of Mjr. Bayda crossed into Slovakia and reached the US Zone of occupation in Germany in September, 1947, after a march of 1500 km across Czechoslovakia and Austria.

At the time of these big operations the Bolsheviks did not cease systematically to harrass the UPA. They blockaded or raided villages and woods in the insurgent territory. They tried to interfere with UPA preparations, in their insurgents' attempts to create suitable winter quarters, winter stores, acquiring clothing and other goods The garrisoning of soldiers in the insurgent territory lasted for the duration of the Ryassny-Moskalenko offensive in 1946. This assignment was given by the Soviets to the special NKVD-NKGB troops allowing them to murder any Ukrainian they pleased. They were allowed to rape women and to pillage houses. The Ukrainian Resistance Movement could, in fact, fill a big "Black Book" recounting all these despicable acts of violence, atrocious crimes, tortures and murders committed by the NKVD - a book no less terrifying than the accusations drawn up by the peoples of Europe against the German Nazis. They ravaged like ferocious beasts, and tortured the population in order to intimidate the Ukrainian people. The terror was unparalleled even in the history of Muscovy with the "Oprichina" of Ivan the Terrible and the "okhranka" of the Tsars. But they did not succeed in breaking the spirit of the Ukrainian people. They only brought about a vast hatred of the Soviet régime and nothing more.

During the big Ryassny-Moskalenko offensive against the UPA. the Bolsheviks carried out a large scale deforestation of the country to expose UPA concentrations. As usual, the forests were burned down. The deforestation was usually limited to the area actually known to be held by partisans. The targeted area was encircled by NKVD troops and the encircling lines were supposed to prevent the insurgents from escaping from the burning forest. On a given signal airplanes threw incendiary bombs on the forest. If the insurgents were in the area, they were supposed to be burnt alive or to disperse. There were many actions of this kind in Western Ukraine. By Spring, 1946, all pine woods in the Kovel area (Volhynia) were completely burned down. By Summer, 1946, this action embraced the area of the Black Forest and the Hrycevola, Lopatyn Forest in the province of Lviv. The material losses caused by such a "deforestation" were tremendous. Only between Toporiv and Triyca in the north-eastern part of the province of Lviv, nearly 5,000 ha of forest were completely burned down.

Despite the fact that bacteriological warfare is forbidden by international treaties, the Bolsheviks used it in the fight against the UPA. The Ukrainian Resistance Movement has many records in its archives that such methods were used both against the UPA and against the Ukrainian civilian population. The Bolsheviks knew that the UPA was buying anti-toxin on the black market, so, in 1946, the Soviet agents began to sell poisoned injections in large quantities. The victims of these injections died in extreme pain. Soon the trick was discovered and the UPA ceased buying medicines on the local black market and began buying them in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and even in Germany. The UPA had to overcome great difficulty in mastering this situation. It organized whole expeditions to buy medicines in Warsaw, Cracow, Katowice, Budapest and Bratislava, Vienna and Prague and to bring them back to its bases in the Carpathian mountains. This is another story of the supreme heroism of Ukrainian men and women in their fight against the vile and contemptibly low methods of the "most democratic state" in the world.

We have already mentioned the planned starvation of the mountain population in the Carpathians. By mounting a strict blockade of the mountain rayons, the Soviets aimed to deprive the UPA of its natural bases. The same method was applied in the marshy rayons of Polissia, which had been another natural base for the UPA. In this area the Ukrainian people were not allowed to move from village to village and no food was brought into the cooperatives. Intensive fishing in the Prypjat river and in its tributaries ordered by the UPA was the sole possible means of survival. The population of the Carpathians was saved by large quantities of food brought in by armed UPA expeditions from Hungary and Rumania. Under the protection of armed detachments of the UPA, the Ukrainian mountains people from the threatened rayons, went to Hungary and Rumania and brought back necessary quantities of food to replenish the stores in the last weeks before the new harvest. Alarming news which came to the West in 1948 from Carpatho-Ukraine confirmed earlier rumours that large scale hunger and starvation broke out in that year. Famine raged in such traditionally rich and fertile areas as the districts of Uzhorod, Mukachiv and Berehovo. The most likely reason was that the Soviets confiscated the bulk of the crop in order to force Ukrainan peasants into the much hated collective farms.

The Soviet sponsored famine is not a new instrument for them in attaining their economic and political ends. One might recall that in the years 1932–1933 millions of Ukrainian peasants died from starvation. Moscow used the same device again in Western Ukraine and in Carpatho-Ukraine, which not only succeeded in introducing collectivization, but in exterminating the recalcitrant Ukrainians as well.

It is impossible to speak without a feeling of boundless anger and indignation at the savageries committed by the Ryassny-Moskalenko troops during their big offensive against the UPA, and the peace-loving Ukrainian population. All these methods are a brazen mockery of the phrase "Freedom from Fear". "The function of compulsion inside the country has ceased, has withered away," Stalin announced in 1939. "The exploiters are no more and there is no one to suppress any more." Why if "there is no one to suppress any more" was it necessary to apply such sadistic methods of extermination to the Ukrainian people in 1946? Why was it necessary to cut off heads with axes, to saw the bodies of captured insurgents in two, to strangle them with ropes and to burn them in locked houses, to bury them alive and to slaughter whole families including small children? Why was it necessary to execute all this torture in public? In the village squares of the Western Ukraine captured insurgents were boiled and roasted alive, the girls were violated in public, the wounded were summarily executed and the whole population of the "insurgent villages" were slaughtered systematically until but a few were left in the ruins of their villages. All of this, in order to "edify" the citizens and to compel them to obey the Bolshevik criminals.

The atrocities which were committed in the name of the "people" were not accidental abuses by the Ryassny-Moskalenko special troops. The "Red terror" was a recognized and integral element in the process of subjugating the nation to the Bolshevik will. Lenin himself declared "No dictatorship of the Proletariat is to be thought of without terror and violence". And this terror and violence was applied *en masse* in Western Ukraine during the sorrowful days of Spring and Summer of 1946. Even the corpses and graves of the dead insurgents were desecrated by the Bolshevik beast in uniform.

500 years ago, Ivan the Terrible, Tsar from 1544 to 1584 introduced into Russian life the peculiar institution which has continued to exist until the present day: the secret political Police. Ivan called the directing organ of this police, the *Oprichina* and its members the *Oprichniki*. Their duty was to ferret out disloyalty to the Tsar and to punish it with the most severe cruelty. Ivan the Terrible's *Oprichina* had become the *Prikaz* of Peter the "Great" and the *Okhrana* of the Tsars, then Lenin's Cheka, then Stalin's GPU, then his NKVD, MVD and MGB. Its name had changed, but its task remained unchanged: to sniff out and sweep away ruthlessly all opposition to the dictator. Its ear was everywhere. NKVD-MGB-MVD developed spying to a fine art and made it the dominant trait in Russian life. In every establishment, school, institution there is a *spetsotdiel*. a branch of the MVD-MGB which openly spies on every worker, every pupil, every employee. Beside the "special department" there are hundreds of thousands of *secsots* (secret spies) bought with money, or forced by fear. Every second Russian might be a spy.

In the first days after their arrival in Western Ukraine the Bolsheviks tried to organize a network of *secsots* among the Ukrainian population. For this purpose, they arrested the Ukrainian youth *en masse* and afterwards turned them lose. This complicated the task of the UPA because it was known that among these boys and girls hundreds were pressed into the services of the NKVD. The UPA and SB had to check all persons set free to find out whether they were *secsots* or not. This required much effort on the part of the UPA and SB, but they preferred to do that than to "liquidate" all suspects as was intended by the NKVD.

Having had no success in building up a secsot network among the Ukrainian population, the Bolsheviks laid special stress on placing their agents in the UPA and OUN attempting to disorganize them from the inside. Thus, initially, they set free all prisoners taken in battles in order to mislead the counter-agents of the UPA and SB. Of course, it was a hard task to determine who had volunteered for the job of an agent-provocateur and who had not. The recruited agents-provocateurs tried to infiltrate the ranks of the UPA and to report on proceedings. To dispel any possible doubts the NKVD created situations which would clear their agents from any suspicion. It organized "break-outs" from prisons, "flights" from detention camps, etc. But the UPA, and SB knew that the odds were great against such a freed prisoner being a stooge. Therefore, all those who returned had to pass through a careful screening and observation, before they were again admitted in positions of importance. Having once been in Bolshevik hands creates the highest suspicion. Such an agent-provocateur can sit in the underground bunker for months doing nothing suspicious and behaving normally. The Bolsheviks do not rush such agents into action knowing that the more their man has slipped into the confidence of the UPA the more he can achieve.

A certain number of the Ukrainian insurgents, softened up by the Soviet amnesty, went out of the woods and took up residence in the Bolshevik controlled areas. To encourage this group the Bolsheviks let the first groups go free. Some of them were afterwards selected for acts of provocation. They were used in the assassination of underground leaders, and to disclose the underground shelters and stores. The Bolsheviks expected the Ukrainian SB to act indiscriminately and to kill the pardoned fighters thus creating a tension among the population. But the SB proceeded cautiously and acted promptly only in verified cases. Victims who agreed to cooperate with the NKVD found themselves trapped in the cross-fire between the two sides, so sometimes committed suicide or tried to hide themselves.

Another method was to send "rats" to the UPA. Red army and police officers with an excellent knowledge of the Ukrainian language or sometimes without, if they were Georgians, Uzbeks, or the like, approached the UPA, presented themselves as anti-Bolsheviks and offered their services. They tried to gain the confidence of the UPA and did not refuse any means to achieve it. A Georgian, a major of NKVD and an agent-provocateur on a big scale, was admitted for service in the UPA. Trying to get the full confidence of the command he discovered the network of minor Bolshevik agents within the ranks of the UPA, put them before the UPA court-martial and executed the death sentence, hanging them with his own hands after the trial. Of course, he was allowed to do that by the all-powerful NKVD in order to get, in this way, a higher position in the ranks of the UPA and the full confidence of the UPA. In 1947, NKVD cpt. Chereshukin ordered an agent-provocateur to kill NKVD major Nosov, the chief of MGB in the rayon administration and former Red partisan, in order to get the full confidence of the dangerous insurgent group in this rayon which had not been willing to admit the agent-provocateur into its ranks. The shocking story of this assassination was told in UPA leaflets under the heading: "Why was Comrade Nosov killed?" and retold by the Ukrainian newspaper Ukrainian Tribune in its coverage from June 30, 1949. Another fact illustrating the Bolshevik methods in setting their agents-provocateurs within the ranks of the UPA was told in the reports of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement. One day, in 1946, a "political prisoner" was brought into a village office near Lviv. He was under the guard of 2 NKVD officers and 4 NKVD men. The population of this village was called into the office and asked to "recognize" the man. Nobody knew him, Asked about his name the "prisoner" did not answer the questions at all and was severely beaten accordingly. During the questioning, one of the NKVD officers put his pistol on the table. Suddenly the "prisoner" seized the pistol from the table, shot another officer of NKVD who was in his way and ran from the room. The ordered "chase" brought no results. The "prisoner" could not be found because the local population gave him protection. He told the man who gave him shelter that he was an officer of the UPA and asked him to contact the nearest group of the UPA. It was done. But there, despite the staging of the shooting he was still held under suspicion and was soon disclosed as an officer of the NKVD sent to the UPA with a special job. The whole "theatre" of the shooting in a village-office was organized by NKVD in order to gain the confidence of the local population and the "dead" officer was a political prisoner dressed up as an officer of the NKVD.

The main efforts of the NKVD in combatting the Ukrainian Resistance

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Movement are directed towards setting up a network of the *agents-pro-vocateurs* within the ranks of the UPA and of affiliated organizations. But many of these efforts, according to the secret instructions of Gen. Saburov, chief of MGB in the province of Drohobych, failed because of excellent counter-measures by the Ukrainian SB.

In their war against the Ukrainian Resistance Movement, the Bolsheviks used false bands of supposed Ukrainian insurgents. The Bolsheviks disguised as Ukrainian insurgents, raided Ukrainian villages and pillaged them in order to provoke the opposition of the population to the Ukrainian Resistance Movement. In other cases such "insurgents" sought shelter and help in order to find out which people sympathize with the UPA. At the beginning of the struggle against the Soviets, such a masquerade was very dangerous and caused much harm, as the Ukrainian population showed an open sympathy to every manifestation of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement. But later such methods were very well known all over Ukraine and, therefore, did not meet with any success. The alleged "insurgents" who came to the village without contacts with the local representatives of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement, received no aid and support from the Ukrainian population.

The bands recruited from former insurgents and from the lowest characters called *istrebiteli* were also very dangerous. They knew the local conditions and the language very well. Extreme effort had to be used to neutralize them. They were exterminated without pity. Later, their ranks became considerably thinned out and they limited their activity to guarding warehouses and administrative buildings.

In order to combat the Ukrainian Resistance Movement the Soviets ordered the registration of the Ukrainian population. All inhabitants had to be registered in the local soviet office and the lists of the present population had to be stuck on the door. By February, 1946, the Bolsheviks began to confiscate the property of the Ukrainians whose relatives were with the UPA. When a shot was fired in the village, the Soviets used to burn down the section of the houses from which the shot came and to murder on the spot the people of the neighbouring houses. In the village of Berlohy, county Kalush, the Bolsheviks murdered 53 innocent peasants as a reprisal for the murdering of only one Bolshevik. Many incidents of public torture, murder and pillage directed against the Ukrainians were reported from all parts of Ukraine.

Soon the Bolsheviks realized that the only means of exterminating the Ukrainian Resistance Movement was to deport the Ukrainian people who gave their full support to the Ukrainian Resistance Movement. As early as 1945, the Bolsheviks started their infamous deportations to Siberia and Kazakhstan. The Bolsheviks then picked out some UPA sympathizers in order to intimidate the remaining population. In 1946, they started the mass deportation, which continues even now. On the night of October 20–21, 1947, the Bolsheviks started to deport people in unprecedented numbers,

over 500,000 to 800,000 people, or one fifth to one fourth of the population of the Western Ukraine were uprooted.

A month before the operation, the MVD collected barred cattle wagons at all the railway stations. Units of the MVD-MGB forces, "istrebiteli" (destruction battalions) and units of the Soviet army were billeted all over the countryside under the pretext of operations against the resistance groups.

The majority of the locally prominent people were entered on the deportation lists on charges of contact with the Ukrainian Resistance Movement, of having relatives abroad, of having "collaborated" with the Germans, etc.

After the preparations, the villages were surrounded and the deportees arrested. The whole action took twenty-four hours. The deportees were allowed to take with them only luggage they were able to carry, and no information was vouchsafed on their ultimate destination. Later it transpired that the majority was taken to Kazakhstan.

Those who managed to weather the fatal twenty-four hours in hiding, were not troubled later, and remained safe until the next deportation.

Big deportations took place in March and April, 1949, from the southern part of former East Galicia and the Kyiv province. In many parts of Ukraine the population was in a state of panic for fear of deportation. Often the MVD dragged the people directly from their places of work to the deportation trains. The general spirit was one of revolt and partisan activities sprung up with renewed vigour, especially in the Eastern Carpathians and Volhynia. The Soviet authorities combatted the Ukrainian Resistance Movement by deporting the inhabitants of whole villages as soon as any of them were suspected of helping the partisans.

That the deportation at the time was a really large scale action is substantiated by the fact that two regular divisions of the Soviet army were transferred to Ukraine from Turkestan to help the MVD in the great round-ups.

Foreseeing the deportation, the Ukrainian Resistance Movement issued printed instructions on how to behave in case of deportation. They ordered the Ukrainian population to organize an active and passive resistance against the deportation, to hide themselves in the woods and forests, to erect special underground shelters and hiding places in order to avoid deportation. Of course, the UPA detachments stood in defence of the deportees with all their forces. Here we give a report of a person who escaped the deportation: "In the spring of 1948 the Bolsheviks began a forcible collectivization in the districts of Zhovkva and Rava. Many peasants were arrested, among them the escapee. They was accused of campaigning against collectivization. All arrested were transferred to the infamous Brygidky prison in Lviv, where at least 400 other Ukrainians were detained. Most of them were peasant youths, including children between the years of 10 and 14, who were arrested for putting wreaths on the graves of UPA fighters killed in action. On June 24, 1948, all the arrested were taken from the Brigidky prison and put on a cattle train destined for the central parts of the Soviet Union. The transport had 50 wagons, each containing 50 men. Leaving Lviv at night, the train was stopped a few kilometres outside the city by a raiding party. The wagons were broken open and their occupants freed. One of the attackers identified the raiding party as the UPA and advised the released Ukrainian youths to hide from the Bolsheviks for "very soon we will need all able-bodied men for an important task". The MVD guards were either killed or taken away by the insurgents." (Ukrainian Word, a Ukrainian newspaper in the British zone, Dec. 5, 1948).

The population obeyed the orders of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement and, thus, the Bolsheviks could deport only 150,000 men and women instead of 500,000. The rest remained in the country. Settlers from Russia who were resettled on the farms of the deportees were summoned to leave for their homes, and, in case of resistance, they were forcibly evicted. Only Ukrainians from other provinces were allowed to settle on the farms of the deportees.

The amnesty and propaganda campaign was an attempt by the Communist Party and the Soviet government of Ukraine to break down the morale of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement. To strengthen their appeals, the Soviets carried out blockades of the insurgent territory by massed troops, and then tried to whitewash their actions by blaming the underground for hardships on the population caused by their counter-measures against the UPA. They also forced the innocent people to sign the surrender applications and, afterwards they boasted of the great number of illegal partisans who allegedly gave up.

Before July, 1945, there were three appeals to the Ukrainian insurgents issued with a huge fanfare: September 1944, December 1944, and May 1945. In their last appeal, the Soviets boasted of their victory over Germany and threatened that this was the last appeal and that it would be followed by a merciless destruction of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement. In January, 1945, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR, D. Manuilsky, delivered a great speech before the teachers' convention in Lviv. While his harangue was entirely devoted to the Ukrainian Resistance Movement he promised in the name of the Soviet government to "pardon" all who would cease their anti-Soviet activities. Anti-Soviet activities, however, increased considerably after this speech and elections to the Supreme Soviet were boycotted everywhere in Western Ukraine.

One of the last 'siren-songs' was sung by the "Ukrainian' Minister of NKVD Gen. V. Ryassny on November 15, 1945, and was quoted above. It was distributed in the country by the spring and summer of 1946. There were not many that obeyed this order. Often the surrendering came from "holers", i.e. unorganized partisans and Red Army deserters who carried on a warfare of their own. The insurgents organized in the UPA seldom participated in such amnesty schemes. One of their rules was that no one

shall be captured alive and this rule was consistently observed by the boys and girls of the UPA.

Following the well-tested methods of the Russian MVD, the Czech Minister of the Interior issued an appeal to the "members of the UPA in Czechoslovakia". In it, the Czech Communist appealed to the Ukrainians as follows: "Kill your comrades, throw away your weapons and report to the NB" (the Czech Security Police). It concluded: "Surrender! You will live and work! The Slav truth will win!"

There was no doubt that the fight against the Bolsheviks was very hard and difficult. But the Ukrainian Resistance Movement was waging an implacable war against the Soviet forces. It was very efficient in fighting Soviet forces despite the fact that the occupation army and police forces had heavy weapons while the Ukrainian Resistance Movement had none, so that everything had to be seized, including munitions, because the Ukrainian fighters were not supplied and encouraged by the West. And even now the might of Soviet Russia has still not wiped out the indefatigable spirit of those years of armed struggle.

The Ukrainian Resistance Movement and the Western Powers

The United States has repeatedly shown its sympathy with the rights of peoples large and small to their self-determination. As early as January 8, 1918, President Wilson laid down "Fourteen Points" and proclaimed the right of self-determination for all peoples. Not only that, but as early as August, 1941, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill made a significant pronouncement, known as the Atlantic Charter, the principles of which bear upon the rights of people to select governments of their own choice by the will of the people themselves. The declaration of President Truman (Truman Doctrine) to the American Congress is in keeping with the above mentioned acts which represent the finest ideals of the American spirit.

Unfortunately, thanks to forces in the United States which still support the idea of "indivisibility" of "holy" (and despotic) "Mother Russia", attempts are being made to divert the United States from playing the role of the defender of all enslaved peoples of Eastern Europe. These forces, it seems make the United States forget its international pledges, as expressed in the Atlantic Charter, the Four Freedoms, and the Truman Doctrine. To our amazement and regret, American public opinion, and to some extent official policy, are to this day influenced greatly by these forces in the government, universities and the press.

The question arises: What will the United States do in the event of a showdown with Russia? Will a policy of errors continue to govern the American overall pattern for Eastern Europe, or will a realistic policy be evolved — a policy which will fully incorporate the factor of the anti-Soviet struggle of the enslaved nations? A positive programme, aiming at the total dismemberment of the Russian Empire and its substitution by a

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series of sovereign and independent states, would be the only unfailing stimulus for the non-Russian peoples to fight Russian-Soviet rulers. Such a programme would ensure success in the event of war. It would be disastrous, for example to import Kerensky and Co., or another Vlassov man who would not only maintain the Russian Empire, but try to expand it as well. For the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Cossacks, Armenians, Azerbaidjanians, Georgians, Turkestanis and the people of the three Baltic states, the only change would then be a turning back of history's clock a century to the autocracy of the Tsars.

The national question of the Soviet Union, the foremost problem of today's politics, has been too much neglected by the Anglo-Saxon world. The Communists and their fellow-travellers are spreading abroad the cry about "ethnic democracy" in the Soviet Union, about the first example in the world of the solution of the national problems in a country which is a mixture of nationalities. The existence in the Soviet Union of an "ethnic democracy", to use the phrase of Wallace, is just as much a bluff as is the existence of liberty, democracy, a free press, economic equality, etc., in that land of totalitarian dictatorship and terror. Ethnic democracy has never existed in the Soviet Union as it never existed in Russia. And it does not exist there today as it will not exist in any Russia, be it "white", or "red", "fascist" or "democratic".

What of the future? A hungry and agonizing world stands helpless. unable to make peace and return to prosperity and order, and in fear of a new war which might one day come. Communist intrigues, fifth columns. and partisan bands are roaming to extend still further the domain where human liberties are no more and where concentration camps and religious persecution are the order of the day. The United Nations in its present form seems to have only the choice of relapsing into futility or submitting to the masters of the Kremlin. A monopoly of atomic weapons is a very illusive one. The possession of a vast nuclear arsenal by the USSR constitutes an unimaginable danger to the Western nations and to world peace. There is no time to waste. The Soviet Union prepares aggression against Western nations as well as many nations in Asia as well. Its established and active network of fifth columns throughout the world, its past record of broken promises and treaties, its present record of obstruction in the making of a constructive policy with the Western nations, as well as its purposeful neglect of reciprocal relations with the West prove conclusively the immense danger the aggressive Soviet power is to Western civilization.

It is becoming increasingly evident in the United States that many objective minds studying the problem of Eastern Europe are ridding themselves of the myth of the homogeneity of Russia; an idea which is still propagated by numerous Russian emigrants. The unspeakable disservice done by these writers to the interests of the United States and to the democratic principle in the East, might well result in a repetition of the fatal mistake made by the democratic world at the end of World War I when the Western democratic powers supported all the anti-democratic, non-communist Russian forces to the fatal detriment of the one sole genuine democratic force, that of Ukrainian liberation. The inevitable outcome was, as we know, the perpetuation of the Russian Empire as a "red" régime instead of "white".

Therefore, the artificial political structure of the Russian Empire, now in the form of the USSR, must be decisively eliminated. The Russian Empire must be dismembered and replaced by a political reconstruction of Eastern Europe along the lines of ethnographic validity, with the institution of the right of self-determination of peoples and of democratic processes of government. It must at last be recognized that the political system resulting from Russian military dominance in Eastern Europe has always been and continues to be founded upon force, fraud and fear.

As soon as the dangerous myths that becloud an objective understanding of the situation in the Soviet Union are dispelled the way will become clear for consideration of a policy aimed at the reconstruction of Eastern Europe. It requires little imagination to perceive the fundamental fact that Soviet ambitions for world conquest rest upon the basic solidity of Soviet Eurasia of which Ukraine is an indispensable segment. The separation of Ukraine from Soviet Eurasia would be one of the greatest blows possible to Russian ambitions for the conquest of world. Without Ukraine, and the other non-Russian entities, the Russian colossus would be deprived of the essential requisites for its expansion projects. The critical importance of Ukraine, especially, cannot, therefore, be neglected in the foreign and military policies of the United States.

It is not only the numerical strength of the Ukrainian nation that would be of importance. General Eisenhower in his address to newspapermen before taking over the presidency of Columbia University, gave his opinion of the war-potential of the Soviet Union. Asked by one of the correspondents, which part of Europe and Asia has the most strategic importance for the security of the United States, he declared without hesitation: "Europe west of the Volga is the most important part from our viewpoint."

The most important part of Europe west of Volga River is Ukraine. Although Gen. Eisenhower, for reasons of his own, did not name it, geopolitically, the Soviet power is concentrated in Ukraine and radiates from it into the Baltic and Northern Europe, into the Danube Valley and the Mediterranean, into the Persian Gulf and the Near East, either southward to Iraq, or south-westward through Turkey, Syria, Palestine, and across the Suez into Egypt. Thus Ukraine constitutes a wide assembling place which could be used either by the Soviet-Russian rulers as the starting point for military conquest, or by the Western nations as the first target for the advance against the Soviet fortress and for the decisive blow to the "soft belly" of the Soviet Union. Yet, as the strength of a chain depends upon its weakest link, Ukraine may well determine the fate of a world communist empire, and serve in the future as the bulwark against centurieslong Russian expansionism and a strong wedge-like area of defence which would stabilize all this part of Europe. Economically, Ukraine is one of the richest regions of Europe in agricultural and mineral resources. The chief agricultural products are wheat, rye, barley and sugar beet and livestock. The main mineral deposits are coal, iron and manganese. The range of resources makes possible not only industrialization, but a fairly balanced economy.

Above all, it is the political and moral potential of Ukraine, which will prove to be a decisive factor in the political reconstruction of Eastern Europe. Just as the Soviet Union is the bulwark of the Iron Curtain, so will a free and democratic Ukraine be one of the pillars of a new and better order in the world. In fact, no political structure in Eastern Europe is possible without a free, democratic, united Ukraine, if this structure is to enjoy any degree of success. It is clear, that a free, democratic Ukraine will be able to safeguard the peace and to settle all problems of political, social, economic and cultural development of the Ukrainians better than the Soviet Union could do it by ruling Ukraine by means of terror.

Following all these arguments, it would actually be in the interest of the United States to 'invent' Ukraine, if there were none. But it is not necessary. Ukraine existed long before such an 'invention' was necessary, exists now and will exist in the future. And it can be a most valuable ally behind the Iron Curtain, if its possibilities are fully realized and exploited in the United States. The Western World would do well to recognize that in its struggle against aggressive, communist Russia, Ukraine will be called upon to play an important role. The sooner this realization comes, the better the chances are that Russia's drive to enslave and dominate the entire world will be broken and destroyed.

Today the American government has indisputable proof of the existence of the powerful Ukrainian Resistance Movement and its Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which has not laid down its arms against the Soviet aggressor. It is the great Achilles' heel of the Soviet Empire. The UPA, as the Ukrainian Insurgent Army is commonly known throughout Europe, is not only a symbol of the Ukrainian people but it is a rallying force of all anti-Soviet forces behind the Iron Curtain. Its deeds are continually felt by the Russian totalitarians and their "quislings" in Ukraine, Poland, Czechoslovakia etc....

Dr. Fejes, the communist prosecutor in the Bratislava trial, revealed that the UPA-men were waging a fight, not only against the present régimes of Soviet Ukraine and Czechoslovakia, but against all the "people's democracies" in Eastern Europe. He declared that all the "friends and sympathizers of the Soviet Union and of the Communist idea had suffered at the hands of UPA." This charge was reinforced in its significance by the testimony of members of the Soviet army, the MVD, the Polish army and the UB, as well as the Czech army and NS (security police). They all emphasised the "dangerousness" of the UPA as well as of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement as a whole.

Documents and Reports

15TH WACL AND 28TH APACL JOINT CONFERENE JOINT COMMUNIQUE Tokyo, Japan, December 6-9, 1982

The 15th Conference of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) and the 28th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL) were jointly held in Tokyo, Japan, on December 6-9, 1982. There were 302 delegates and observers from 110 countries and territories throughout the world who actively participated in the Conference, demonstrating a spirit and determination to enhance the world's freedom forces against Communist aggression and expansion.

In the light of the latest actions of the Chinese and Russian Communists and their proxies, the Conference urges the Free World to be alert to the following:

— The Chinese and Russian Communists share the same Marxist-Leninist ideology with the sole aim at world domination at the expense of free nations.

— The current Moscow-Peking move towards *rapprochement* is rather a tactical manoeuvre with a view to obtain more technical know-how and economic benefits from the United States of America, Japan and other free nations.

— The Free World should not indulge in the delusion that by being friendly with the Chinese Communists, the latter may check Soviet Russia, as this can only enhance the prestige of the Chinese Communists to bargain with the Russians, thus strengthening the joint Red bloc against world peace and freedom.

As predicted by WACL and APACL, the Communist ideology is irreconciliable with freedom and democracy, for man's urge for freedom, democracy, national independence and human rights must be fulfilled if lasting peace is to be accomplished.

Accordingly, WACL and APACL have adopted the Conference Theme — "A Global Strategy to Safeguard Human Freedom" — as a guideline for the common endeavour of all freedom-loving peoples to study effective measures to counter Marxism-Leninism. Our specific calls are as follows:

— The United States is urged to take the lead in formulating a global anti-Communist strategy, with a vigorous campaign to put Marxism-Leninism in "the ash heap of history" and to support the national liberation struggle of subjugated nations for their national independence and freedom, as endorsed by U.S. President Ronald Reagan in his recent proclamation on captive nations.

— Free nations in Asia ought to strengthen their regional systems; to enhance ASEAN and ANZUS; to step up cultural, economic and technical cooperation among nations of Northeast Asia, the South Pacific and Oceania; to urge Japan to contribute more positively to the region's freedom and security; and to urge the United States to provide the necessary arms sales to the Republic of China to keep her strategic position in the Western Pacific.

— While the Chinese Communists pretend to pursue a so-called policy of mildness of Teng Hsiao-ping, they are virtually resorting to expansionism in competition with Moscow and suppressing dissidence and resistance internally. All free nations should be aware of the one billion Chinese people's desire for national reunification in freedom and democracy, to whom strong support should be provided.

— In North Korea more than 100,000 "dissidents" are subjected to inhuman treatment in eight concentration camps. WACL & APACL strongly denounce the North Korean acts of violation of human rights and fully endorse the early deliverance of the captive North Koreans. The Republic of Korea has taken a realistic approach to the peaceful reunification of the divided Korean peninsula. WACL and APACL condemn North Korean provocations and subversive activities for communizing all of Korea.

- Effective action should be taken to bring about peace in the Middle East. There should be an early end to the strife in Lebanon, a termination of the Iraqi-Iranian war, and a speedy settlement of the Palestinian issue. The Free World should, through mass media and other means, bring pressure to bear upon Soviet Russia to withdraw from Afghanistan, and, furthermore, should provide military assistance to Afghan freedom-fighters.

— Free nations should support the Poles, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Kampucheans, Laotians, Vietnamese and other subjugated peoples who are heroically fighting for freedom and national independence. Soviet Russia must release political and religious prisoners, such as Yuriy Shukhevych, recently blinded by KGB, and abolish slave camps and psychiatric prisons which are suppressing freedom-fighters and dissidents.

— In Latin America, there should be appropriate sanctions against Communist infiltration and subversion, such as the pretencies of liberation theology which are virtually promoting Communist terrorism. Active assistance should go to the free Cubans to overthrow the Castro tyranny. There should be feasible measures against Communist aggression and expansion, such as the American aid to the armies of Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador.

— With the intention to communize African states, Moscow has been using Cubans in proxy wars. The Free World should support the African fight for their freedom and democracy, cooperate with the Africans in all endeavours to promote their prosperity, and further accord free options to African states the necessary arms sales against Communism.

- NATO and the armed forces of neutral European states play an important role in the maintenance of peace and security in the free world.

They should be further strengthened so as to be able to deter new Soviet Russian aggression as well as to launch positive offensives to restore freedom to captive peoples. The free Western democracies must terminate all forms of assistance to the USSR, particularly with regard to Western-sponsored construction of the Siberian pipeline which will be built by the slave labour of political prisoners from subjugated nations.

The Conference reiterates the WACL/APACL unwavering stand against the Russian Communists, the Chinese Communists and all other Marxist-Leninists. The freedom-loving peoples everywhere should unite irrespective of race, nationality and religion to pursue ideological, political and economic warfare against the Communists for the purpose of freedom and world peace.

The Conference has resolved to hold the 16th WACL Conference in 1983. The 29th APACL Conference will be held at the same time. The participants in this Conference wish to express their profound appreciation to the government and people of Japan for their contribution to the cause of freedom, and to the WACL/APACL Japan Chapter for the high efficiency which made this Conference a great success.

UKRAINIAN DELEGATES AT 15th WACL CONFERENCE IN TOKYO

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) and Ukrainian delegations at the 15th WACL Conference in Tokyo were headed by the President of ABN and leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Yaroslav Stetsko. Other delegates were: Slava Stetsko (ABN), Roman Zwarych (Ukraine), Roman Turs'kyi (Ukraine), Bohdan Fedorak (Organization for the Defence of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, USA), Zenon Karpyshyn (Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine), Wolodymyr Chopiwskyj (Sec.-Gen. US Council for World Freedom) and Roman Badynsky (US National Committee for subjugated nations).

Delegates had the opportunity to hear reports from each individual region of WACL as well as a report on the activities of the ABN delivered by Slava Stetsko. She also elaborated on the revolutionary wars of liberation of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism. W. Chopiwsky reported the activities of the North American region of WACL (NARWACL). During the Conference, the Ukrainian delegation took an active part in the resolutions committee as well as in the preparation of the final communique, which appealed to the United States and the free world to support the national liberation struggle of the subjugated nations. Also the Conference demanded the release of all political and religious prisoners held by communist Russia including Yuriy Shukhevych who has recently lost his eyesight while in prison.

Other subjugated nations of E. Europe represented at the Conference were: Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Romania, Latvia. Estonian and Lithuanian observers were also present.

ON THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE AGAINST RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM AND COMMUNISM

Whereas, Russia has subjugated many freedom-loving nations in its drive to conquer the world, forcibly imposing upon them an inimical system of Bolshevism, which is in itself a synthesis of Russian imperialism and communism, and

Whereas, Bolshevism aims to completely eradicate the intrinsic spiritual and moral values and attributes of these subjugated nations by instituting a brutal policy of Russification in all spheres of life, with the intent of forcibly creating an artificial "historical entity" — a "Soviet people", which amounts to nothing less than a Russian super-nation, and

Whereas, Lenin and the Bolsheviks, after coming to power in Russia, began an all-out campaign against the reestablished Ukrainian Independent State and against the other newly-liberated nations formerly enslaved in the Russian tsarist empire, and with the aid of the Entente Powers forcibly reincorporated these nations into the Russian empire, reestablished with the creation of the so-called Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) exactly sixty years ago, and

Whereas, Moscow utilizes the so-called Russian Orthodox Church of "patriarch" Pimen in pursuing its atheistic, communist and imperialist aims and has led a systematic campaign against the various national Catacomb Churches of the subjugated nations, decimating their hierarchy, clergy and faithful, and

Whereas, the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism in the USSR and its "satellites", in their revolutionary national liberation struggle, are combating Bolshevism on all levels and therefore represent a powerful ideological, moral and political force of liberation in the world today that can finally free all of humankind from this expansionist-minded Bolshevik threat, if rendered significant Western moral and political support,

Be it, therefore, resolved that the 15th Conference of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), held in Tokyo, Japan on 6-9 December, 1982

appeals to all the nations of the Free World to proclaim a Great Charter of Independence for all the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism, which will reflect the Free World's moral and political support of the national liberation struggle of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Turkestan, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Croatia, Slovakia, Czechia, North Caucasus, Georgia, Albania, Azerbaidjan, Afganistan, Vietnam, Cuba, and the other subjugated nations, and of the reunification in freedom of China, Korea, and Germany;

calls upon all freedom-loving nations and people in the world to raise

their voices in condemnation of the founding and continued existence of the USSR, in which the Russian empire and the communist system are perpetuated, as one of the darkest chapters in the history of all humankind;

reconfirms the necessity of the dissolution of the Russian empire, i.e., the USSR and its "satellites", into national, independent, sovereign and democratic states of the presently subjugated nations, each within its own ethnographic borders, as this will once and for all eliminate the mortal Bolshevik threat to all of freedom-loving humankind;

strongly urges the Western Powers to create a centre of political-psychological warfare based on the political and ideological precepts of the aforementioned Great Charter of Independence, various international anti-colonial legal covenants and the United States Resolution on the Captive Nations (US Public Law 86/90), and to establish a network of Freedom Radio-Broadcasting Stations, through which the representatives of the liberation movements of the subjugated nations can freely propagate their national ideal and concept of liberation;

calls upon the Western European countries to immediately terminate the natural gas pipeline deal with the USSR which will be constructed by the slave labour of the religious and political prisoners from the subjugated nations, currently languishing in Russian prisons and concentration camps;

requests that all forms of Western economic aid, grain sales and transfers of technology to the USSR and its "satellites" be immediately terminated, since this only serves to buttress the Russian military-industrial complex and, hence, indirectly strengthens Moscows policies of national subjugation and repression of basic liberties;

condemns all forms of Russification, as an integral system of the subjugation of nations, and fully supports the multi-faceted national liberation struggle of the subjugated nations to preserve their intrinsic national values and way of life;

earnestly asks the free nations of the world to use all possible means to attain the liquidation of all Bolshevik concentration camps, the slave labour "GULag", all political prisons and psychiatric asylums and the release of all political and religious prisoners in the USSR and other communistdominated countries;

denounces all attempts at pursuing an "ecumenical dialogue" with Pimen's Russian Orthodox Church — the agent of the Kremlin's atheistic, communist aims and supports a genuine ecumenical dialogue with the Catacamb Churches of the subjugated nations behind the Iron Curtain;

fully supports the legitimate Japanese claim to the Kuril Islands and the Sakhalin Peninsula and denounces the Russian colonial occupation of these Japanese lands;

strongly encourages the countries of the Free World to render military assistance to the heroic Afghan nation in its war of national liberation against the Russian communist occupant, led by the Afghan insurgent freedom-fighters — the "Mujahideen", and to give the Afghan all other forms of support.

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ON THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY (UPA) AND THE LIBERATION ALTERNATIVE TO NUCLEAR WAR

Whereas, forty years ago, on October 14, 1942, on the initiative of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was formed to defend Ukrainian national independence, sovereignty and statehood, reestablished by the Proclamation of Independence of June 30, 1941, and

Whereas, the armed forces of the UPA and the revolutionary OUN led a war of liberation on two fronts against two of the largest military, imperialist, totalitarian powers in history — Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia, and after the defeat of Germany in World War II continued this armed struggle against the Russian occupational forces well into the 1950's, employing a modern strategy of insurgent-guerilla warfare, and

Whereas, Moscow, not being able to vanquish the valiant Ukrainian Ukrainian insurgents, was forced to sign a Tri-Partite Pact with communist Poland and the CSR and only then, with the combined might of the three armies levelled against the OUN-UPA forces, was Russia able to force them to change their strategy from mass and open insurgent-guerilla warfare to underground activity, and

Whereas, the Ukrainian nation, in its heroic two-front war of liberation, sacrificed its best sons and daughters on the field of glory, including the Commander-in-Chief of the UPA — General Roman Shukhevych-Taras Chuprynka, thereby reconfirming its commitment to national independence and freedom, and

Whereas, on the initiative of the OUN and UPA Supreme Command, a Conference of Subjugated Nations was held in a UPA-liberated area of Ukraine in November, 1943, attended by the representatives of 13 liberation movements, leading to the establishment of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), as the coordinating centre of these movements, and

Whereas, the OUN-UPA-ABN concept and strategy of coordinated and simultaneous revolutionary uprisings on the territories of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism remains the only viable alternative to thermo-nuclear war, as this would lead to the dissolution of the Russian empire and, thereby, eliminate the only threat of a global nuclear holocaust, and

Whereas, the dissolution of the Russian prison of nations — the USSR and its "satellites" — will herald a new chapter in the history of humankind and will open the way for the creation of a genuinely just international order, based on the OUN-UPA-ABN maxim — "Freedom for Nations! Freedom for the Individual!", and

Whereas, in the words of General John K. Singlaub (USA), "the subjugated nations are the West's strongest ally and constitute the liberation alternative to nuclear war",

be it, therefore, resolved that the 15th Conference of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), held in Tokyo, Japan on 6-9 December, 1982

reaffirms its solidarity with the Ukrainian nation in its liberation struggle for the reestablishment of its national independence, sovereignty and state-hood;

appeals to the nations of the NATO Alliance to incorporate within their military and political strategy vis- \hat{a} -vis the Russian empire the OUN-UPA-ABN concept of liberation — as an alternative to nuclear war — and to take concrete measures to hasten its realization;

calls upon the member-states of the United Nations from the Free World to condemn Russian imperialism, to demand the universal application of the UN Resolution on De-Colonization to the Russian empire, and to recognize the OUN and similar liberation movements as the only genuine representatives of their respective subjugated nations;

supports the Ukrainian Catacomb Churches in their struggle against atheistic Bolshevism, in particular the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and expresses its deep respect for the Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church — His Beatitude Josyf I, a Confessor of Faith and a prisoner of Russian concentration camps for over 18 years for God and Ukraine, on the occasion of his 90th anniversary;

urges the free nations of the world to demand the immediate release of all OUN-UPA prisoners-of-war, who have been languishing in Russian prisons and concentration camps since World War II, and to demand the immediate release of all Ukrainian religious and political prisoners, particularly Yuriy Shukhevych — the son of the late UPA Commanderin-Chief, who has spent over 30 years in Russian concentration camps since the age of 14 and who was recently blinded by the KGB;

expresses its deep respect and reverence for the thousands of heroes of the OUN-UPA who gave their lives in Ukraine's two-front war of liberation, and, on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the UPA,

proclaims General Roman Shukhevych-Taras Chuprynka — the late Commander-in-Chief of the UPA, and his valiant son — Yuriy Shukhevych — symbols of a heroic idealism, to be emulated by the youth of all freedomloving nations through its love of God and Fatherland and in its dedication to the cause of universal freedom and justice.

The Delegation of Ukraine

REVIEWS

GREGOR KRUK'S SCULPTURE — A "NOBLE VESSEL" OF IDEAS A Tribute on the Occasion of Gregor Kruk's Seventieth Birthday October 30, 1911

Gregor Kruk, Volumes 1 and 2. Ukrainische Freie Universität und Südwest Verlang, Munich, 1975. Volume 1–160 pages, Volume 2–184 pages.

The impulse behind these two excellent and important volumes is profoundly cultural. Their aim is to elucidate what can be learned about (Hryhorij) Kruk's artistic creativity. Kruk is an Ukrainian sculptor who permanently lives in Munich, Germany. His grandfather and father being village masterpotters may have stimulated his interest in sculpture. Already as a child he was moulding his own clay models and drawing with his finger various forms and shapes on frosty window panes. He studied sculpture under Konstanty Laszczka at the College of Arts in Cracow and then furthered his studies at the Academy of Fine Arts in Berlin. His professors at the Academy were Otto Hitzberger, Alfred Focke, August Kranz and Arno Breker. Hitzberger was very much interested in Kruk's artistic talent and even appointed him as his teaching assistant.

Following Hitzberger's motto, Kruk still today tries to be "first a man and then an artist. As an artist he possesses a natural talent for human communication, easily striking a rapport even with strangers. His candid and forthright manner wins him swift sympathy and confidence of all with whom he comes in contact. As a man he is sociable and conversant and enjoys describing his adventurous life and occasionally ventures into the world of fantasy" (Volume 2, p. 21). During the 1950s Gregor Kruk reached his artistic maturity as an original sculptor, continually extending the range of his activities and evolving new kinds of artistic objects.

Jean Cassou, director of the Paris Museum of Modern Art, evaluating Kruk's artistic realities, writes: "Their value derives from their sincerity, their powerful frankness and from their moving rusticity. All this evokes an irresistable feeling of sympathy like a folk-song that breathes something of the air and the soil in which it has originated" (Volume 1, p. 7).

Since sculpture demands a special way of seeing things and grasping their essence, Kruk's art, according to Dr. Isa Bauer, "is a noble vessel", and contains ideas "representing all the paradoxes of life convincingly sublimated in the triumphant serenity of humanity" (p. 13). Furthermore, Kruk's artistic works "owe their harmony to the perfect balance they hold between movement and rest. In every line movement is powerfully and subtly translated into form and vice-versa. In his figures movement is always continued right up to the very moment of its translation into stone. It is this that makes Kruk a pioneer sculptor." For it is true that "he has succeeded in reconciling all contrasts and tensions in his sculptures without forfeiting their massiveness and earthiness" (p. 13).

The critic Sviatoslav Hordynsky sees in Kruk's sculpture the feature of "Statuesqueness, which is naturally static and strong." The "static nature of his sculpture does not, in fact, deny its force movement, for he achieves this not overtly by impelling it directly, but actually dynamically, via essential linear direction and an internalized rhythmicity whin the whole" (Volume 2, p. 20). Very interesting is Kruk's so-called 'peasant complex'. Hordynsky writes: "The forms of his raw-mannered masses are somewhat severe and knotty, reflecting that same complex which is peculiar to people who live in covenant with nature and its soil, and who work with its dirt" (p. 20). This "peasant complex" in Kruk's works is highly individualized; "it is truly his own" and it shares the artist's special cordiality and sincerity. Moreover, these figures have all the peculiarities of a "Galician small land-holding peasant". Their typology is not new but is the result of ageless strife and misery which Kruk was able to perceive and to perpetuate in his works by giving them a special divine joy combined with the ecstasy of existence.

For Professor Tomislav Suljak, Kruk "exhibits strong intrinsic attachment to his homeland, though he received most of his artistic education in Germany, mainly under the influence of the Berlin school. The presence of Ukraine and the tradition of Ukrainian sculpture are distinctly felt in his works" (p. 24).

This brief account of the introductory remarks to both volumes does at least some justice to the sculptor himself and many of the provocative ideas raised by his critics. The specifics in some critical remarks are, of course arguable either because they are too subjective or because they raise questions that need more extensive elaboration.

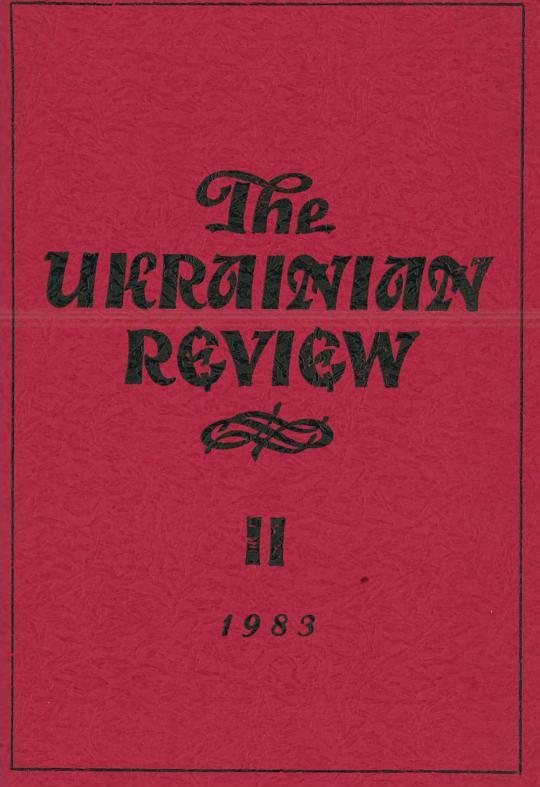
Listings of sculptures and drawings are the longest sections in both volumes. They detail the author's creativity revealing its growth and providing some refreshing insights into individual works, their relationship to each other, and their importance to the development of Ukrainian sculpture in general. The listings are well set because the publication is an extraordinarily ambitious work which the Ukrainian Free University and Sudwest Verlag bring off with a high degree of success. There is no doubt that this work is going to be considered one of the major studies of Kruk's artistry in this generation. The two volumes present 234 sculptures, 111 artistic drawings, two photographs of the artist at work and one photograph of Kruk in his studio accompanied by the painters S. Hordynsky and M. Dmytrenko. Also included are a 'isting of critical remarks and a bibliography.

Although the two volumes reveal that Kruk uses various materials for his sculpture including plaster, terracota, and clay, they also show that he favours bronze. Three of the many splendid bronzes deserve a brief word here, as examples, because of the principle of design that makes them such expressive compositions. His most mature work is the "Woman on crutches" (1965), a figure that portrays "courage, humility and renunciation, struggle and defeat, pride and failure" (Volume 1, p. 15). The interaction of forces and the distribution of weight within this figure give it a static equilibrium with a face full of inner peace and a suggestion of relaxation. A significant contribution to Kruk's mastery is the "Refugee', created in 1946 when thousands of displaced persons from the Eastern countries took refuge in Germany. This piece is a very natural figure standing in a controlled pose with the right arm over the face in order to hide the sorrowful expression of longing for home. The figure radiates a natural strength that makes it steadfast, quiet but determined that a day will come with a possibility to return. Kruk's "Rabbi" (1959) is a compelling representation of a Jewish face inspired by knowledge and righteousness. The face is in a state of expressive concentration radiating an urgency that flows from the compact and well balanced figure. Of 111 artistic drawings, many are nudes, principally female. In them we see Kruk's powerful handling of the human body in motion, especially of crouching figures, where simplicity, concentration and direction of motion are distinctly depicted.

The publication also documents Gregor Kruk's participation in many exhibitions where he gained a place of distinction among contemporary sculptors. His works have been purchased by the National Museum in Paris, the British Museum, the Museum in Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia, the East German Museum in Regensburg, and by many other international galleries and private collections, e.g., those of the German statesmen Heinrich Lübke and Willy Brandt.

The two volumes are of great value to students of art and to anyone interested in sculpture, both in their content and in their scholarly apparatus. Their remarkably well integrated introductory remarks (in German and in English) provide handy access to a wide spectrum of sculptures and drawings. The indices in both languages are very useful. In conclusion, this publication is an excellent and thought-provoking piece of scholarship.

Wolodymyr T. Zyla



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Ukrainians from all over Britain and their friends from other Captive Nations of East Europe came to London in June to pay tribute to their countrymen who fell victims of the great man-made famine of 1932-33.

ON THE 50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE UKRAINIAN HOLOCAUST 1933—1983

The Soviet Union has always specifically emphasized its so called "process of economic development", but has rarely mentioned the human costs that were involved. Perhaps the most severe of these costs was the great manmade famine that raged throughout Ukraine from 1932 to 1934.

Although this famine — among the worst ones recorded in history (*The Encyclopedia Britannica*, IX (1968), p. 58) — claimed the lives of approximately 6,500.000 Ukrainians, it is scarcely acknowledged today in the West. Moscow has never officially admitted that this famine existed especially because the famine of 1932-34 was a man-made disaster. It was a direct result of Moscow's national and socio-economic policies toward the non-Russian nationalities — Ukrainians in particular.

"A Ukrainian citizen, F. Belov, who witnessed the tragedy in his hometown wrote in his memoir (*The History of a Soviet Collective Farm*, London, 1956) that "the famine was the most destructive [event] that the Ukrainian people have ever experienced... No matter what they did, they went on dying... They died everywhere, in the yards, on streetcars and on trains... There was no one to bury these victims of Stalinist famine..."

Some might wish to classify these accounts as emotional, exaggerated, or as isolated events. However, similar accounts were provided by scores of foreigners and high-level officials both in the USSR and abroad (Chamberlin, Manning, Beal, Lang, Lyons, Ammende, Bullit, newspapermen from *The New York Times, The Times* (London), *Manchester Guardian*, etc.).

The nightmare, in all its tragedy, and the cynicism of the Soviet Russian administrative apparatus in Ukraine are revealed in the eyewitness account of Harry Lang, American correspondent for *The New York Evening Journal* (April 15, 1935):

In the office of a Soviet functionary I saw a poster on the wall which struck my attention. It showed a picture of a mother in distress, with a swollen child at her feet, and over the picture was the inscription: EATING OF DEAD CHILDREN IS BARBARISM. A Soviet official explained to me: "We distributed such posters in hundreds of villages, especially in Ukraine. We had to".

All evidence points to the fact that the famine was a carefully planned genocide on the part of Moscow to physically subdue the Ukrainian people. Firstly, there was no evidence at all of famine outbreaks in Russia proper; on the contrary, the conditions were near normal. The Russians had even "posted detachments of the Red Army along the Ukrainian frontier an prohibited refugees from migrating to Soviet Russia where conditions wer better" (Report by Izaac Mazepa, former Premier of Ukraine, in Slavoni and East European Review. 1933-34, p. 343). Secondly, regardless of th total breakdown of agriculture in Ukraine due to Soviet Russian policies forced collectivization, violent requisitions of food, extermination and mas deportation of the most productive peasants, wide-spread terror — the tota crop harvested in the critical period of 1932-33 alone was sufficient to fee the Ukrainian population for two years and four months and to seed al the fields. The cause that actually brought about the famine was the force procurement ordered by Moscow, which continuously drained the las possible reserves of food from the population. The methods of procuremen were officially sanctioned by a decree written by Stalin himself (August 7 1932): and collection of the harvest (1932-33) was guarded by Red Army troops to keep the starving population away. Thus, from the harvest of 193. Moscow requisitioned from the Ukrainian peasant 4.2 million tons of grain PLUS the 2.3 million tons that were set aside as provisions for the population 1.84 million tons in 1933, which brought Moscow a total revenue of abou 65.5 million dollars. Consequently the 2.3 million tons intended as provision: that were vital to offset the famine were sold for 42.2 million dollars Considering this last figure and the fact that approximately 6.5 million diec of hunger and related causes in Ukraine alone. Moscow received approximately \$6.50 for every Ukrainian man, woman and child who starved to death. (All figures have been compiled from Soviet sources: Foreign Trade of the USSR 1918-1940, Moscow, 1960). However, as one manager of a kolkhoz (collective farm) remarked. "You see, starvation is one thing, and foreign exchange is another".

Nevertheless, the Ukrainians did not die passively. Hundreds of mass uprisings against the Soviet Russian occupation took place during this period of collectivization and famine. Rebellions took place in such provinces as Dnipropetrivske, Kamyanets-Podil's'kyj, Vynnytsia, Chernyhiv. etc. Major concentrations of Red Army troops and militia had to be employed to suppress the revolts. Thousands of Communist Party officials were killed and tens of thousands of rebels executed or deported. The above situation was even acknowledged in the Soviet press, and the official *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* which stated: "...the excesses and mistakes committed in the process of collectivization would incense the peasantry and provoke mass anti-Soviet revolts" (p. 116).

Maxim Litvinov, Soviet Assistant Commissar of Foreign Affairs, said in 1921 that "food is a weapon". That weapon has been used by Moscow THREE times already (1919-23, 1932-34, 1946-48) to subdue the Ukrainians, with an estimated loss of 10 million people in PEACETIME — almost a quarter of the total population of Ukraine. Considering the war-time losses, deportations, executions, etc., the total figure would rise to at least 15 million

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Ukrainians. Today there are approximately 50 million Ukrainians in the world. Had it not been for the genocidal policies of Soviet Russia there would now be over 70 million. The great man-made famine of fifty years ago in Ukraine is a reminder to all of us of man's cruelty to man, of contempt of one nation for another, of a failure of a political system.

It is the moral responsibility of all mankind to prevent it from ever happening again. The famine in Ukraine was a direct result of an imperialist policy of Moscow and its communist socio-political order.

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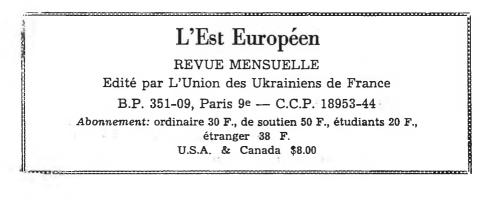
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Stephen OLESKIW

THE GREAT MAN-MADE FAMINE IN UKRAINE 1932-33*

Political, Social and Economic Reasons for the Famine

"The great Ukrainian famine of 1933 is best understood as an integra part of Stalin's solution to the Ukrainian problem, and its roots go bac to 1917. Any attempt to explain it outside the context of the Ukrainia experience from 1917 to 1933 or to view it merely as a particularly hars application of general policy towards the Soviet peasantry is doomed t failure." Such was Dr. James E. Mace's appraisal of the artificial famine i Ukraine which took place from 1932 to 1933. His statement correspond with historical fact, because the Ukrainian people have for centuries struggle for their national independence and sovereignty against the Tsarist empir and later the Russian Communist empire.

With the fall of the Russian Tsarist empire, the Ukrainians started i March, 1917, the process of independence which culminated on January 2. 1918, with the establishment of the Ukrainian National Republic. Faced wit insurmountable odds, the Ukrainian State was short-lived. By 1922 th Russians had reconquered Ukraine, this time under the banner of corr munism, and re-established their control over their wealthiest colony. Havin a vastly superior military force, the Soviet Russians brought with them nc only once again foreign rule, but also a new and totally alien system c government.

Although the Ukrainian armies were defeated after four years of wa resistance of the Ukrainian people continued in the form of undergroun organizations, peasant revolts and the activities of the intelligentsia. After the Soviets had arrested, executed or deported the leaders of the under ground organizations and almost the entire intellectual elite in 1929-30, th primary role of resistance to Russian rule was played by the Ukrainia peasantry.

In the late 1920's, the newly created Soviet Union was recovering fror a World War, a particularly harsh series of civil wars and national revolution: Stalin felt that the situation was precarious and decided that it was necessar to strengthen his own position in power, consolidate the dictatorship furthe

^{*} The following article is a chapter from a book recently published by th National Committee to Commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the Artificial Famin in Ukraine 1932-33, London, England. 1 Dr. James E. Mace: Why Did the Famine Happen? 'The Ukrainian Review', Vo

XXX, No. 1, 1982, p. 47.

still, and increase the fragile Russian control of the Soviet Union. A key factor in achieving these aims was the development of heavy industry. Thus, towards the end of the 1920's the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party launched the first Five-Year Plan (1928-1933) for the development and expansion of industry. The Party would have to take complete direct control of all the material resources of the USSR in order to accelerate the development of industry. The huge amount of capital required for this task would have to come from agriculture and from the economic exploitation of the colonies, in particular Ukraine, with its abundant natural resources and agricultural potential. Since the industrialization was to be achieved in the shortest possible time, Stalin decided to increase the pace of collectivization of agriculture and to initiate the extermination of the wealthier peasants, labelled as 'kulaks', from whom the major opposition to a collective system of agriculture was envisaged.

Collectivization was also viewed as a means of imposing the total central control of Moscow over the Ukrainian peasantry and the agricultural production. The peasants would be brought together into collective farms or 'kolkhozes', where they could be easily supervised and forced to concentrate all their energies on the production of grain for the state. This was essential because the export of grain was to provide the needed capital for the purchase of machinery and tools to implement industrialization. This was not, however, merely a fight against the 'kulaks' who were destroyed by 1930. The terrorization of the entire peasantry of Ukraine continued and resulted in the extermination of around 6 to 7 million Ukrainian farmers by organized famine in 1932 and 1933.

Since collectivization could not be achieved by persuasion, propaganda and agitation, Stalin and the leadership of the Russian Communist Party did not hesitate to employ inhumane methods of mass extermination in order to force the Ukrainian peasants to comply with the directives and join the collective farms. This plan had several objectives: to break the resistance of the peasants to the forced collectivization, as well as the will to resist; to break the social and economic basis of support for the underground organizations; to liquidate private ownership of land, and, finally, to annihilate completely all those who resisted collectivization and Soviet Russian rule in general.

Robert Conquest sums up the reason why this famine occurred in Ukraine, the breadbasket of the Soviet Union, in 1932-1933: "The main reason for the operation was dogma: the independent peasantry was a bugbear on Marxist guards, and the market economy it generated was against the principle of the fundamental evil of 'commodity' relations. At the same time the Party was committed to carry out this 'revolution from above' by the method of class war against the 'kulak' element — which in Bolshevik terms meant extreme measures. Stalin also, and especially in Ukraine, had a commitment against 'bourgeois nationalism'. And of course he never had any objection to mass slaughter as an instrument of policy. Collectivization, dekulakization and the man-made famine are separate matters. It would have been possible to collectivize without dekulakizing to collectivize and dekulakize without the famine (this last was indeed the mode outside Ukraine, Kuban, Lower Volga and Kazakhstan). The decision to inflict all three was a political one. The general aim was the destruction of market, relations and of the last bourgeois or petty bourgeois classes; the particular aim in Ukraine was all those, but also the devastation of a hostile area.²²

The famine, then, occurred not only for economic reasons, but also for political ones as it was part of the Soviet Russian regime's nationalities policy towards Ukraine. The ideal of national independence of the Ukrainian natior continued to exist under the Soviet occupation. This ideal was kept alive and fostered by the work of organizations such as the Union for the Liberatior of Ukraine (SVU), the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM) and many others

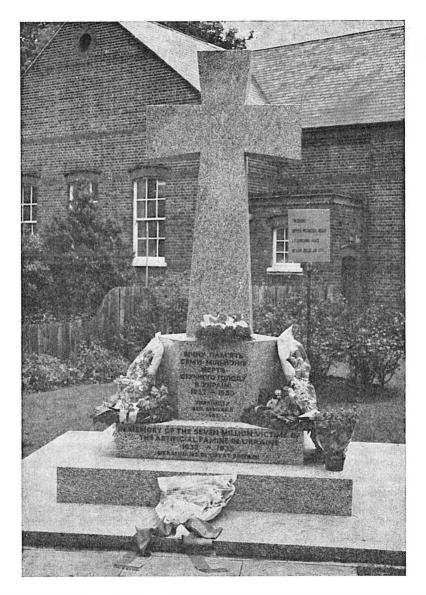
The Ukrainian intelligentsia through education, the publication of numerous academic, literary, cultural and artistic works also played a major role in sustaining the national ideal. The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church was especially significant in this movement. The use of Ukrainiar liturgy, the return to the traditions of the Ukrainian Church, the activities of its bishops, priests and laymen in the cities and rural communities, permeated all social strata of the Ukrainian nation which took full advantage of this period of Soviet rule known as NEP (New Economic Policy).

The Ukrainian language was being used in all aspects of community and social life: schools, churches, courts, theatres, scientific institutes, post service, railways, the army and even in government administration. This national revival and 'Ukrainization' in the early years of the 1920's was increasing its momentum and posed an ever mounting threat to Russian control.

However, even without these organizations the peasants formed a large force of opposition to collectivization and the forceful imposition of foreign rule because of their very nature and character. Whereas the Russian peasant was used to collectivized life of one form or another, through the existence for centuries of the 'mir-obshchina' system, the Ukrainian peasant was a strong individualist with respect to private ownership and property. The Ukrainian peasant was dedicated to the ideal of personal freedom, the direct legacy of the very strong Cossack tradition which was implanted in the Ukrainian nation for hundreds of years. This tradition despite years of tsarist rule was never eradicated. Any form of alien rule affecting his household, and thus breaking the ancient traditions of his forefathers, would cause the Ukrainian farmer to resist the imposition of such a system. The opposition of thousands or even millions of such individual households would form a potential resistance to Moscow.

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² Robert Conquest: Harvard project on the Famine of 1933. Article in 'America', 4th October, 1982.



This Memorial to the victims of the great man-made famine in Ukraine was unveiled in the grounds of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in London on 29th May 1983 in the presence of Metropolitan Mstyslav, the clergy, community leaders and faithful from Britain and many other parts of Europe.

The ideology of Russia — that of communism, was in principle opposed to all forms of private ownership and would not tolerate the farmers of Ukraine running the agricultural system on an individual basis. The peasantry of Ukraine formed the majority of the population, and as had been the case throughout the world, through the years would provide the major source of supply of manpower for the armies should the need arise. Since the SVU, SUM and the intelligentsia were making attempts to make the rural population realize that without a Ukrainian independent state their well-being and political and economic rights could not be guaranteed, they had to be prevented from doing so. The fact that the Ukrainian peasants were opposed to the imposition of the Russian system meant that they had to be made to conform.

Stalin realised this problem as he wrote in 1925 that "the nationality question is by its basis a peasant question,"³ and understood that the suppression of the Ukrainian nation could not be accomplished unless its social and economic basis, the Ukrainian peasantry, was also suppressed. Russia was aware of the power wielded by the peasants of Ukraine. This power was a constant threat to the regime. The peasants had merely to cease or reduce their grain deliveries to the Ukrainian cities, and particularly those of Russia, for all the plans of the Communist government, in relation to the development of the 'socialist industry', to become untenable. Food deliveries to the cities and the army of Russia depended on the reliability of the Ukrainian peasant who was not prepared to see the grain which he produced going to a foreign occupant. In addition, the raising of the peasants economic level and their total commitment to the ideal of national freedom only reinforced their resistance to the Russian occupant. The Russian leadership had to cope with this growing economic, political and national power.

Moscow realized that without a victory over the Ukrainian farmers, total victory and control over Ukraine was impossible. The peasants would have to be brought under the central control of the government and become imbued in the system. If they refused or showed signs of resistance they would have to be destroyed. Stalin increased the rate of collectivization in Ukraine to achieve his goal. Collectivization was the weapon chosen to bring the Ukrainian peasant under the control of Moscow. This centralization, as planned, would bring the separate individual households together into communal production where the implements, the means of production, the land, the seed and grain and the peasant himself could be directly controlled. This would supposedly give Moscow the necessary supplies of grain for internal consumption, for the army food reserves, and for export, which would provide the capital needed for the implementation of the drive for rapid industrialization, called for by the Five-Year Plan.

Collectivization was then primarily a means of fighting and controlling the largest segment of the Ukrainian population, and was directly aimed at

³ Mace, p. 49.

the decrease of their prosperity to insure the Soviet Russian government of additional capital.

In the words of Khataevich, Secretary of the Dnipropetrovsk Regional Committee of the Party, there was a 'ruthless struggle' going on between the Ukrainian peasantry and the Russian Communist Party... 'a struggle to the death'.' "This year (1933 — author's note) was a test of our strength and their (the Ukrainian peasants' — author's note) endurance. It took a famine to show them who is master here. It has cost millions of lives, but the collective system is here to stay. We have won the War."⁵

This statement shows very clearly that the famine in Ukraine was no mere accident, but a deliberate, premeditated policy of mass genocide designed to destroy the major force of a possible revolt — that is the Ukrainian peasantry.

Dr. E. Ammende in his report about the famine entitled "Must Russia go hungry?" states that "...An important role in the hunger problem is played by the national problem, which is not solved to this day. In the USSR as in Czarist Russia, there exist the state people (Russians), who wage a struggle against the other nationalities, above all the Ukrainians and Byelorussians. The purpose of this struggle is to impede their independence aspirations. I must say with all determination, clearly and openly, that on the basis of present great differences and antagonisms with respect to the Ukrainian people, Russia aspires directly towards the extermination of a great part of the present generation in Ukraine..."⁶

As can be seen, the Ukrainian famine was based on social reasons as well as political ones and was an important asset to the Russian regime which by its very nature required the strengthening of the dictatorship and central government. The imposition of collectivization was the best way that the Russian regime could force the Ukrainian farmer to produce the grain that was vital not only to feed Russia itself, but was at the same time instrumental to provide the necessary capital to acquire the vital equipment and products needed to complete the Five-Year Plan.

This imposition of collectivization in Ukraine at that time was totally opposed by the Ukrainian farmers. It was not only an opposition by the wealthier farmers but it included the poorer farmers as well, who valued their small strips of land as much as the larger farmers valued their land. In addition, this deliberate economic exploitation of Ukraine was deeply resented not only by the villagers but also by the workers and city dwellers as well.

⁴ Victor Kravchenko: I Chose Freedom, p. 130.

⁵ Ibid, p. 130.

⁶ Mykola Haliy: V. I. Lenin, Natsyonalny Vopros (The Nationality Problem) in The 25th Anniversary of the Great Famine in Ukraine, p. 3, New York, N.Y., September 1958.

Added to this factor was the policy of the Russians, who had a historical animosity toward the Ukrainian nation and its very existence. Adopting the policy of the Tsars, and that of their ministers, now under the guise of the USSR, the Russians continued to uphold the standard Russian policy of assimilation or extermination. This proved to be the final justification of the artificial famine in Ukraine of 1932-1933.

The national and cultural revival in Ukraine during the years of independence and in the 1920's, and the continued striving for national freedom posed a direct threat to Moscow's policy of subduing the nationalities in the Soviet Union. To break this whole process in Ukraine, Stalin and the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party decided on a policy of breaking the backbone of the Ukrainian nation. The Russian attack was two-pronged. One blow was directed against the intelligentsia of Ukraine, the other against its rural population. The intelligentsia — the leaders of the peasantry — were to be exterminated by political trials of members of various national organizations as well as purges of the Communist Party of Ukraine and of the Government of the Ukrainian SSR, and cultural purges in the Academy of Sciences and similar institutions.

The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, as the religious and spiritual source of unity and instrumental in the cultural and national awareness of the population was completely decimated by the extermination of its leadership. At that time about 40 Metropolitans, Archbishops and Bishops of the UAOC, headed by the Metropolitan Vasyl Lypkivsky, and about 20,000 priests and monks were annihilated.⁷

The peasantry — the basis of support of the intelligentsia — was to be brought under control and virtual enslavement by enforced collectivization. Once this was seen to be impossible, then it was to be achieved through famine as the ultimate weapon. Since it would be impossible to impose collectivization unopposed, the peasants would have to be starved into submission. It was not merely an attack against the wealthier farmer for he had been already destroyed by 1931. After that date the terror against the peasants still continued. They would be forced to conform and give more grain to the state or they would die of starvation. The peasants were not, however, given much choice to give up more grain, since Russia deliberately estimated high yields to be able to demand a greater delivery under a legal pretext because the official figures showed that harvests were far higher than they actually were. The grain producers could then be accused of hoarding, stealing or deliberately sabotaging the harvest and so be punished accordingly. The peasants, unused to a new system and reluctant to give their full capability to an occupying regime, were unable to produce as much grain as under an individual system and to produce enough to meet the unrealistically high quotas.

⁷ Fedir Bulbenko: The Ukrainian Orthodox Church and Moscow: Rebirth and Golgotha, in 'The Ukrainian Quarterly', Vol. XXIX, No. 4, 1973.

Moscow, however, in total disregard of these factors proceeded to implement further policies which became the direct cause of the famine. In the summer of 1932, when the grain ripened, watch towers were erected in the fields and armed guards, along with Komsomol members and the Komnezam (the village poor), were posted to protect the grain from the peasants.⁸ In August, 1932, upon Moscow's orders, the puppet government of the Ukrainian SSR was compelled to pass the following drastic measures: possessions of the collectives and cooperatives were to be considered state owned, the watch was to be increased, and by the law of August 7th, 1932, the stealing of state property was to be punishable by firing squad or deportation.⁹ These measures were passed because already by the autumn of 1931 shortages of food had become serious in Ukrainian villages and the peasants were forced to find some means of acquiring food. Some travelled to regions in the Russian Republic where state exploitation of the peasant was milder, others gleaned the harvested fields.

In the spring of 1932, people began to die, and when the spring planting started, the peasants began to steal the seeds to take home to their children or to eat themselves. When the grain ripened the people began to eat the heads of wheat for nourishment. The Russian leadership knew about this and was determined to prevent the peasantry from getting their hands on the grain and thereby reducing fulfilment of the set quotas for delivery. If they ate they would have the strength to resist. The above measures, especially the harsh law, were designed to prevent the peasants from taking the grain which they sowed and nurtured by their own efforts. The peasants were obviously meant to starve since they were shot for merely gleaning grain. The Party demanded that the law be applied without exception. To prevent the starving population of Ukraine from travelling to those areas of the USSR not so badly affected by drastic state measures and where the food shortage was not acute, the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party decreed that only those with written permission could purchase train tickets. Those travelling without permission were taken off the trains and any food that they might have been carrying was confiscated. To add to the already immense hardships faced by the Ukrainian peasantry, a decree of August 22nd, 1932, labelled the carrying of loaves of bread as 'speculation."¹⁰ As a result of Moscow's actions, huge piles of grain lay in the open fields serving no useful purpose. This was happening while the population of the Ukrainian villages starved to death by the millions.

Victor Kravchenko, a party official, came across one such store at a local railway station in the autumn of 1933. It remained untouched despite the fact that half of the people living in his village died of starvation the

^{8 &#}x27;The Ukrainian Quarterly', Vol. XXXVIII, No. 1, p. 11. 9 Anna Bolubash: The Great Ukrainian Famine of 1932-33 as an Instrument of Russian Nationalities Policy, 'The Ukrainian Review', Vol. XXVII, No. 1, 1979, p. 35. 10 Dmytro Solovey: On the 30th Anniversary of the Great Man-Made Famine in Ukraine, reprinted from 'The Ukrainian Quarterly', Vol. XIX, Nos. 3 and 4, 1963, p. 20.

previous winter. He noted that such reserves existed "in many other parts of the country, while peasants in those very regions died of hunger."¹¹ It is thus clear that the Russian Communist Party kept such stockpiles intact deliberately, and allowed untouched grain to lay idle and rot while millions of people died. Such action only signifies once more that the famine was caused intentionally by Moscow for a specific purpose. Harry Lang of the New York 'Jewish Daily Forward' wrote in 1933: "As we travelled through the vast expanses of Ukraine... we saw fumes rising up out of the huge stacks of grain in the fields — the grain was rotting..."¹²

According to official sources, about 2 million tons of grain destined as provisions for the peasants had been requisitioned in 1932 and 1933.¹³ Therefore, if at least half of the grain exported for foreign exchange (3.54 million tons) had been retained in the areas struck by famine, millions of lives could have been saved without affecting industrialization or the 'success' of the Five-Year Plan.¹⁴ Instead, the Kremlin preferred to let the grain rot if not all could be exported rather than feed the grain producers who would then be able to produce more efficiently if they were fed. Thus, the production of grain for export to aid industrialization could not have been the only purpose in Moscow's policy. A greater factor was present which required the deaths of millions of innocent men, women and children of the Ukrainian countryside. Russia was set on the extermination of the Ukrainian population which posed a direct threat to the imposition of Russian rule in Ukraine.

Russia kept quiet about the famine while it was still in progress and has denied its existence ever since. The foreign press in the Soviet Union was forbidden to write about the famine, the starving population was not allowed to travel without permission to get food and report the true situation to those regions not affected by the famine. The word *famine* itself was declared counter-revolutionary and as the death rate increased, physicians were forbidden to divulge the real cause of death of the famine victims i.e. starvation.

Unlike the famine of 1921, when foreign aid was accepted by the Bolsheviks. in 1932-1933 they denied the very existence of famine, and called it the propaganda of counter-revolutionary elements abroad, and refused all outside help. Soviet press, radio, literature and indeed all means of communication were subjected to censorship and addressees of aid abroad, in the form of food parcels, were compelled by the OGPU to refuse them and say that they were not needed. All such parcels were sent back. A campaign to remove the bodies of dead and dying people from the cities, roads, railways and waysides was launched to clear away the evidence which

¹¹ Kravchenko, p. 129.

¹² Harry Lang: 'Le Courrier Socialiste', No. 19, 1933.

¹³ Bolubash, p. 46.

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 46.

showed that a mass extermination of the Ukrainian farmer population was at that time in progress.

If the famine had occurred as a result of natural causes then there would have been no need to conceal its existence and indeed every effort would have been made to relieve the situation. However, Russia was not only concealing the famine but was also trying to increase the scale of the famine to destroy a population opposed to its rule. By concealing the famine the Kremlin could continue the policy of genocide without the protests of the other nations of the world and, thus, not lose the credibility and diplomatic acceptance on the international scene that it wanted to achieve.

In order to stay alive the peasant had to steal his own crop, grown by his labour and possibly on his own land from the state which robbed him of the land by force, and often shot him in accordance with the law of 1932 for stealing the grain he grew. Attempts to find some form of nourishment were punished by death. Therefore, it was intended that the peasant should die of starvation. Shock brigades were organised to carry out the grain delivery plan and houses were searched for food. The ground was probed with iron rods, the floors of homes were ripped up, ovens wrecked, walls broken and holes dug. Everything edible, including pumpkin seeds, potatoes, beets and so on, was confiscated. The Ukrainian peasant did not want to submit voluntarily to the collective yoke so the Soviet Russian authorities organised deportations, confiscations of food supplies and executions.

Postyshev, who was sent by Moscow to Ukraine to implement its plans, summed up the attitude of Russia towards the Ukrainians in his address to the plenum of the *oblast* Committee of Kharkiv in the summer of 1932: "The Bolsheviks always fought and are continuing to wage an implacable struggle against Ukrainian nationalism, burning out with a heated iron all chauvinistic Petlurite elements, no matter under what false national banner they might be found..."¹⁵ By this statement he clearly showed what the struggle was about — the rooting out of Ukrainian nationalism and its supporters.

In a second statement on January 11th, 1934, Postyshev carried it further by saying that: "The year 1933 brought the complete defeat of the nationalist and Petlura elements as well as of the other hostile elements (in Ukraine) which have infiltrated into the various sectors of the socialist structure."¹⁶ In these few words Postyshev summarised the whole period of the late 1920's and 1930's — the struggle that was going on between Moscow and the Ukrainian people for hegemony over their territory, which was crowned by 'the ultimate famine of 1933 when the resisting peasant population of Ukraine was decimated by it. The nationalist elements mentioned by

¹⁵ Symon Petlura was the President and Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian National People's Republic in 1918-1920.

¹⁶ Pavel Postyshev: Fight for the Leninist-Stalinist Policy, Kyiv 1935, p. 112.

Postyshev were purged by 1933, and the other hostile element, the peasant population, was destroyed by enforced man-made starvation.

Postyshev, one of Stalin's emissaries in Ukraine, in an address to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine also stated what the famine was really about and by what methods it was to be implemented. He said: "...comrades, the Party and Comrade Stalin have ordered us to terminate the process of collectivization by the spring. The local village authority needs injections of Bolshevik iron. You have to begin your work without any manifestations of rotten liberalism. Throw out your bourgeois humanitarianisms on the garbage pile and act as Bolsheviks. Destroy kulak agents wherever they raise their heads. The kulaks, as well as the middle-class peasants and even paupers, do not give up their wheat. Your task is to get it by any and all means. You must squeeze it out of them. Do not be afraid to employ the most extreme methods."¹¹⁷

The most extreme method applied was an organized famine, and this famine, in the words of Belov "...was the most terrible and destructive that the Ukrainian people have ever experienced. The peasants ate dogs, horses, rotten potatoes, the bark of trees, grass — anything they could find...

The people were like wild beasts, ready to devour one another. And no matter what they did, they went on dying, dying, dying. They died singly or in families. They died everywhere — in the yards, on streetcars and on trains. There was none to bury these victims of Stalinist famine. People travelled thousands of kilometres in search of food — to Siberia, the Caucasus. Many perished on the wayside, or fell into the hands of the militia.²¹⁸

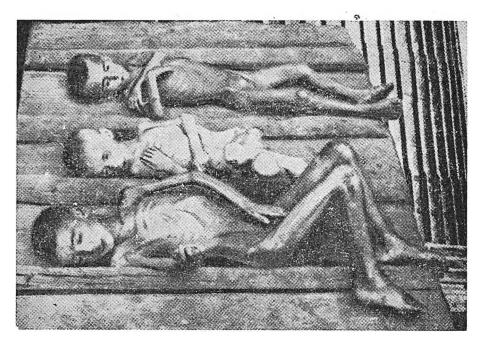
Malcolm Muggeridge, who managed to travel through Ukraine despite the ban on foreign correspondents from carrying out such tours of areas affected by famine clearly epitomizes the situation in Ukraine in 1932-1933. It is therefore worth quoting him at some length to be able to fully grasp the scale of the dreadful occurrences in Ukraine at that time.

He writes: "...as in the North Caucasus, the population is starving. 'Hunger' was the word I heard most. Peasants begged a lift on the train from one station to another (in search of food — author's note), sometimes their bodies swollen up a disagreeable sight, from lack of food... it was the same story (as in North Caucasus — author's note) — cattle and horses dead; fields neglected, meagre harvests despite moderately good climatic conditions; all the grain that was produced taken by the Government; no bread at all, no bread anywhere, nothing much else either: despair and bewilderment. The Ukraine was before the Revolution one of world's largest wheat-producing areas, and even Communists admit that its population,

¹⁷ Haliy, p. 5.

¹⁸ Fedir Belov: The History of a Soviet Collective Farm, p. 12-13.

including the poor peasants, enjoyed a tolerably comfortable standard of life; now it would be necessary to go to Arabia to find cultivators in more wretched circumstances. Here too (as in North Caucasus — author's note), there are new factories, a huge new power station at Dnieprostroi, a huge new square at Kharkov with huge Government buildings — and food being exported from Odessa.²¹⁹



Horrors of Famine in Ukraine, 1933

19 Malcolm Muggeridge: The Great Famine in Ukraine — A Journalist's Eyewitness Account, 'The Ukrainian Review', Vol. XXVII, No. 2, 1979, p. 93.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party saw that both the economic and political aims could be attained at the same time. Ukrain and the other major grain producing areas would have to hear the brun of the procurement of grain since it was first necessary to break the resistance of the Ukrainian peasantry and that of all Ukraine. For this reason the famine was most severe in the grain producing areas of the Soviet Union — Ukraine, North Caucasus, the lower Volga, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. William Chamberlin comments: "The unquestionable fact it that collectivization wrought greatest havoc, in the main, just where the peasants were more intelligent and more progressive in farming methods where the pre-war standard of living was the highest... The worst famine regions in 1932-1934 were in many cases the most fertile and prosperous districts... the rich North Caucasus, the German colonies on the Volga, and in Ukraine, where the population were always noted for their good farming - the fertile 'black-earth' Ukrainian provinces of Kviv and Poltava. It was not the more backward peasants, but the more progressive and well-to-do who usually showed the greatest resistance to collectivization, and this is not because they did not understand what the new policy would portend but because they understood only too well."20

From the above descriptions of men who witnessed the tragic events of 1932-1933, there can be no doubt that the famine in Ukraine was organised deliberately, because every measure taken by the Russian government was intended to increase the difficulties of the peasants and prepare them for destruction. Every measure was taken to make it increasingly more difficult for the events that were occuring to become known outside the USSR Clarence Manning states that the whole period of "...the deportation of the kurkuls in 1930-1931 and the famine of 1932-1933 represented the use of new methods of terror as an instrument of national policy."21 As one of the starving victims told visitors from America: "...it is they (the Soviet Russian government) who are killing us. They want us to die. It is an organised famine."22

20 William Chamberlin: Russia's Iron Age, pp. 76-77.
21 Clarence Manning: Ukraine Under the Soviets.
22 Visitors Describe..., 'New York Times', August 29th, 1933, p. 6.

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Fred E. DOHRS

DELIBERATE FAMINE IN UKRAINE — THE HORROR AND THE CHALLENGE*

This is a day of commemoration, a day of honour, a day of truth. We commemorate those millions who fought against Moscow fifty years ago, and we commemorate those others, too young, too old, too weak to struggle against Russian terror then, and who were swept away in the communist fury. We honour those who today continue the battle against Russian occupation and control — the forces that seek to destroy Ukraine and its people.

I speak to you, my Ukrainian friends, because you have honoured me by your invitation. I speak to you because we are in this battle together your cause is my cause. But I speak not only to you. There is a wider audience we address today — those millions of our American countrymen. We speak to America and the world, to those who may know little of Ukraine and Ukrainians, of the tragedy and the terrible truth about Ukraine under the continuing tyranny of Moscow. Our cause is the cause of freedom.

There may be some of our fellow Americans who have the impression that Ukraine is a small and unimportant land and people — similar perhaps to many of the myriad of tiny poor countries of the Third World which have appeared in recent decades, and thus of little importance. Let America be informed that we are talking about the land and the 45 million people of Ukraine: Today, the fourth largest producer of steel in the world. A country, which but for entrapment under Moscow's yoke, could easily be the world's fifth greatest productive economy, following only the United States, Japan, Russia and West Germany. A people with a proud heritage and history with every reason for that pride.

When we consider the scale of the barbarity of that period fifty years ago, and the appalling price paid by the Ukrainian people, the temptation is to weep for Ukraine. You have wept, and I have wept over this terrible tragedy. But this is not the day for tears — however appropriate they might seem to be. Rather it is for us to recognize that it is more important to fight for Ukraine than weep for Ukraine. To fight for Ukraine is to use the weapon of truth.

A fundamental fact about the Kremlin that we often forget in our preoccupation with military power, is that far more than our weapons, Moscow

^{*} Remarks by Dr. Fred E. Dohrs, Professor Emeritus, Wayne State University, at the Commemorative Service for seven million Ukrainians, victims of Stalin's deliberate famine and murder fifty years age, held at the Veterans Memorial Building, Detroit, June 12, 1983.

fears the truth. The truth about their own Russian communist system. The truth of its horrible past and its terrible present. The truth about the Soviet Russian Communist Empire that rules over 350 million people. The truth about Moscow's goal of total global control.

Stalin announced forced total collectivization of all the farms of the Soviet Union on December 27, 1929. His decree was "legalized" by the Central Committee of the Communist Party on January 4, 1930. A few weeks later, on January 22nd (I need not tell this audience what January 22nd signifies in Ukrainian history), a Moscow newspaper, *Proletarian Truth*, stated the real purpose of collectivization of Ukrainian farms: *To destroy the social basis of Ukrainian nationalism* — *individual peasant agriculture*.

Ukrainians would not, indeed could not, without a struggle, give up their land on which they and their forebears had toiled and lived and loved for generations. These Ukrainians had shown that given the freedom to produce for the market on their own land, they were the best farmers in the Soviet Union, just as they had been in the old Russian Empire.

But Stalin had his own "final solution" for Ukrainians.

Even "gleaning" — that ancient and accepted right of the poor to follow the harvesters and pick up the few grains and kernels not taken by the threshers — gleaning became a capital crime in Ukraine, by Stalin's edict in 1931. Many thousands paid with their lives for trying to sustain themselves and their children for a few more hours or days at best.

At the same time, during the horror in the fields, the Soviet Union was exporting huge amounts of grain to support the communist revolution. Many of those eating bread made from Soviet wheat during that terrible time, little realized the grain had been taken at gunpoint from starving Ukrainian peasants.

Stalin confirmed his own bloody deeds in a reply to a question put by Winston Churchill in Moscow in 1942: "Ten millions", he said, holding up his hands. "It was fearful. Four years it lasted. It was absolutely necessary for Russia..." Thus Stalin justified his monstrous murders — necessary for Russia!

The world did hear the terrible story. Some Western journalists and others were able to penetrate Moscow's secrecy and reported accurately the gruesome account of Ukraine. To their disgrace and the dishonour of their profession, a few American reporters and others who wanted to glorify Moscow and communism as a "new civilization" or a "future that works" accepted and repeated Moscow's lies, even though they did know the truth.

Hearing of the bloody horror, why did not the rest of the world rise up in revulsion and fury at the undeniable facts of mass starvation and murder?

From our perspective of fifty years, it remains difficult to say. Certainly, that was a time of an appeaser mentality — of Japan in 1931, of Italy in 1936, and the shabby sell-out of Czecho-Slovakia to Hitler at Munich in 1938. Many in the West wanted to believe that the *ends* of communism were

"good" and justified the *means* of the Red Terror in the fields of Ukraine. The facts were there, they were not easy to ignore, but to the shame of all who believed in freedom, they were. At that time, the numbers reported, even though understated, of millions of Ukrainians deliberately starved and killed may have been so monstrous as to be unbelievable.

Appeasement did not end with Munich. Franklin Roosevelt, in his failure or unwillingness to recognize and act on the strength of nationalism in the Soviet Russian Empire, was largely responsible at Teheran and Yalta for delivery of the millions in what we now call the Captive Nations into that captivity under Moscow. Unfortunately, appeasement mentality continues among many in high places in the West — and even in our own community.

All too many say, "That was Stalin. That was fifty years ago. Things are different now". Were that but true!

Fifty years ago, more than seven million Ukrainians were killed in Stalin's massive Holocaust, which in numbers and terror far exceeded that of Hitler, whose name now symbolizes the term. But for Ukrainians, the Holocaust continues today. Systematic purges of anyone expressing any views of nationalism or freedom take place continually in the Soviet Union. In 1968, when many Ukrainians began to identify with their neighbours to the west, with the freedom being expressed in the famous "Czecho-Slovakian Spring", many hundreds, even thousands of Ukrainians who spoke or wrote of freedom were summarily seized, and with or without trial, were sentenced to long terms of prison, slave labour and exile. Many did not survive. Today, well-authenticated reports show that of the political prisoners, inmates of the Gulag Archipelago system of slave labour camps, the largest numbers are Ukrainians who ask only freedom for their own land and people.

For those unfamilar with its meaning, the word "Russification" may sound a little too nice to be what it actually means in human terms. Russification has been and remains the policy of Moscow and Russia toward the Ukrainians and all other national minorities in the country. In 1870, Minister of Education, Lev Tolstoi said: The ultimate goal in the education of the non-Russians must be their Russification and assimilation within the Russ'an nation. A few years later, the famous Russian novelist, Feodor Dostoyevsky, wrote: All people should become Russian, and Russian above all else, because the Russian national idea is universal... One hundred years later, we hear another famous Russian writer, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, from his exile in America, saying much the same things in his dream of a future Russia.

For Yuri Andropov and the Russian rulers in the Kremlin, any manifestation of nationalism is viewed as a direct and serious threat to Russian communist ideology — the evil mortar that keeps the whole structure of communism together. Nationalism is a basic threat because it denies the idea that communism is an international unifying force. More simply, as long as there is one Ukrainian nationalist anywhere making a claim for his nation and its rights, communism is threatened. In a moment of unusual candour, Lenin said, "scratch a communist, and you'll wound a Grea Russian chauvinist". Today, as for well over three hundred years, there i but one policy for the Moscow masters — crush the Ukrainians and Russif them!

That is the fact, the truth, the terrible reality of life in Ukraine today.

I do not feel that you invited me in order to hear either vacuous platitude or wildly optimistic forecasts about freedom for Ukraine. As something o a concerned specialist, and one who watches the pattern of world event fairly closely, I would be less than candid were I to say that today there i a bright light at the end of the long dark Ukrainian tunnel. There are man negative signs, perhaps the most important, the destruction of the Helsink Watch Committees.

On the other hand, slowly but surely there is among Americans and other in the free world a growing recognition of the fact that in the freedom and independence of those Ukrainian millions and others of the captive nations lies the destruction of the Soviet Russian Empire and its threat to humanity Even more important, this fact offers a realistic alternative to nuclear wa between the super-powers.

That is the message which every American should learn, and which wmust teach. As Edmund Burke said, "In order for evil to triumph, it is only necessary that good men do nothing".

The road will be long and weary, especially for those in Ukraine, even for us here — but is there any real alternative? You can not, must no foresake the rich heritage of more than a millenium of Ukrainian histor; and culture — nor should your children. We cannot abandon the forty-fiv million remaining in bondage under Moscow. There can be no letting up no compromise with tyranny.

As we humbly commemorate those millions swept away five decades ago we may recall that Shakespeare set the course when he wrote: *There is a tide in the affairs of men, Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune.* There is a rising tide of nationalism throughout the Soviet Empire, a tide such a has not been seen in the six decades of communist rule. No one can measure the power of aroused nationalism, or predict the course it will follow. But over the centuries, nationalist power has often changed the world, and it can do so again.

Freedom remains alive in the world. The nationalist tide is rising. With your, with our continued resolution and determination, we can, we must be prepared for that flood tide, and, with the guidance of God, there wil surely be freedom for our beloved Ukraine!

· · · ·

Yaroslav STETSKO*

THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF NATIONS — THE PATH TO A JUST PEACE

Ours are the aspirations of all freedom-loving and peace-loving humankind. We seek to avoid World War III and a thermo-nuclear holocaust. The primary issue that we must all address is how are we to attain these objectives?

The policies of détente and 'balance of power' have not justified themselves as satisfactory means to reaching this end. Paradoxically enough, it was during the era of détente, and not the Cold War, that the Russian empire extended its boundaries beyond its previous acquisitions of World War II and established its hegemony over many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. It was during the period of détente that various struggles for freedom of the nations subjugated in the USSR and the 'satellite' countries were forcibly repressed. It was only recently that Moscow invaded Afghanistan and undertook a military intervention by proxy in Poland.

A 'balance of power' concept is viable only when the partners are striving for common aims. The West does not have territorial encroachment as one of its policy objectives, whereas Moscow aims to conquer the world. These are two opposite vantage points.

In Helsinki, the substitute for a post-World War II peace treaty was Western recognition of the inviolability of the borders and the indivisibility of the Russian prison of nations. It is contradictory to demand human rights and self-determination, while simultaneously recognizing the inviolability of the borders of the Russian colonial empire. An essential precondition for the fulfilment of fundamental human liberties in the subjugated nations is a national, independent and democratic state. There can be neither a just nor lasting peace without national independence for the subjugated nations in the USSR and the 'satellite' countries. Permit me to further express my views on how this aim can be achieved.

1. The West should discontinue all forms of economic aid to the USSR, such as transfers of electronics and technology, and grain sales. In other words, all mutual economic relations with the USSR should be terminated. Western aid strengthens the military industrial sector of the Bolshevik prison of nations, whereas without it Moscow would be incapable of arming itself at the present rate and of militarily surpassing NATO.

^{*} Former Prime Minister of Ukraine and Chairman of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN).

We are voicing our protest particularly with regard to the construction o the natural gas pipeline from the Gulag Archipelago by Western European nations. Our reasons are as follows:

a) The pipeline is being built by at least 100,000 political prisoners from the subjugated nations, who are being persecuted for their political o religious beliefs. This is especially true of Ukrainians, who constitut approximately 60% of the political prisoners of Russian concentration camps. Does the West want to become an accomplice to these crimes o genocide against humanity?

During the last two years several new centres of slave labour camps have appeared along the pipeline route. In Ust-Ischim alone there is a centre with eight such camps. More centres may be found in Urengoi, Sergu, Tavda Tjumen, Irbit and Lysva. These centres consist of destitute barracks o wagons which serve as living quarters — hardly sufficient protection is freezing temperatures of minus 30-40 degrees Centigrade. This work is done without sufficient machinery. Heavy burdens are moved by hand. Women are often found working with crippled hands. They suffer from various skin diseases by exposure to asbestos. Lung diseases are a fact of life. The foor is atrocious. Due to a lack of vitamins the loss of teeth is a common ailmen among the prisoner-slaves. These camps are a type of hell on earth.

Public opinion must also bear some of the responsibility for this situation because it is the public which demands that governments trade with the Bolshevik nation-killers for the sake of a more comfortable life-style. In this modern age of freedom, these Russian slave labour camps are a disgracin the 20th century.

b) The West European countries, by completing this pipeline, will becommore dependent on the USSR, thereby allowing themselves to become the future objects of blackmail.

c) The pipeline will supply Moscow with billions of dollars of hard currency, which will be used for the further armament of the USSR agains the West.

d) The West European countries will create the impression that they are stabilising the Russian empire by financing and building the pipeline through the occupied territories of the subjugated nations at the cost of the genocide and torture of the best sons and daughters of these nations. To this day huge constructions across the Siberian wasteland were built almost exclusively by our prisoners, just as Petrograd was erected by Peter I on the corpse of Ukrainian kozaks, who rose up against Russian occupation.

2. The West ought to discontinue technological and other aid to the USSF and 'satellite' countries, without which Moscow would no longer be able to maintain its present pace in the arms race. Within several years the interna weaknesses and contradictions of the Bolshevik system will surface. To conduct disarmament negotiations with your adversary, while simultaneously arming him, is ludicrous. Our appeal to the West is that it a) stop arming the tyrannical Bolshevik system indirectly with Western aid, and b) invalidate the gas pipeline agreement on humanitarian and military grounds, leaving West Europe considerably less vulnerable to Russian blackmail.

3. The West should morally and politically support the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations and individuals so as to hasten the dissolution of the Russian empire and the communist system from within. This would lead to the re-establishment of independent nation-states of the peoples presently enslaved in the USSR and the 'satellite' countries.

Moscow cannot use its thermo-nuclear arsenal on the insurgents of the subjugated nations, since this would also lead to the destruction of its occupation forces and terror apparatus. This fact was underlined by General Hackett in his book — 'The Third World War', and elaborated upon by J. F. C. Fuller in his works, most notably — 'Russia is not invincible', and 'How to defeat Russia'. Moscow's inability to conquer Afghanistan, the recent events in Poland, and the mass strikes and uprisings of Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, Turkestani, Byelorussian and other political prisoners (17 million in Stalinist concentration camps) are all evidence of the weaknesses of the Russian empire and its communist system.

The decade-long war of liberation fought on two fronts by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (1942-1953), whose fortieth anniversary we are commemorating this year, serves as testimony to the indomitable perseverance of nations that have risen against Russian tyranny. Ukraine's Proclamation of Independence of June 30, 1941 was the beginning of her two-front war of liberation against Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia. After the defeat of Nazi Germany in World War II, Ukraine continued this armed struggle against Bolshevik Russia which was victorious only because of Western aid. The USSR was forced to enter into a tri-partite pact with Communist Poland and Czecho-Slovakia (CSR) in 1947 in order to military defeat Ukraine's armed forces, led by the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

4. The salvation of the world from an atomic war and a third world war lies in the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations. The significance of an insurgent concept of liberation as a modern type of warfare, was also confirmed by General Fuller. The present Afghan insurgent war of liberation further underlines the point. The heroic Afghan people should be helped by the West in every possible way. As American General Homer Lea stated in 1912 — he who controls Kabul and Herat has the key to Asia.

5. NATO needs to continue its armament programme, especially with regard to conventional weapons, because otherwise the West will be vulnerable to Russian expansionism. It is better to lower the Western standard of living now as opposed to later living under severe Russian domination and repression.

6. Western moral and political support of the subjugated nations' liberation struggle will decrease the human potential of the military personnel of the Soviet army, since the West will then be able to gain the allegiance of the soldiers from the subjugated nations.

7. The West should proclaim a Great Charter of Independence for the nations subjugated in the USSR and the 'satellite' countries. The Western Democracies should raise the issue of Russian imperialism on all international forums, demanding that the United Nations Resolution on Decolonisation from 1960/72 be applied to the Russian prison of nations, and not to non-existent British or French empires. Moreover, the UN resolution on Namibia from 1976, which calls upon all UN member-states to actively support an anti-colonial liberation struggle, should also be applied by the West to the nations subjugated in the USSR and the 'satellite' countries. West European parliaments should pass a law stating the necessity of political and moral support for the national-liberation struggles of all nations subjugated by Bolshevism, thereby confirming their solidarity with the United States Congress which unanimously approved a resolution in July, 1959 with respect to the Captive Nations, known as Public Law 86-90. The President of the United States, in accordance with the resolution, annually appeals to the American people to manifest their solidarity with the liberation struggles of Ukraine, Poland, Lithuania, Hungary, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia, Slovakia, Czechia, Turkestan, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaidian, Bulgaria, Croatia, Rumania, Albania, North Caucasus and all other nations subjugated by Bolshevism-communism.

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EXILES CONTINUE FIGHT FOR A FREE UKRAINE

During his recent tour of the United States, the Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko was interviewed by Peter Almond, Foreign Desk reporter at the 'Washington Times'. The full page interview, conducted at the office of the Ukrainian Information Service, was published on June 1, 1983. The Washington daily, which has a circulation of almost 127,000, is considered the conservative alternative to the 'Washington Post' and is reported to be read carefully at the White House.

Fifty years ago, an estimated eight million Ukrainians died in a famine that the survivors still bitterly blame on the collectivization policies of the Soviet Union, their "colonial masters".

A few days ago about 600 people marking this milestone demonstrated outside the Soviet Embassy. Similar rallies are planned in other cities, and the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists is appealing to the US Congress and government to convene an international tribunal to further investigate and condemn "this deliberate Russian act of genocide".

Ukrainian exiles in the United States have never forgotten that their land was once independent of Soviet influence. In trying to bring to US attention that independent spirit, a spirit that last year prompted retired Maj. Gen. John Singlaub to describe Ukraine as the Soviet Union's "Achilees Heel", the Anti-Bolshevik bloc of Nations brought from Munich the man who for a brief moment in July 1941, was prime minister of a free Ukraine — Yaroslav Stetsko.

Stetsko, who spent nearly three years in a Nazi concentration camp before escaping in 1944, has been president of ABN since 1946. He talked here to diplomatic correspondent Peter Almond.

Q.: Mr. Stetsko, is it your impression that Americans really don't know much about Ukraine, or do they think that it's simply part of the Soviet Union?

A.: It is my opinion that American officials know very well about Ukraine, that Ukraine is a separate nation, and that Ukraine proclaimed independence on June 30th 1941 against Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. At that time I was prime minister of Ukraine. I proclaimed the establishment of the Ukrainian State against Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. After two weeks I was arrested by the Gestapo and spent $3\frac{1}{2}$ years in Nazi concentration camps. I think it is well known to the American government and to American public opinion because we occupied the radio station and we proclaimed over the radio station the independence of Ukraine. From this point of view I think that the government of the United States and Congress know very well about the Ukrainian question, that Ukraine is an old nation, with great, 2,000-year national traditions. But the recognition of the Soviet Union by the Roosevelt administration was a dirty trick. I think that this recognition was not in the favour of the United States but still, this status quo was recognized. From this point of view, another problem is very important: Ukraine organized the Ukrainian Insurgent Army — a special organization of Ukrainian nationalists — organized the Ukrainian Insurgent Army after the proclamation of independence in 1941, and this army fought both against Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia for 10 years. It was very well known to the American public; not only to the American public and the American government, but to the British, French and so forth.

Q.: But it is nearly 40 years since the end of World War II. There are now more or less two generations that have grown up without any knowledge of the war. Do you worry that you might be representing a long-forgotten Ukraine, or is this still a live, separate Ukraine?

A.: I am of the opinion that, on the contrary, the liberation fight in Ukraine is continuing, and the representation of this liberation struggle is the younger generation. The younger generation is more nationalistic. It is more religious, as is known in Western Europe and in the United States because the communist system and communist ideology — Marxism — is dead behind the Iron Curtain. At the present time the nationalistic idea, the religious fight, is greater than previously. It is the abuse of liberties, the abuse of nationalism, the abuse of religiosity. Only the leaders of the Russian oppression are supporting Russification. That is their most important point at the present time, the subjugation of the European nations. But, of course, communism is bunk without the support of technology and electronics from the West, without such support from the West it would be impossible to preserve the Russian Communist empire.

Q.: If the Soviet Union was miraculously to withdraw from Ukraine, would you be received as some kind of exiled hero?

A: I fought and am still fighting for the independence of Ukraine. The problem of heroes is the problem of history. We can say that the great majority of Ukrainians today are at present heroes. We have the underground church, the catacombic church, the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic Church, the martyrs and heroes in the fight against Russian oppression, who fought by terrorist tactics. There have been many attempts on my life, but that has been a secondary problem. The most important thing is to fight.

Q.: Are you in the history and reference books in Ukraine?

A.: Yes, both in the Ukrainian and Britannica encyclopedias.

Q.: But I meant in Ukraine; can Ukrainians read about you?

A.: Yes, every week in Pravda.

Q.: So the attempt at Russification has not been to eliminate all traces of your existence?

A.: The tendency of Russification is to eliminate the resistance, but it is the bankrupcy of Russian methods to introduce Russification because it is impossible to do that to the majority of the subjugated nations' populations. The Russians are the minority. We are the majority in the Soviet Union. The minority cannot Russify the majority. The Russian statistics are false. The proportion of natives to Russians is two to one, including the satellite states.

Q.: Do you have any idea of strength of the opposition in Ukraine in terms of numbers, and people that the Soviets have thrown into jail for expressing Ukrainian nationality?

A.: The majority of Ukrainians inside and outside Ukraine oppose the Soviet occupation. In Siberia we have 8 to 10 million Ukrainians deported there; the freedom fighters are deported there. The greatest majority of Ukrainians are patriotic, and are fighting against Russification.

Q.: If I were to go to Ukraine tomorrow, and if I were to look around what would I see that would show me what you say is true? Are there anti-Soviet, patriotic songs, plays or slogans denouncing Russia on walls?

A.: You can see the patriotism in the underground churches; there are songs sung there. You can see it in the attitudes of many thousands of the younger generation. For instance, two years ago, one of the great Ukrainian composers was murdered very young, he was only 28 years old. And 10,000 young people attended his funeral. Every day fresh flowers are left on the grave of Ivasiuk. The son of the former commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, who spent 32 years in Russian concentration camps because he refused to denounce his father and the ideals of his father. His name is Yuriy Shukhevych.

Q.: Is the strength of the resistance increasing or staying about the same?

A.: The strength of the resistance is increasing. This is because the Russian occupation is not only military or economic occupation but is the total occupation of all aspects of life. The revolutionary fight is against the Russian way of life. In culture, in the economic sense, against collectivization, and against atheism. It is against the nature of the Ukrainian people and culture. This fight is increasing.

Q.: Do the majority of the people believe in communism, Marxism?

A.: No. no. Marxist and communist ideas live in the West but not in the communist subjugated nations because we have great experience with the communist system. In the West communists are misleading the population. And it is a part of the great psychological warfare of the Russians to present to the West communism as an ideal, a just way of life. This is a lie. a lie. It isn't true.

Q.: You give something of the impression that there is a mass of people yearning to be free. What would it take — is it impossible to imagine a free Ukraine?

A.: Our conception is coordinated national liberation revolutions synchronized between Ukraine and other subjugated nations. It is possible to organize the simultaneous national liberation uprisings of the great majority of the subjugated nations against the Russian occupation. This is the reality. If we can coordinate the revolutionary liberation fight of Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Georgia, the Caucasus nations, Turkestan. East Germany, Bulgaria, Czecho-Slovakia, and so forth, we can liquidate the Russian colonial empire and destroy the communist system from within completely from inside. This is our realistic conception of liberation. But it is necessary to bring to the attention of world opinion, especially to the Western World not to help the Russians in their fight against us. Without the economic help from the West, it would be impossible for the Russians tc oppress us.

Q.: What do you think President Reagan should be doing at this time?

A.: I think it is necessary to break economic relations with the Soviet Union, not to help them and the satellite states with grain, technology. Not only Reagan, but all the Western nations, especially Western Europe, Japan too. It is necessary to isolate the Soviet Russian empire from the help of the West. On several occasions, the West helped the Russians to save their empire.

Q.: On what occasions?

A.: For instance, during the Hungarian Revolution, and uprisings in Ukraine, prisoners in concentration camps - there were 17 million of them at the time of Stalin. At that time, prisoners organized uprisings in the concentration camps. There was such a turnover of prisoners that they were able to synchronize uprisings in many, many concentration camps. At the time of the Hungarian uprising, if the Western powers had supported that and, subsequently, our liberation fight, it would have been possible to synchronize national uprisings, and to liquidate the Russian empire and the communist system. But there was not much interest in our liberation fight at that time. I think Reagan's foreign policy is better than that of previous administrations, because the president proclaimed during Captive Nations Week last year that he remembered the subjugated nations in the Soviet Union. It was not that of the Soviet Union, as a homogenous state, but the reality of "subjugated nations under the Russian empire". This was the first time this was ever stated by an American president. I believe this statement was very significant for the peoples behind the Iron Curtain.

Q.: So you would suggest that the United States agitate even more, even encourage an armed uprising?

A.: It will only be necessary to proclaim the great charter of independence for nations subjugated within the Soviet Russian empire, and to declare that the resolution of the decolonization adopted between 1960 and 1972 by the United Nations — that this resolution should be applied to the

Soviet Union. Why did the Western powers support the dissolution of the British Empire but not the Russian empire? We do not think it is necessary for us to have American soldiers for our liberation fight, but it is necessary for us to have political and moral support in our liberation fight and not to help the Russian imperialists who oppress us. That is more important.

The problem of armed uprisings in our national revolutionary fight is the problem of our political and military strategy, and is not the problem of the Western powers. We should choose the proper time for these synchronized uprisings. But it is very important to have political and moral support.

Q.: There have been suggestions that the appointment or election of Mr. Andropov as the general secretary of the Soviet Union — he is a KGB man — indicates that the Soviets intend to be even harsher on dissidents and others than it has been in the past. Is that a problem that you see? It that going to be a setback for Ukraine?

A.: Yes, Andropov is the KGB man. He is not liberal. He is the man of terror, and in connection with the suppression of the subjugated nations, he has more experience along this line. But it is impossible to liquidate the resistance and the fighting spirit of the subjugated nations. The liberation fight is so strong that for Andropov, or Stalin, or Shelepin, there is no longer the possibility to liquidate them.

Q.: Do you think you will see a free Ukraine in your lifetime? And when?

A.: I believe so. I think the decisive years will be in this decade, not only for Ukraine, but for the whole world. The policy of detente is nonsense because the balance of power is nonsense. It is necessary to have common aims for a balance of power policy. And the aims of the Soviet Russian empire is to dominate the world. The purpose of American policy is to live in peace. If you do not have common aims, then a balance of power policy is nonsense. During the times of Metternich it was realistic because it was in the common interests of the empires of that time to preserve the peace. But between the Russians and Americans it is impossible to have a permanent peace because of the Russians' intention to dominate the world while America's intention is to preserve the peace.

Q.: Do you have any other particular message that you want to give to the American people?

A.: I think the most important thing is for America to lend political and moral support to the subjugated nations. The great American, freedomloving nation should proclaim the great charter of the independence of nations, the dissolution of the Russian empire, international independent states of a democratic order, and stop helping the Russians to subjugate us through economic, political and other means.

NEWS AND DOCUMENTS FROM UKRAINE

KGB BEATS UKRAINIAN SCHOLAR'S WIFE

Reliable reports have reached the West that on the evening of the 24th of January, 1983 Ludmila Dmytrivna Dashkevych was assaulted in the westerr Ukrainian city of Lviv. Two assailants beat her, causing her to be taken tc hospital, when she was returning from work as an editor of a local news-paper. When she and a bystander tried to report the assault to the local police, the assailants threatened them before the door of the police station. The local police refused to register the assault, thus confirming suspicions that this attack was not an ordinary criminal act but rather, organized by the KGB to punish Mrs. Dashkevych and her husband.

Yaroslav and Ludmila Dashkevych, like many members of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, have been subjected to harrassment by the Soviet authorities. Yaroslav Dashkevych, the son of the prominent Ukrainian political, cultural and military leader, Roman Dashkevych and Olena Stepaniv, was imprisoned by the Soviet authorities after the Soviet occupation of western Ukraine and only emerged from concentration camps in 1956. Since that time he became one of the Soviet Union's most prominent specialists in Armenian studies and held a number of academic positions including in the Institute of Social Sciences of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Lviv. With the increasing campaign against the Ukrainian intelligentsia in the late 1960s Dashkevych was subjected to increasing harrassment and was not permitted to defend his Soviet doctoral dissertation on the ethnography of Carpatho-Ukraine. In December 1979 he was dismissed from his position as a research worker of the Central State Historical Archive of the Ukrainian SSR in Lviv and since then has been denied any possibility to earn a living. Because of his prominence in Armenian studies he was invited to take up a position in 1980 at the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at Harvard University. Although he accepted the offer, he was not permitted to leave the Soviet Union. Ludmila Dashkevych, active in Ukrainian cultural circles in Lviv, was first subjected to a "mysterious" physical assault in 1979. The recent assault on her appears to be part of a campaign by the Soviet authorities, to intimidate the Dashkevych family and to reduce even further their wretched living situation. Only an active campaign of protest in the West will save this family from further intimidation and allow them to take up their appointments in Western academic institutions.

Yaroslav Romanovych Dashkevych's home address:

Kozats'ka 11a 290014 Lviv USSR

Born in Lviv December 13, 1926. Son of Olena Stepaniv, an educator, and Roman Dashkevych, a lawyer; both officers in the army of the independent Ukrainian state. His father died in exile in Vienna. His mother died in Lviv soon after release from concentration camp (1949-56).

- ca. 1944-46: University study, Philological Faculty, Lviv University, specialty in Oriental Studies.
- ca. 1946-48: Reference specialist, Academy of Sciences Library in Lviv.
- ca. 1949-56: in concentration camp (along with mother, Dr. Olena Stepaniv).
- late 1950s or early 1960s: kandidat degree (Ph.D. equivalent), Academy of Sciences of Armenian SSR. specialty in Armenian history and philology.
- late 1950s to 196?: Research Associate, Historical Sector, Institute of Social Sciences of Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Lviv.
- late 1960s to mid 1970s: Research Associate, Museum of Ethnography of Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Lviv. During this period he prepared a major study of Transcarpathian ethnography which was to have been a Soviet doctoral dissertation, but was not permitted to defend it; it remains unpublished.
- mid 1970s to Dec. 1979: Archive of Ukr. SSR in Lviv (TsDIA-L). Edited many major documentary publications, but rarely given credit. Dismissed December 1979.

Dec. 1979 to the present: No permanent position granted, engaged in extensive scholarly writing, but difficulties in publishing in Ukraine. Three

volume study of medieval cartography accepted for publication in Moscow.

Bibliographical Note

Dr. Dashkevych published extensively. His bibliography contains several books and over 300 articles written in Armenian, Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, English and French.

The following list contains some of his books and articles published in French and English.

- "Les études arméniennes en Ukraine aux XIX^e et XX^e siecle", *REA** NS 1 (1964), 389-414, 4p1.
- "A. Lubelczyk et ses livres sur les Arméniens Ukrainiens", REA 2 (1965), 375-384.
- "Kipchak Acts of the Armenian Law Court at Kamenetz Podelsk (1559-1567) as a Cultural and Historical Monument", Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher 36 (1965), pp. 292-310.

- "Sur la question des relation Arméno-Ukrainiennes au XVII^e siècle", *REA* (1967), 261-296.
- "L'etablissement des Arméniens en Ukraine pendant les XI^e---XVIII^e sieclès" REA 5 (1968), 329-367.
- "L'impremerie arménienne à Lvov (Ukraine) au XVII^e siècle", *REA* ((1969), 355-371.
- "Les Arméniens a Kiev (jusq'à 1240)", REA 10 (1973-4), pp. 350-358; REA 11 (1975-76), pp. 323-375.

"Siméon Dpir Lehaci, qui est-i il?", 12 (1977), pp. 347-364.

- "A Turkish Document in Ukrainian from the Mid-Sixteenth Century: or the Origin of the Ukrainian Cossacks", HUS* 1 (1977), pp. 211-224.
- "L'Epoque de Danylo Romanovyč (millien du XIII^e siecle) d'après une source Karaite", HUS 2 (1978), pp. 334-373.

THE PERSECUTION OF POLITICAL PRISONER YOSYF TERELYA'S FAMILY

In December 1982 *Materyaly Samizdata* (Samvydav materials) published a report about 'conversations' which agents of the KGB had had with the former political prisoner *Yosyf Terelya* and his wife and about searches which took place at their home in June 1982.

We remind everybody that Y. Terelya has been subjected to various forms of confinement (prisons, concentration camps and psychiatric prisons) since 1962. Three times he was tried under criminal articles (of the Soviet code — Transl.) and on many occasions he attempted to escape (there were some successful attempts). In 1969 the authorities invoked against him a political matter, in 1972 they declared him 'not responsible for his actions' and from then on he was confined in various asylums (in Sychovka, Dnipropetrovsk etc.) with small intervals. Yosyf Terelya is the author of *samvydav* works — protest poems and appeals in defence of the banned Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Not too long ago the Ukrainian press carried reports about the murder of Yosyf's brother Borys. Their father had died some years ago during Yosyf's forced medication in the Dnipropetrovsk special psychiatric hospital. Olena Tymofiyivna, Yosyf's wife on many occasions stood in defence of her husband, she has appealed to the working commission which looks into the use of psychiatry for political ends in the Soviet Union as well as to other Soviet and international organizations.

In order to illustrate the stressful conditions in which the Terelya family lives, we quote here a report which originally was written in Russian.

^{*} REA — Revue des Etudes Arménienne. Paris, France. HUS — Harvard Ukrainian Studies, Cambridge, MA., USA.

"On 18th June 1982 Lt.-Col. of the KGB regional headquarters in Uzhorod Mykhailo Mykhailovych Dziamko, 'curator' of the underground Ukrainian Catholic Church appeared at Yosyf Terelya's flat, a former prisoner of the Dnipropetrovsk special psychiatric hospital. With him was also the chief of the KGB based in the town of Irshava, Maj. Yosyf Andriyovych Vychaj.

During their 'conversation' with Y. Terelya and his wife Olena Terelya they requested her to sign a declaration in which she was to refuse to accept any more parcels from friends in the West. In reply to their request she stated that she looks upon the help of their friends as something which they are very much in need of since she could not live merely on the salary of a village doctor and concluded her statement saying she would not discuss the matter any further. Then Lt.-Col. Dziamko began to threaten that they would arrest her husband. When Yosyf's wife asked on what grounds they would arrest her husband Maj. Vychaj replied that her husband is a malingerer and that his rightful place is in a strict regime camp. To this his wife replied that her husband had been declared by Soviet doctors to be 'not responsible for his actions', albeit by prison doctors in uniform, so there is nothing strange that the KGB looks after ill people in the USSR in this way.

Then Lt.-Col. Dziamko began to shout and threaten declaring that the KGB works in a subtle fashion (in the text 'In white gloves' — Transl.) and "as far as we know he (Terelya) is not afraid of prison, so we shall lunge him just any place where no trace will be found of him. In the West they will make a fuss about him for a while but then they will stop, however you, Olena Tymofiyivna, will be left without a husband. Let him stay at home and do not let him wander off somewhere, but if he wishes to go some place tell him to notify us. We should guard him, because if we do not, some hooligans will beat him up and then in the West they will believe that this was the work of the KGB".

Dziamko also warned that Terelya should not leave home before 1st July but on the other hand if he did, he would be immediately arrested and added that it was a shame that Terelya was not in the Perm concentration camps where he rightfully should be and that Terelya is a malingerer and a provocateur.

During the coming visits KGB officers hinted that they would not be against him going abroad and that they would allow him to leave once an invitation came from Israel.

Two days later the head of the KGB in Irshava, Y. A. Vychaj, and Capt. Mykhailo Mykolaiovych Dubanych came to Terelya's flat to apologise for the 'conversation' on the 18. 6. 1982 saying that the chief (Lt.-Col. Dziamko) was a "little inebriated" and that "everything will be all right", "nobody is going to arrest Terelya — just live peacefully, work but do not go openly to the local Roman Catholic Church, because people are watching you, and your wife works as a doctor..." Vychaj then gave his telephone number and warned yet again that Y. Terelya should go nowhere before 1st July.

On 23 June 1982, at the behest of the procurator's office in the town of Mukachiv a search was carried out. The pretext for this was that arms might be concealed in Terelya's home which may have been left behind by Borys Terelya who was killed in a shoot-out with militiamen and KGB agents in the village of Poliana in Svaliavs'kyi raion.

Upon entering Terelya's home the officials from the procurator's office and the KGB began to read letters, papers, examine photographs. Terelya's wife protested at this and declared that if they have to look for arms let them search her to which the KGB men present at the search replied that they were looking for anti-Soviet literature.

The search lasted for 5 hours. Terelya was threatened with arrest and was told "he would be sent to the polar bears".

From 16th August 1982 Terelya was left without employment because of the temporary closure of the souvenir factory where he was on the staff".

The address of Y. M. Terelya (born 27. 10. 1943) is:

295212 УССР, Закарпатська область, Іршавський р-н, село Довге, вул. 1-го травня, 9.

295212 Ukr. SSR, Zakarpatska Oblast, Irshavskyi r-n, selo Dovhe, vul. 1 Travnia, 9.

His wife — Olena Tymofiyivna Terelya (born 10. 7. 1942), they have a daughter: Maryana Yosypivna Terelya (born 30. 12. 1977).

ZORYAN POPADIUK ARRESTED IN EXILE

Beginning his reminiscences about the Ukrainian political prisoner Zoryan Popadiuk, his former fellow inmate in the concentration camp, the Jewish writer Mykhail Kheifetz writes: "With all honesty I notify the reader beforehand about the shortcomings of what the reader is about to be able to read. An objective analysis, an objective portrait will be beyond the capability of the author. Zoryan is remembered by the author as a natural prodigy in unison with an equally natural and, for that reason, easy talent and courage. This is how I remembered him — only in this way can I describe him".

This is not an exceptional appraisal of this young defender of national and human rights Zoryan Popadiuk. This is also how he is remembered by literally all those dissidents who were formerly incarcerated and had the opportunity later to comment about their friends, former prisoners in the concentration camps.

Mykhail Kheifetz describes Zoryan in detail as he found him in different situations in the life of the camps and entitles the appropriate chapter of his memoirs, shortly to be published in the West, "Zoryan Popadiuk — the dissident without fear or reproach". The last episode which Kheifetz relates concerns the time when this young Ukrainian patriot was sentenced in the concentration camp to 3 years in the Vladimir closed prison. After this he examines the material about Z. Popadiuk which has reached the West.

When he arrived in Yakutia in June 1980 Z. Popadiuk was taken ill with pneumonia but in a short while the diagnosis was changed to tuberculosis. In October of that year they successfully operated on him cutting out parts of his right lung. He felt wonderful, the treatment designed to prevent further outbreaks of this illness, which was meant to last several months, did not worry him. But in 1981 disturbing news began to filter through about his condition. It should be added here that he has an old serious heart defect which he may have had when he was born.

Kronid Lyubarskyi reported in his bulletin Vesti iz SSR (News from the USSR) that the state of Popadiuk's health became such a threat to the authorities that they decided to do something which was exceptional — they changed his place of exile transferring him from Yakutia to Kazakhstan.

Along with these news of Zoryan Popadiuk's illness came reports about his mother Lyubomyra Ivanivna, who, having lost her only son for the 12 years of his captivity, in 1973 lost her right to work according to her profession. Before she was a lecturer in German at Lviv University. The constant pressure and blackmail by the authorities and her fear for her only son, who was very ill in prison, in the end dealt a blow to her own health. In the last 3 years she remained in a critical state when the circulation of blood to her brain was drastically affected. Once paralyzed she only lived with the hope that Zoryan would be permitted to see her and that he would be eventually released.

Zoryan Popadiuk was born on 21. 4. 1953 in Sambir, Western Ukraine. As there was no father in the family, he was brought up in Sambir by his grandmother. He was also very close to his mother and thought of her as his closest friend. When he was 19 he became a student in the philological faculty at Lviv University. With his peers and likeminded friends he distributed leaflets: one which protested against the ban to commemorate Shevchenko's anniversary and another against the the invasion of Czecho-Slovakia. Apart from this, his student circle brought out a *samvydav* journal *Prohres* (Progress). For this he was arrested at the age of 20 (29. 3. 1973) together with his friend Yaromyr Mykytko and sentenced to 7 years in a strict regime concentration camp.

The memoirs we mentioned above written by M. Kheifetz have the following closing words: "And yet he is so young, and it is his youth which gives us hope that we shall meet again". Of course, youth is a guarantor of such a hope, but inintentionally a comparison arises: Yuriy Shukhevych was even younger and healthier than Zoryan Popadiuk when he set forth on this road of the cross along which he proceeds after 30 years with no end on the horizon.

Just recently more stunning news reached the West: Zoryan Popadiuk was arrested in exile.

His mother's address is:

УССР, 29007 м. Львів, вул. Галана, 6, кв. 6а. Любомира Іванівна Попадюк

Ukr. SSR, 290007 m. Lviv, vul. Halana 6, kv. 6a. Lyubomyra I. Popadiuk

His grandmother's address is (earlier reports about her death were found to be incorrect):

УССР, м. Самбір, Львівська обл., вул. Рівна, 12, кв. 1. Копистинська Софія Михайлівна

Ukr. SSR, m. Sambir, Lvivska oblast, vul. Rivna 12, kv. 1. Kopystynskyi Sofia Mykhailivna

AN APPEAL TO UKRAINIAN BISHOPS, PRIESTS AND ALL BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN CHRIST, MEMBERS OF UKRAINIAN CHURCHES OUTSIDE THE BORDERS OF UKRAINE

We do not have do describe to you the life of our Churches in the catacombs which are continuously persecuted by the atheistic occupants since the liquidation of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and the infamous so-called Lviv Sobor organised by the Patriarch of Moscow with the help of the NKVD.

Our Churches function in very difficult clandestine conditions and need all forms of assistance. This assistance they anticipate above all from their brethren in the Free World and especially from the Ukrainian hierarchs. This is self-evident to everyone, however at this point we wish to direct your attention to another aspect of this problem, namely: how we would want to see the activity of Ukrainians in diaspora in this matter.

For effective activity in the West, in this era of ecumenical movements, our people cannot be divided into Orthodox and Catholics. This type of division is detrimental to our nation at the present time. We are aware of the moral strength of our Churches and their influence on the patriotic attitude of our people. We would expect that our Churches should act in ecumenical accord for the good of the entire nation. In that way they will have the opportunity to maintain and uphold the traditions and culture of our nation, and will also be able to participate in the struggle of our nation in Ukraine and in the diaspora for the independence and sovereignty of Ukraine, because only in an independent state there could be created favourable conditions for the free development of religious life. For this reason we fully support the effort to create a Patriarchate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church under the leadership of Patriarch Josyf and a closer unity of all the Ukrainian Orthodox Churches with the aim of creating also a separate Patriarchate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. All the faithful in Ukraine appeal to you to settle the matter of the Ukrainian Churches for the good of the nation in the spirit of ecumenical dialogue, which in the future may lead to the total unification of our Churches.

We especially appeal to Pope John Paul II to recognise the existing Patriarchate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and to discontinue the dialogue with the Russian imperial Church of Pimen. We appeal to all the active layworkers to act coherently in the spirit of our appeal.

The Faithful of Christ's Church in Ukraine.

November, 1982, A.D.

A NEW BOOK ON UKRAINIAN LITERATURE

"SYMONENKO-A STUDY IN SEMANTICS"

by Ihor Shankovsky

is a newly published book in English about Vasyl Symonenko, one of the most famous Ukrainian poets of the 1960's, and his literary works which started a new renaissance of Ukrainian literature under the Soviet regime.

The book, in hard covers, has 212 pages and includes a comprehensive bibliography, an index and an appendix with several poems and extracts from Symonenko's "Diary".

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REPRESSED UKRAINIANS IN THE USSR

(Continued from U.R. No. 4, 1982)

300) LEVCHUK I. N., arrested in 1962 and sentenced in the city of Khmelnytsky to 10 years' imprisonment for political activity. At the same time his brother was sentenced to 9 years' in concentration camps.

301) LEVSHYN Yuriy, arrested in 1968 and sentenced to 12 years' imprisonmen under art. 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR; he was supposed to be released in 1980. Currently he is in Perm concentration camp No. 37.

302) LEMYK Liuba, the wife of Mykola Lemyk, a noted member of OUN, she was held in a concentration camp for 12 years for working with the OUN. On being released from prison, the KGB kept her under strict surveillance. In connection with the case of Valentyn Moroz and samvydav documents she was thoroughly searched on 1. 6. 1970. She is still being persecuted by the KGB.

303) LENNYK Z., born in 1934 in Zhytomyr, sentenced on 8. 7. 1966 to 3 years in prison.

304) LEONIUK Volodymyr, born in 1932 in Berestia, a participant of the liberation struggle of OUN-UPA, arrested in 1951 and sentenced to 25 years of slave labour. In 1960 he was again sentenced in Vorkuta for taking part in the organisation of OUN-North which was formed from political prisoners in Vorkuta. As a result 12 years was added on to his sentence.

306) LESIV Yaroslav, born in 1945, married with a son. He was a lecturer in physical education. He was first arrested in 1967 for belonging to the Ukrainian National Front and was sentenced to 6 years' imprisonment in strict regime concentration camps and to 5 years of exile. In November 1979 he was re-arrested and sentenced to 2 years in a concentration camp under art. 229 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR for allegedly being in possession of drugs, but in reality, for being a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group.

307) LESTIUK Hryhoriy Pylypovych, from the Ternopil region, arrested in 1944 and sentenced to a long-term in prison for membership of OUN. After his release still repressed.

308) LIBOVYCH Oleksander Semenovych, born in 1935 in the Lemko region, an engineer by profession. On 20. 5. 1961 he was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment for belonging to a political group naming itself the Ukrainian Worker-Peasant Union.

309) LINYNSKYI Petro, a former member of OUN, was sent to a concentration camp. After his release he worked as a ceramics craftsman and an expert on icons in the Lviv museum. He still suffers harassment and is kept under surveillance.

310) LISAKOVSKYI, a sculptor, he was sacked from the Regional Committee of Culture, he is kept under surveillance, the authorities accuse him of belonging to Ukrainian nationalists and for distributing nationalist literature, specifically 'Amidst the Snows' by Valentyn Moroz.

311) LISOVYI Vasyl S., born in 1937 he is an associate of the Institute of Philosophy at the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR and a lecturer at Kyiv University, is married and has two children. He was arrested for protesting against repression in Ukraine on 6. 7. 1972 and sentenced at the beginning of December 1973 in Kyiv to 7 years' imprisonment and 3 years' exile. On 6. 7. 1979 he was taken into exile where near the end of June 1980 he was re-arrested and sentenced to 1 year in a strict regime concentration camp under art. 209 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR.

312) LISCHUK Vasyl V., around 1958 he was sentenced to 25 year's imprisonment for being a member of the OUN under art. 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR. He spent 17 years in Vladimir prison, and, as a result, suffered a mental breakdown and is now seriously ill.

313) LOBKO Vasyl, an engineer by profession from Kyiv, a witness at Z. Antoniuk's trial (see U.R. No. 4/1981) in 1972. Because he brought favourable testimony about Antoniuk, the court decided to bring Lobko to trial "for extreme attacks on the court". The trial against Lobko took place in March 1974. His sentence is unknown, it is thought that Lobko may have been taken to a psychiatric prison hospital.

314) LOHYN Fedir, born around 1922, he was a regional leader of the OUN, for which he was arrested and spent many years in a concentration camp. The KGB still keeps him under surveillance and maintains repressive measures against him. They insisted he publicly renounce his past activities but he refused.

315) LUKASHEVYCH Denys, born in 1904, a priest of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, married and has children. He was arrested on 16. 10. 1951. At his trial he was sentenced in Lviv under art. 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to death, however his sentence was commuted to 25 years' imprisonment in concentration camps. He was accused of cooperating with OUN. At the same trial his son Ilariy and Mykhailo Starukh were also sentenced to death and the sentence was carried out, they were accused of being members of OUN. The last reports of Father Lukashevych from the concentration camps came in 1974.

316) LUKYANENKO Lev H., born on 24. 8. 1927, a lawyer, married. First arrested and sentenced in 1961 under art. 64-70 of the Criminal Code of RSFSR to 15 years' imprisonment. In January 1976 he was released after serving 15 years in Vladimir prison and in strict regime concentration camps but was denied the right to practice his profession. He was re-arrested on 12. 12. 1977 and sentenced to 10 years' strict regime concentration camps and 5 years' exile. He was charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" (art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR). At present he is serving his sentence in Mordovian camp ZH-385-8. He was a founding member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group.

317) LUKYANENKO Oleksander H., married, brother of Lev Lukyanenko. He sent a letter of protest to the Procurator of the Ukr. SSR, in which he claims his wife is being persecuted by the KGB for signing a petition in defence of V. Moroz.

318) LUPYNIS Anatoliy I., born in 1937 in the Kyiv region. Studied philology at Kyiv University, a poet. He was arrested for his poems and sentenced in 1956 to a 6-year prison term. A further 5 years were added to his sentence in the camps. Released in 1967, but re-arrested for writing Ukrainian patriotic poetry on 28. 5. 1971 in Kyiv and sentenced under art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 6 years' forced labour and 4 years' exile. He was placed in a psychiatric hospital. Now he is an invalid and in extremely bad health. On 10. 1979 he was sent into exile.

319) LUTSENKO, after the return of the Bolsheviks in 1944 he went into hiding — underground, and remained undiscovered for almost 30 years. At the beginning of April 1972 a 'Military tribunal' in Kyiv sentenced him to death.

320) LUTSYK Mykhailo P., born on 30. 12. 1921, he studied at the Historicogeographical faculty of Lviv University. He joined the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and on 28. 9. 1944 he was arrested and sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment for being a member of OUN. Released in 1956 but re-arrested in 1957 and sentenced to 8 years' imprisonment for writing a patriotic poem (the poem, however, was written in 1938 during Polish rule, so for the same poem he was first arrested by the Polish police, later by the Gestapo and finally by the KGB). In 1959 he was once again placed under surveillance and in the spring of 1961 the court raised his sentence to 15 years. On 18. 11. 1972 he was released, but on 31. 7. 1973 he was once again arrested and sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment. On 5. 7. 74 he was sent to the Dnipropetrovsk psychiatric hospital. On 1. 9. 78 he was released after spending 32 years in various prisons. At the moment he is living in the town of Rybnytsia in Moldavian SSR.

321) LUTSKYI Mykhailo, a priest of the underground Ukrainian Catholic Church in the Drohobych region. On the morning of 30. 1. 1975 while celebrating Mass he was arrested by the KGB and on the way to prison was hanged in the forest.

322) LUTSKIW Vasyl S., born in 1935 in the Lviv *oblast*. He was sentenced in Lviv on 20. 5. 1961 to 10 years' imprisonment for organizing the Ukrainian Worker-Peasant Union, whose aim was the secession of Ukraine from the USSR. He was charged under art. 56-1 and art. 64 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR.

323) LUCHKIW Ivan, a priest, born in 1934. On 12. 2. 1975 he was seized by KGB agents in the village of Verkhniodorozhnie in the Lviv region and hanged. The militia refused to conduct an investigation into the murder.

324) LUSHCH Konstantyn K., born in 1908, an active participant in the liberation struggle of OUN-UPA, for which he was arrested and sentenced in 1969 under art. 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 15 years hard labour. In 1977, without medical assistance he died in Perm concentration camp No. 35.

325) LUSHCHAK-KULYK Hrunia, wife of Pavlo Kulyk who in 1972 was called in as a witness in the case of Danylo Shumuk because the KGB found in her possession the manuscript of his memoirs "Recollections of the Past". During this ordeal Hrunia Lushchak-Kulyk was also expelled from the Party and sacked from her work in a school for alleged "amorality", but more likely because of her husband. She is still being kept under surveillance.

326) LIAKH Vasyl, born in 1940, arrested in 1973 and sentenced under art. 70 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR to 4 years' imprisonment.

327) LYSAK Petro A., born in 1915, by profession an engineer, he was arrested in 1956 and sent forcibly to a special psychiatric hospital after a speech about the Hungarian uprising he gave at a students meeting. At present, still incarcerated, he has been held in both prisons and psychiatric hospitals.

328) LYSYI Valeriy, born in 1954, in 1975 he was expelled from the Communist Youth League (Komsomol) and persecuted for wearing a medal with Jesus Christ with the words: "God is with us" and for cultivating "independent opinions and thoughts". He is still under surveillance and under threat of arrest.

330) LYTVYN Yuriy T., born in 1934, married with 2 children, he was first imprisoned in concentration camps in the 1960's for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". He was arrested for the second time on 14. 11. 1974 and sentenced under art. 190-1 to 3 years' imprisonment, he is a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group as from July 1978. He was yet again arrested on 6. 8. 1979 and sentenced to 3 years' strict regime concentration camps under art. 188 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR ("resisting the militia").

331) LYTVYNENKO Oleksander, born 1940, sentenced under art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 5 years' imprisonment. He is currently in Perm concentration camp No. 35.

332) LYTOVCHENKO Viktor, born 1950, a Baptist, arrested and sentenced on 3. 12. 1979 to 7 years' imprisonment. During the trial he declared he was going on hunger-strike for 35 days.

333) LYCHAK Petro, sentenced under art. 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to a long-term in prison. He was arrested for political activity and the likelihood is that his sentence is 15 years.

334) MAZEPA A., nome de guerre 'Smereka', a villager, a participant of the liberation struggle of the OUN-UPA, arrested in June of 1947 in the district of Brody, Lviv oblast and was sentenced to long-term imprisonment.

335) MAZUR Dmytro, at the beginning of June 1980 he was arrested in the Zhytomyr region and charged with violating art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR ('anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda').

336) MAKARENKO Mykhailo, a long-term inmate of Russian concentration camps from which he has now been released and lives with his wife in Moscow.

337) MAKOVYCHUK, in 1975 he was languishing in a Mordovian concentration camp for taking part in political activities.

338) MAKSYMENKO Volodymyr, born in 1953, a student of pediatrics at the Lviv medical school, from which he was expelled in 1974 for Ukrainian patriotic activities.

339) MALASHCHENKO Ivan, born in 1942, an Evangelical Christian. Arrested and sentenced between the end of 1972 and the beginning of 1973 for his beliefs to 3 years' in concentration camps.

340) MALYK Volodymyr, born on 21. 2. 1921 in a peasant family, a writer and a teacher; his real surname is *Sychenko*. He works as a teacher in Lyubni, Poltava region. The KGB began to persecute him incessantly in 1972 for expressing patriotic sentiments and taking part in acts deemed Ukrainian nationalist. In March 1979 the KGB conducted a search at his home.

341) MALCHAK Vasyl P., born in 1922, took an active part in the liberation struggle of OUN-UPA, a fighter in the underground for many years. Arrested in 1972 and died whilst being tortured in a KGB prison in Volhynia region (in the town of Lutske).

342) MATUSHEVSKYI Borys, born in 1908, completed higher education, arrested in 1929 and at the SVU-SUM trials in Kharkiv sentenced to a long term of imprisonment. Later arrested for a second time. After his release he lived in Kyiv where he died on 14. 1. 1977 in suspicious circumstances.

343) MOROZ Andriy Petrovych, from Lviv oblast, took part in the liberation struggle of OUN-UPA for which he was first sentenced to long-term imprisonment in 1946.

Arrested in for the second time in 1964 and tried under art. 56 and 64 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR and sentenced to 13 years in a strict regime concentration camp.

344) MOSKALENKO Yuriy, born in 1940, a student in the 5th year at the Kyiv Institute of Economics, arrested in 1967 and sentenced in Kyiv to a long term of imprisonment for taking part in political activities.

345) MALOZHENSKYI Vasyl I., born in 1916 in the Lviv oblast, a former member of OUN, arrested and sentenced for the first time in 1949 under art. 85 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ years of imprisonment and after his release he worked in a timber yard in the Lviv region. The KGB arrested him for the second time on 4. 2. 1967 and sentenced him in the Lviv regional court to 15 years' imprisonment not taking into account his former term of imprisonment.

346) MAMCHUR Stepan, he took part in the liberation struggle of OUN-UPA, was arrested in 1956, sentenced in 1957 to 25 years under article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR. Should be released in 1981.

347) MANIUKH Volodymyr, a doctor, he completed his medical studies at the Lviv medical school. Around 1950 he was arrested and sentenced in Lviv for Ukrainian nationalist activity and sent to a concentration camp.

348) MARDEROVYCH, born in 1955, a pupil of the 8th class in a secondary school in the region of Ivano-Frankivske. He was put on trial in June 1980 for damaging the portraits of government and communist party leaders in the town centre of Sniatyn, he was detained for 3 days and then allowed to complete the school year. Following these events his father was sacked from his job and still remains unemployed.

349) MARYNOVYCH Myroslav Frankovych, born in 1949, worked as an engineer in electronics in Kyiv, married, has one daughter, is a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group, for which he was arrested on 23. 4. 1977 in Kyiv and sentenced on 29. 3. 1978 to 7 years in a strict-regime concentration camp and 3 years' exile.

350) MARKOSIAN Razmyk H., born in 1944, sentenced for the first time under art. 70 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR to 4 years' imprisonment and 2 years' exile. On 8-10. 8. 1980 was yet again sentenced under art. 190 of the Criminal Code of the Kazakh SSR to 3 years in a strict regime concentration camp. At the time he had 1 month of exile to complete when he was arrested and accused for the second time of "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation.

351) MARMUS Volodymyr V., born 1949 in the Ternopil region of W. Ukraine. Arrested for distributing clandestine leaflets and for hoisting the Ukrainian national blue and yellow flag, sentenced in 1973 in Ternopil under art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 6 years' imprisonment and 5 years' exile. In January 1979 he was transferred into exile.

352) MARMUS Mykola V., born in 1947, arrested in January 1973 in the town of Chortkiv and sentenced *in camera* by the Ternopil regional court under art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 5 years in concentration camp and 3 years in exile. He was accused, like his brother, of hoisting the Ukrainian national flag on a government building and for distributing clandestine leaflets.

353) MARTYNENKO Oleksander I., born 2. 10. 1935 in the Donetsk *oblast*, an engineer by profession, worked in the Kyiv Institute of Archaeology, he was sentenced *in camera* in Kyiv on 25. 3. 1966 to 3 years for alleged "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". He served his sentence in Mordovia.

354) MARUSIAK Mykola, born in 1925, sentenced in 1948 in Ivano-Frankivske to 25 years in a concentration camp for taking part in OUN-UPA activities.

355) MARTSIAS Mykola, born in 1938 in the Ternopil region, in 1962 he was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment for underground, nationalist activities.

356) MARCHENKO Anatolyi I., born 21. 1. 1938, an engineer, married, has a son, sentenced on 3. 3. 1961 in Turkmenia to 6 years' imprisonment for allegedly attempting to cross the border illegally and 'for treason against the fatherland'. After his release in 1966 he wrote a book of memoirs entitled "My Testimony". On 29. 7. 1968 he was re-arrested by the KGB and sentenced to a further 3 years in a concentration camp.

357) MARCHENKO Valeriy, born 16. 9. 1947 in Kyiv, completed his studies in journalism at Kyiv University, a writer, journalist and translator, he was arrested on 25th June 1973 and sentenced in Kyiv to 6 years' imprisonment and 2 years' exile. He was tried under art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR for writing documents deemed nationalistic in character.

(To be continued)

Correction: In Ukrainian Review issue No. 3, 1982, p. 43 "Khomarevych" should read "Khomiakevych".

NEW PUBLICATION CATARACT	
by Mykhaylo Os	sadchyy.
 An Autobiographical Outline. An underground publication from Ukraine. Published by Ukrainian Publishers Ltd., London, 1975. Hard cover. 111 pp. Price: £2.50 (\$6.00). 	
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UKRAINIAN PUBLISHERS LTD., 200 Liverpool Rd., London, N1 1LF.	Ukrainian Booksellers or 49, Linden Gardens,

Ivan MIRTSCHUK

HISTORY OF UKRAINIAN CULTURE

Part 7

Scientific Achievements

SCIENCE IN THE KYIV STATE

When considering carefully the history of Ukraine fraught with awesome catastrophies and dangerous tensions, the question arises whether in such conditions science* which can only flourish in a state under the careful guardianship of a government, could even develop. Usually the princes and rulers were not the patrons of science. They promoted independent research and study out of a desire for fame or for practical reasons and established the necessary institutions. They provided educational systems and advocated the creation of higher educational establishments, chiefly universities, whose primary task was to produce as many scholars as possible. The second factor in the initial stage of the development of peoples in pursuit of knowledge was without doubt the higher clergy. They did not keep knowledge to themselves but were equally interested in spreading it to the upper echelons of society.

This was the state of affairs during the first period of Ukraine's historical experience during the time of the Kyiv State. The codification of old-Ukrainian law the *Rus'ka Pravda* and the founding of the first public library at the Cathedral of St. Sophia were the fruits of the initiative of Grand Prince Jaroslav. The *Rus'ka Pravda*, the oldest Slavic compilation of law (11th-12th century) required lengthy preparatory work as did comparative studies on Byzantine, Western European and Ukrainian law. The The Pechers'ka Lavra in Kyiv with its library and other monasteries and princely courts formed important centres of learning.

Unfortunately, the Kyiv rulers did not have enough time to build an academy or university in their capital city. However, the cultural monuments of this period demonstrate clearly that the ground has been prepared. The old chronicles composed mostly by monks also belong to the legacy of science.

During the Kyiv period theology was the focal point of scientific interest. It often had clear philosophical overtones. The works concerned, though they referred to the thoughts of the Church Fathers and Ancient Philo-

^{*} The term 'science' includes knowledge and learning in this context - trans's note.

sophy, attempted also to incorporate folk wisdom with its original outlook on life.

The following were important theologians and experts in their field: Metropolitan Ilarion, a pioneer in the struggle for the independence of the Ukrainian Churrch; K. Smoljatyč, a philosopher and authority on Plato and Aristotle and advocate of an educated clergy; Bishop K. Turivs'kyj, a master of rhetoric, and others. Prince Volodymyr Monomakh's testament *Pouchennja ditjam* also has philosophical elements. It contains interesting views on the duties of a ruler.

SCIENCE AND EDUCATION UNDER FOREIGN RULE

The scientific achievements mentioned above might have shown particular promise if developments had gone along normal lines. Unfortunately, the Tartar invasions stopped all spiritual activity; in the following Lithuanian period conditions for independent scientific creativity were mostly lacking. The rulers very much under the influence of the highly developed Ukrainian culture nevertheless did nothing at all to promote it or plan its growth. It is evident that the annexation of Ukrainian territory by the Kingdom of Poland did not improve matters. Prince K. Ostrožskyj (1526-1608) indeed tried to rescue the situation by founding an academy (1580). However, the work scarcely outlived its creator. The burgher Brotherhoods in cities such as Lviv understanding the need for learning founded their own schools staffed by highly educated teachers. However, even these efforts without the energetic help of a Ukrainian state met with no outstanding success during the Cossack Period in the 17th century which created favourable ground for the resumption of scientific activity in the full sense of the word. The Cossacks, the inheritors of the long vanished grandeur of the Kyiv period were aware of their duties to their native land in the field of science and took an active part in organising higher education iin Ukraine and in particular in the founding of the later Kviv Academv whose light permeated the whole of Eastern Europe.

This is not the place for assessing the significance of the Mohyla Academy. This has already been done elsewhere. However, it should be noted that with the fall of Ukrainian statehood the position of the focal point of learning also changed profoundly. Though the Academy, thanks to the sacrifice of the citizens of Kyiv, did not perish, the unfortunate political situation worked in such a way that the pupils of the Academy were not able to devote their work to their homeland but had to serve the foreign state and help it flourish first.

At the turn of the 19th century the situation appeared completely hopeless. The last remnants of independent statehood had fallen prey to Great Russian imperialism, cultural life was almost extinct and even the very existence of the Ukrainian people was threatened by the dexterous politics

of the ruling circles in St. Petersburg. Understandably, in such circumstances scientific activity was out of the question. There was almost no basis for the latter. At the very moment when in the rest of Europe a widespread differentiation of scholarly work had set in and in every field of science significant initiatives were being made towards independent research, there was a calm in Ukrainian society. It seems that hardly anyone dared to change this. When in time the spirit of research in Ukraine began to hold sway it was restricted to a narrow range of national problems. Independent research was being conducted not on questions of general science: mathematics, physics, astronomy and philosophy nor all the other disciplines embracing all humanity, but Ukrainian ethnography, archaeology, history, language and literature. Given the sad reality people were content to be able to at least attend to Ukrainian studies, all the more so since there was a serious danger that foreign researchers would turn to this subject and declare to the world that the hidden treasures of the Ukrainian national heritage belonged to their culture.

For this reason Ukrainians collect monuments of the glorious past such as the universaly (general proclamations) of the hetmans, diplomatic correspondence, handwritten notes of important historical personalities etc. Based mainly on material collected by A. Čepa, J. Markovyč prepared the publication of a "Ukrainian Encyclopaedia" (Zapiski o Malorosii). Only the first volume: Geography and History of the Country appeared, it was published in 1798 in St. Petersburg. In 1829 a manuscript entitled Istorija Russov (History of the Ruthenians) by an anonymous author was discovered. Written in a patriotic and republican-democratic spirit it was a considerable influence on the national consciousness of later Ukrainian leaders. In the field of ethnographic studies the turn of the century saw the appearance of celebrated works by H. Kalynovskyj, Z. Chodakovskyj, M. Certelev and a collection of Ukrainian folk songs by M. Maksymovyč and P. Lukaševyč. At about the same time O. Pavlovskyj published the first grammar of the Ukrainian language (Grammatika malorosijskogo narečija, 1818) while D. Bantyš-Kamenskyj (1788-1850) published his first systematic "History of Ukraine" (Istorija Maloj Rosii 1822); further editions followed in quick succession (1830-1842). In 1842-45 M. Maksymovyc's five volume History of Ukraine (Istorija Malorosii) was published. It had strong patriotic overtones and idealised fanatically the Cossack period. This attitude is quite understandable. This was the period of Romanticism which gave considerable scope to both imagination and feelings in research which to a great extent impaired its scientific worth. With a poorly understood sense of patriotism I. Srežnevskyj published his Zaporožkaja Starina (Zaporozhian Antiquity) in 1832–38. It contained next to genuine folk songs, poems composed by himself glorifying the heroic deeds of the Cossacks. Indeed, if the necessary state apparatus had existed it would have been possible to plan serious long-term studies. Even at the Russian state universities in Kyiv and Kharkiv there was neither a chair in the Ukrainian Language

nor Ukrainian History. Ukrainian national interests albeit in a disguised manner could only be preserved to a certain extent in the general field of Slavic Studies. The Ukrainian patriot O. Bodjanskyj (1808–1877) a professor at Moscow University and also secretary of the historical society published in his reports a whole series of old-Ukrainian chronicles and diaries which included in particular *Istorija Russov*.

SCIENCE IN CENTRAL UKRAINE IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19th CENTURY

Research activity as far as Ukrainian territory on the right bank of the Dnipro was concerned received some support from the Russian government which after the crushing of the Polish uprising in 1831 wished to furnish evidence that right-bank Ukrainian territory had always been "Russian" and therefore Polish claims to it were completely unjustified. To this end the Archaeographic Commission (1843) was founded in Kyiv with members such as Shevchenko, Kuliš and Kostomariv and others. It became a refuge for nationally-orientated scholarly work. Its publications: "Monuments" (4 vols.) and "The Archive of Southwest Russia" (*Archiv jugozapadnoj Rosii*) contained important works such as the chronicles of Velyčko and Hrabjanka. The work of the Commission was particularly fruitful when the famous Ukrainian historian V. Antonovyč (1834–1908) was appointed director.

V. Antonovyč, a long-serving Professor of Russian History at Kyiv University trained a whole school of Ukrainian historians (e.g. Hruševskyj) and archaeologists. A strict researcher of sources he advocated methodology based on the realist-positivist principle of the importance of the masses as the sole bearers of Ukrainian history. Another historian, O. Lazarevskyj (1834–1902) had a similar methodology. On the basis of records in left-bank Ukraine he frequently drew tendentious conclusions about socio-economic relations in the old Hetman State of 17th and 18th century Ukraine.

Material on the political history of the Cossack State in the 17th century was published by the Archaeological Commission in St. Petersburg in order to illustrate appropriately relations with Moscow based on documents found in Russian archives. M. Kostomariv carried out all the work. Like Antonovyč he published in Kyiv 12 volumes "Documents on the History of West and South Russia 1361–1679 (*Akty do istorii južnoj i zapadnoj Rosii*) with special reference to the Khmelnyckyj Period and its successors.

M. Kostomariv (1817-1885) professor at the universities of Kyiv and St. Petersburg, leading member of the ideological group, the Brotherhood of St. Cyril and Methodius, representative of Ukrainian messianism, marks in Ukrainian historiography the transition from the romantic to the positivist treatment of historical material. He was joined by P. Kuliš (1891–1897) an important historian, and also a gifted writer with a very broad range of interests, a nature full of contradictions which was very often swayed by

a change of feeling and therefore frequently and radically changed its view point without an understandable motive. Considerable credit is due to th South West Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society in S Petersburg for its work on Ukrainian studies. It commissioned P. Čubynšky (1839-1884) to research the life of the people of right-bank Ukraine. Fo this purpose Čubynškyj organised an expedition and published the result of its work in 1872–1878 in the form of seven comprehensive volumes con taining valuable folklore material. The Russian authorities were not so interested in left-bank Ukraine, therefore it was up to the private initiative of Ukrainian patriots who either preserved old relics of the glorious pas themselves or entrusted them to the safe keeping of the Historical Philo logical Society at Kharkiv University.

The South West Section was responsible for the planning of Ukrainian research work in the wider sense of the word. Taking a dedicated par were all the major Ukrainian scholars at the time: Antonovyč, as we have already mentioned: P. Zyteckyj the philologist; R. Mychalčuk the linguist M. Lvsenko the foremost authority on Ukrainian music; N. Siber the political economist: and O. Rusov the ethnographer. This Ukrainian "Academy of Sciences" disguised as Russian whose work extended mainly to the field of folklore in the widest sense of the word and economic research, was able to put out feelers beyond the borders of the Russian Empire and also interest scholars from Halvchyna and Bukovyna in their projects. The publications of the Society including the monumental "Historical Songs of the Ukrainian People" (Istoriceskije pesni maloruskoho naroda) with comments by V. Antonovyč and M. Drahomaniv deserve particular mention They enjoyed an excellent reputation in European scholarly circles. I mention in this connection reviews by such authorities as A. Rimbaud and Leroy-Beaulieu. The former emphasized in his critique that the publications binded together the "disiecta membrana" of the Ukrainian nation. At the instigation and with the strong support of the Society in 1874 the first Archaeological Congress was held in Kyiv. It was a potent manifestation of the national spirit of research and reviewed all the scientific achievements in the field of Ukrainian Studies. However, this surge of national life albeit only within the framework of scientific research provoked the suspicion of the Russian authorities. The unhappy year 1876 brought with it the ban on the Ukrainian language in word and print by Alexander II and the dissolution of the Kyiv Geographical Society. This brought to an end any possibility of independent scientific research. Researchers felt compelled by the changing circumstances to either work abroad (e.g. M. Drahomaniv, who continued to publish Ukrainian historical songs in Geneva) or bring their research work into line with university institutes and supported by them continue to work for Ukraine. Thus we find valuable contributions to the history of political and spiritual life in Ukraine in collections of scientific work of the "Historical and Philological Society", founded by the celebrated Ukrainian philologist O. Potebnja (1835-1891), or in the reports

of the "Nestor Society" established by professor V. Antonovyč at Kyiv University (also 1876). The monthly journal *Kievskaja Starina* (Kyivan *Starina* (Kyivan Antiquity) was a veritable storehouse for every researcher. It was first published in 1882 and for 26 years was the scientific organ of such scholars as M. Kostomariv, M. Drahomaniv (1841–1895), O. Lazarevškyj, O. Levyčkyj (1849–1922), M. Sumcov (1854–1922) and many others.

WESTERN UKRAINE

As a result of the heavy suppression of scientific life in the Russian Empire, Ukrainian research work was unable to develop freely on a national foundation until the Revolution of 1905. Consequently, the focal point of this work was transferred to Eastern Halychyna. When this territory came under Austrian rule at the end of the 18th century the Viennese Monarchy endeavoured to develop its spiritual life by founding higher education institutes particularly for the religious needs of the country. They included the "Barbareum", the theological seminary in Vienna, the "Studium Ruthenum", a preparatory school for higher education, and Lviv University founded in 1784 where such academics as P. Lodii, M. Harasevyč, J. Holovacky and others taught. Ukrainian history and letters were fostered in barticular. The number of nationally conscious scholars increased with each year. However, these endeavours first took on a tangible form in 1873 when thanks to the donations of Ukrainian patriots in Lviv the "Shevchenko Literary Society" was established. After its transformation into a purely scientific body in 1893 it subsequently became a veritable Academy of Sciences. Henceforth, progress became rapid. The Society's work became more and more intensive and all-embracing. It received added encouragement from the many years of leadership of a man who combined great erudition and unparalleled industry with astounding productivity and an excellent talent for organisation. This man was Mykhailo Hruševsky (1866-1934), a Kyivan scholar who, appointed Professor of East European History at Lviv University, was immediately elected President of the Society. His work as president was long and prosperous. In a relatively short time he was able to gather a well-known group of serious scholars. Their work in the field of Ukrainian Studies was known well beyond the narrow confines of their homeland. It appeared in the publications of the Society which reached the conspicuous total of 600 before the Second World War.

Among the foreign members of the Society we find the names of such eminent scholars as Max Planck, Albert Einstein, Charles Seignobos, André Mazon, V. Bechterev, A. Jensen, A. Penck, Sven Hedin and others.

The Society consisted of three sections: 1. Historical-philosophical, 2. Philological, 3. Mathematical and Natural Sciences. Alongside the sections there were the following commissions: 1. Archaeological, 2. Ethnographic, 3. Bibliographic. 4. Geographical. 5. Linguistic. 6. The Commission for Classical Philology, 7. History of Art, 8. Social-Statistical, 9. Physiographic. The Society also had a public library whose worth and importance la not in the number of available books but in the selection. The ground floor of the library consisted of works related albeit in the loosest contex to Ukrainian matters, regardless of what language they were written in. W find old prints of the 16th–18th century such as those of J. Fedorovy (Lviv 1574) or Kotliarevskyj's *Eneida* (St. Petersburg 1798). Next door to the library was the Society's museum whose collections were badly damaged during the Russian invasion of 1914–15 though they were later replenished and restored.

It should be said in conclusion that the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv was a product of the whole Ukrainian nation in the truest sense o the word since not only the well-to-do circles but also simple peasants from every Ukrainian province contributed, often all they had, to its setting up

With the annexation of East Halychyna by the Polish State, the Society had to severely limit its activities since it no longer received any suppor from public funds and had to face severe opposition from the Polisk government. After the occupation of Lviv by Bolshevik troops in 1939 it ceased to exist as an independent body and was officially attached to the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Lviv. Even though this did not yet signify the end of its work, in reality it became infinitely clear that there was no room for a national cultural centre such as the Shevchenko Society had been from its beginning, in the framework of the Bolshevik State. The advance of the Red Army into Western Europe again brought Western Ukrainian territory after the three year occupation by German troops (1941–44) into the sphere of influence of the Soviet Union. The policies begun in 1939 were resumed with even more vehemence.

SCIENCE IN UKRAINE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 20th CENTURY AND IN AN INDEPENDENT STATE

The revolutionary movement which set in after the Russo-Japanese War and led to the introduction of a constitution in the Russian Empire, also brought relief to the Ukrainian people mainly in the realm of spiritual culture. After the restrictions and prohibitions imposed on the Ukrainian language were lifted scientific work could be resumed. The Ukrainian Scientific Society was founded in Kyiv. The Society which gathered Ukrainian scholars around just as its elder sister-society in Lviv, provided for the rising generation of scholars. In the period up to the First World War it issued 24 volumes of publications which also contained essays by foreign scholars, mainly Russians, such as Šachmatov, Korš, Perets. Illinskij and others.

Taking advantage of the freedoms granted by the constitution in 1906 attempts were made to gain access for the Ukrainian language to the universities in Ukraine. However, the Russian Government soon prohibited lectures in Ukrainian and only tolerated the courses in Ukrainian Culture which were offered to the students in Russian.

Circumstances were no better as regards the scholars who had to work in Halychyna in Old Austria, though under the direct rule of Poland. They had just as few of their own high schools, while Lviv University built for Ukrainians was completely in the hands of the Poles and, with very few exceptions, closed its gates to Ukrainians. Nevertheless, the spirit of research among Ukrainian scholars at that time embraced almost all the fields of human science. However, without their own Ukrainian posts they were forced to work for foreign cultures. As a result of these unnatural conditions, Ukrainian scholars published their works in Russian or Polish and naturally were not recognised as Ukrainians by the European world. Thus the philosopher V. Lesevvč; the psychologist and psychiatrist I. Sikorskyj; the sociologist M. Kovalevskyj; the lawyer O. Kistjakovskyj, to mention a few names, appear as Russians. K. Hankevyč is regarded as a Polish philosopher in the Slavic world: Horbačevskyi established the foundations of Czech chemistry and Pului lectured at the German-Czech Institute in Prague.

The First World War in 1914 had a crippling effect on cultural life in Ukraine. Hruševskyi, its spiritual leader was arrested in Russia and sent into exile. National life in Lviv was paralyzed by the occupation of the city by Russian troops. This depression, however, was only short-lived; it brought nearer the revolution in the Tsarist Empire which in due course led to the formation of in Independent Ukrainian State. Now for the first time the necessary prerequisites were available which were a decisive factor in the flowering of science. The Ukrainian language became the administrative and educational language. It soon established itself in both state schools, intermediate schools and even the scientific societies. In order to surmount various technical difficulties the former Russian universities at Kviv, Kharkiv and Odessa were Ukrainianised by the creation of new chairs in Ukrainian History, Legal History, Language and Literature. In addition two new completely Ukrainian state universities were founded in Kviv and Kamjanec-Podilskyj as well as the Historical-Philosophical Department at Poltava. Subsequently, work was begun on building a national archive. a national gallery and finally an All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kviv.

Ukrainian leaders had already been animated by the desire for a Ukrainian Academy of Sciences before the First World War. Their efforts went mainly towards gaining official recognition of the Shevchenko Society in Lviv as an Academy. However, the opposition of the Polish authorities proved too great. It was only in an independent state during the reign of Hetman Pavlo Skoropadskyj who devoted particular attention to cultivating science, that this long-standing wish became a reality. Towards the end of 1918 the Academy with its three departments: 1) Historical-philological, 2) Physics and Mathematics, 3) Socio-economic, was opened. Indeed, the Hetman appointed the most important Ukrainian scholars to teach in then In terms of organisation the Kyiv Academy was modelled on the alread proven European prototypes with account being taken of the needs of th Ukrainian population. In order to illustrate better the large scale of th financial provision for the Academy it should be mentioned that apart froi the usual current outlay a special sum of \$750,000 was allotted by th State Budget for the extraordinary expenses of the Academy. Apart froi the Academy other scientific organisations were called to life: the Stat Archive, the State Archaeological Commission and the All-Ukrainia Academy of Arts.

THE SOVIET PERIOD

All the new establishments and plans which had scarcely been realise could not bring specific results since Ukraine stricken by difficult crises onl began to settle down to relatively peaceful times in 1922. Subsequently, this led to the revival of scientific work. The Soviet authorities initially allowe the Academy of Sciences to retain its former status and even gave it modest material subsidy. Thanks to the devotion and tenacity of Ukrainia scholars who did not flee abroad in 1925-30 the Academy in spite of it modest financial means involved itself in unusually active and widerangin activity and achieved a proper place among similar institutions in th world. Special credit for the organisation of scientific work under th difficult conditions of Bolshevik reality is due to the historian Hruševsky known for his work in Lviv. After returning to Kviv he devoted his energy and experience to serving the national culture. The quarterly journa Ukraina appeared under his editorship. It contained particularly importan and interesting contributions on the political and spiritual life in Ukraine During this period he published volumes 9 and 10 of his monumenta "The History of Ukrainian Literature" in which he examines the master pieces of Ukrainian literature with an emphasis on the sociological and ideological aspects. In addition Hruševskyj published several volumes o "Studies in Ukrainian History", and continued his sociological and ethno graphic work begun abroad. The work of the Academy was not only restricted to Kyiv. D. Bahalij (1857-1932), the historian less known in th West but no less important, worked in Kharkiv. He was director of th Commission on the Socio-Economic History of Ukraine in the 17th-19th Century which involved a number of younger researchers from both Kyi and Kharkiv. M. Slabčenko, the most important researcher in the field o legal and socio-economic conditions in the 17th-19th century worked in Odessa. He was author of the fundamental studies "The Economy of th Hetman State in 17th-18th Century" volumes 1-4, "The Socio-legal Organi sation of the Zaporizhian Sich", and others.

Ukrainian philology and literary history specialising in research of Shevchenko were represented by A. Krymskyj, V. Hancov, S. Jefremov

V. Perets, J. Tymčenko, V. Rjezanov (6 volume Corpus of the Texts of Old-Ukrainian Dramas), O. Syniavskyj, M. Kalynovyč and other scholars each of whom made significant contributions.

It is not possible even to list in the framework of this article all the new publications in the various fields; we must concentrate on particularly striking examples. Among the publications of the Socio-Economic Department the papers of the "Research Commission on Western Ruthenian and Ukrainian Law" are of special interest, they include valuable contributions by the following scholars: Vladymirskij-Budanov, Tuhan-Baranovskyj, Voblyj and Vasylenko. The Physics and Mathematics Department with contributors such as P. Tutkivskyj (1858-1930), the father of Ukrainian geology, D. Zabolotnyj (1866-1929) famous for his bacteriological research on cholera and the plague, the minerologist V. Vernadskyj (1863-1945), the first President of the Academy and an important personality in scholarly life in the USA, attempted to fill the gaps which had appeared in the previous century, and produced a considerable number of monographs in the fields of mathematics, natural history, chemistry and related branches. All these publications were fully recognised abroad in the institutes of Europe and America with which the Academy was in scientific rapport.

Apart from the Academy independent institutes acted as centres of scientific research, they included the Research Professorship for Ukrainian Culture in Kharkiv headed by D. Bahalij which worked very fruitfully. In general, it can be said that the achievements of Ukrainian scholars cannot be praised enough if one considers the conditions under which they were forced to work. Unfortunately, in 1930 events took a marked turn. The flourishing of national culture was not to the liking of the communist rulers. They severely restricted the by now quite independent work of the Academy, removed nationally coinscious scholars and replaced them with servile party functionaries who had no scientific qualifications. Moreover, the party politics of the Soviet Government demanded that Ukrainian scholars strictly adhere to the line dictated by Moscow. This was ruinous to objective research. The national element had to be excluded completely while periods of struggle by the Ukrainian people against the Russians had to be represented as foreign intrigue and the leaders of the struggle as traitors. The sole aim of the liberation struggle of the Ukrainians was to be motivated by their desire for the closest of friendship with the "elder Russian brother" who naturally was given the primacy of leadership and endowed with a mission as a chosen people. This attitude affected not only the Humanities but also Political Economics and the Exact Sciences. Noncompliance with these orders was regarded as a serious crime punishable by a term in a concentration camp or liquidation. It is all too evident that under such circumstances the earlier spiritual high-standing of the Academy could not but go into catastrophic decline.

Even in the regions of Western Ukraine which after the Treaty of Versailles were ceded to Poland there was a bad recession in scientific research compared with the period prior to the First World War. The main reason was lack of finance. The Shevchenko Society in Lviv had lost a majo part of its wealth due to the devaluation of Polish currency. Consequently without state aid it could only continue its publishing work to a ver limited degree. The same misfortune befell the theological periodical *Analecta Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni, Bohoslovia* and the publications o the Ukrainian National Museum in Lviv.

SCIENTIFIC CENTRES IN EXILE

The defeat in the bitter struggle of the Ukrainian nation against the Bolsheviks forced most of the Ukrainian intelligentsia to flee abroad to forn spiritual centres. Thus the Ukrainian University was founded in Prague the Agricultural Institute in Podebrady, the Pedagogical Institute, the Socio logical Institute, the Academy of Fine Arts, the Historical-Philologica Society, the Society of Ukrainian Doctors, Engineers and the Ukrainian National Museum, all based in Prague. The oldest of these establishments the University, still in existence today had the task of providing exile scholars with further opportunities for study and preparing the next genera tion of scholars for future work. It published a whole series of distinguished works by its members which appeared either in omnibus volumes or a independent works. The following are worth particular mention: "Text book on Organic Chemistry" by Horbačevsky, "General Law" by Dnist rjanskyj and "Ukrainian Law" by Laščenko. The University was the verit able alma mater of the already mentioned societies and associations which were either directly linked with it or independent in form in reality com pletely affiliated. The very active Historical-Philological Society directed by D. Antonovyč was among these. It gave hundreds of lectures most o which have been published in five volumes.

Without going into details and describing the work of each individua institution it can be said that in general the work of the Ukrainian exile in Prague and its environs was truly remarkable. It became a decisive factor in the further formation of spiritual life in Ukraine itself. When Czecho-Slovakia was occupied by the Red Army (1945) the University moved to Munich to begin together with other scientific institutes a new life in quite different circumstances.

The Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin founded in 1926 was a second major centre of Ukrainian scientific life abroad. It role was that of mediato between Germany and Ukraine. The Institute's primary aim was to inform German scientific circles about the spiritual, cultural and scientific problem of Ukraine on the one hand and on the other hand to plant and disseminate the achievements of German science and culture on Ukrainian territory The Institute organised a whole series of lectures at the Friedrich-Wilheln University delivered partly by German scholars and partly by Ukrainian scholars on Ukrainian themes. The Institute launched a series of publica

tions such as "Essays and News of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute", "Lectures on Ukrainian Studies", "Notes on Ukrainian Culture" (German and Ukrainian), "History of Ukraine", "Guide to Ukraine" and the "Ukrainian-German, German-Ukrainian Dictionary" and others. The Institute's library the largest collection of *Ucrainica* in Germany was available to both private individuals involved in scientific studies and, of course, also to numerous interested institutions. It was certainly to the great credit of the Institute that during the almost 20 years of its existence through courses, lectures and exhibitions and by personal consultation and information, it made a considerable contribution to awakening interest in Ukrainian matters, sustaining that interest and helping to educate a number of people who could be of great help in the future rebuilding of Eastern Europe.

After the occupation of Berlin by the Bolsheviks the Institute members returned to Munich to help in the organisation of the spiritual life of the Ukrainian *émigrés* in the Bavarian capital.

We should also mention the publications of the Ukrainian Scientific Society in Warsaw where a number of Ukrainian scholars worked and which published some valuable monographs. In spite of political decline the list of achievements in science does not end here; there were various associations, societies and individuals who also worked in this field, however, we have insufficient room here to give a more thorough description of their activities.

During the occupation of Ukrainian national territory by the Wehrmacht scientific work in the central regions due to the war and the direct proximity of the front, could not unfold. This was contributed by the fact that the civilian government headed by Gauleiter Erich Koch installed by Hitler, was preparing the ground for the later colonisation of Eastern Europe and was therefore not disposed to granting political freedoms to the population or promoting its spiritual development. Conditions were somewhat better for the Ukrainian scholars in the western territories where the Ukrainian Central Committee established by the Germans had definite autonomous rights and was therefore able to exert a certain positive influence on spiritual life. A typical measure of the occupation authorities was the prohibition against the renewal of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in spite of the fact that German members of the Society: Privy Councillor Planck, a physicist of world standing, Privy Councillor Penck, an eminent geographer, and Professor Vasmer a prominent slavist at Berlin University appealed to the government to lift the ban. The Society which had been able to develop freely in Old Austria and received generous subsidies from the central government and later was not dissolved even in the Polish state was now forced to close its doors. After the defeat of the German army the entire national territory of Ukraine was annexed by the Soviet Union and science incorporated into the ruling system.

After the catastrophe of 1945 hundreds of scholars and scientific workers

fled their homeland to go west, thus escaping the Bolshevik voke. Th largest concentration of scholars was in Bayaria where numerous camp offered work and subsistence to refugees. Munich and its environs becam the centre of the cultural life of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. The kindnes of the Bayarian State Government and the Education Authorities in Municl facilitated the organisation of a quite comprehensive higher and middl education system. The Ukrainian Free University, the Agricultural Institute the School of Political Economy, the Greek-Catholic Spiritual Seminary the Orthodox Spiritual Academy, numerous high schools, intermediat Commerce and Trade Schools or societies such as the Shevchenko Scientific Society, the Free Academy of Sciences, the Historical-Philological Society the Institute for Ukrainian Martyrology, the Heraldic Institute and many others found a haven in Bavaria. It must be emphasized that the American Authorities who in the initial years after the war had a considerable in fluence on the formation of public life, were very generous in their attitude to the efforts of the Ukrainian émigrés.

The sojourn of the *émigrés* in Western Europe and particularly in Germany was limited in time; it was only a breather before they wen overseas where various states were willing to accept these unfortunate destitute people. The pedagogical activity of the schools and scientific institutes became more and more restricted by the considerable pace of resettlement. Nevertheless, the years of major development 1946-1950 de monstrated to the world that the Ukrainian community was capable in the most difficult circumstances of showing its spiritual qualities.

If in concluding this fragmentary study we cast our eyes back at the last decades we note that there has been enormous progress in Ukrainiar sciences. While at the beginning of the 20th century there was still considerable debate as to whether a Ukrainian language existed as an independent entity and Ukrainian Culture had the right to exist, today such argument is inconceivable. Life itself has overcome inhibitions, obstacles and restrictions and in spite of the not very favourable conditions. Ukrainian science has established itself. Its multiformity and excellence is fresh evidence of the fact that the Ukrainian people have a right to their own cultural life in the fullest sense of the word.

)To be continued(

Translated by W. Slez

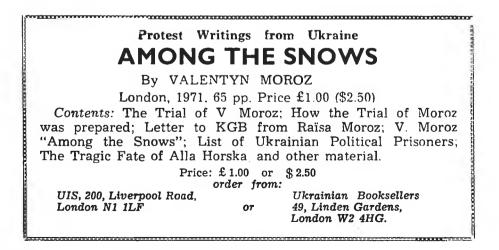
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5

Theodore MACKIW, Ph.D.*

A BRIEF BIOGRAPHY OF MAZEPA: HETMAN OF UKRAINE AND PRINCE OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, 1639-1709

1. Introduction

Hetman¹ Ivan Mazepa was not only a controversial personality in Eas European history because of his alliance with the Swedish King Charles XI against the Tsar Peter I; he was also one of the most influential figures in the emerging Russian Empire². One of the most debated issues in European historiography is the question of whether or not Mazepa had the right to abandon the Tsar and conclude a secret alliance with the Swedish King. Thi issue requires examination from international, Russian, and Ukrainian aspects, without which an objective understanding of Mazepa's policy is no possible. Many historians do not correctly analyze the relationship between the Tsar and the Hetman because of the tendentiousness of sources or the lack of them.

Mazepa was, in principle, neither a Russophile nor a Russophobe although he knew the tragic development of Ukrainian-Russian relations In fact, he considered coexistence with Russia possible on the basis of the agreement of Perejaslav in 1654. This was the political reality which he inherited from his predecessor and it was his understanding that the *conditic sine qua non* of any Ukrainian policy was the benevolent or at least neutra position of the Russian government towards Ukraine.

Because of his loyalty and brilliant tactics, Mazepa succeeded in Moscow He was not only trusted, but respected. With the support of Moscow, he was able to cope with the opposition of some officers and with social dissatisfac tion with his administration. He also hoped, with the help of Moscow, to consolidate Ukrainian lands within the framework of the autonomous Ukrainian Cossack State (the Hetmanstate). In 1704 he recovered the territory on the Right-Bank Ukraine, despite Polish attempts to annex it to the Polish crown.

When the Great Northern War began, the relations between Peter I and Mazepa were cordial. In fact, on the Tsar's recommendation, the Emperor

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^{1 &}quot;Hetman" derives from old German "Hoeftmann" — Commander-in-Chief Hetman is approximately equivalent to the title of "Hospodar" of Moldavia or "Doge" of the Republic of Venice.

² O. Subtelny, On the Eve of Poltava, New York, 1975, p. 15.

Joseph I granted Mazepa the title of Prince of the "Holy Roman Empire" on September 1, 1707³. Although the Ukrainian interests were very remote from the Russian ones, Mazepa served faithfully and carried out the Tsar's orders. The Hetman considered himself a faithful vassal and expected to be treated as such. When the Tsar bluntly refused to come to his aid, and made clear his intention to abolish the autonomy of the Ukraine, Mazepa believed that his lord — the Tsar — was breaking the agreement (the Kolomak articles); consequently, this agreement could no longer be binding, and he had the right (*jus resistendi*) to abandon the Tsar in order to protect the interests of the Ukrainian Hetmanstate, of which he was the chief executive (*Hetman*). Unfortunately, Mazepa lost his gamble, and was condemned by the Tsar as a traitor, although he was not the only one at this time to try to protect the rights and privileges of his country.

As to the controversial question of whether Mazepa had invited the Swedish King to enter Ukraine, it must be emphasized that Charles XII, being forced by lack of food and accommodation, simply moved into Ukraine. The English resident at the Swedish headquarters, Captain James Jefferyes, wrote in his report of October 7, 1708 from the Swedish headquarters at Starodub, that Charles XII sent a special messenger to Mazepa's residence in Baturyn requesting him to spend the winter in Ukraine.⁴

Mazepa did not expect the Swedish King to enter Ukraine and when he was informed about this, he angrily remarked to his chancellor, Philip Orlyk, that Charles XII would ruin all his plans.⁵

The personality and activities of Ivan Mazepa have been called to the attention not only of contemporary diplomats, statesmen, journalists, and many historians, but also of poets, such as Byron, Hugo, Pushkin, Ryleyev, and Slowacki; composers, such as Liszt, Maurer, Petrel, Pedrotti, and Tchajkovsky; and painters, such as Boulanger, Gotschall, and Vernet.

The name of Mazepa became known in Western Europe in connection with the "Holy Anti-Turkish Alliance".

In 1684 the Emperor Leopold I organized the "Holy Anti-Turkish Allance", to which belonged Austria, Venice, the Papal States, Poland and Russia. This war against Turkey thus had international character. It included the Ukrainian Cossack Forces under the command of Hetman Ivan Samoylovych, as well as the Russian Army. During the first unsuccessful campaign against the Crimea (1687), the Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Army, Prince

³ Reichsadelsakten in Reichsadelsamt, Vienna.

⁴ Public Record Office, State Papers (hereafter PRO, SP), 95, Vol. 17; cf. R. M. Hatton, "Captain James Jefferyes's letters to the Secretary of State, Whitehall, from the Swedish Army, 1707-1709", Historiskt Magasin, Vol. 35, No 1 (1953), p. 63.

⁵ N. Kostomarov, Mazepa i mazepintsy, Polnoje Sobranje Sochinenij, St. Petersburg, 1905, Vol. VI, p. 615; ("...it is the devil, who sends him here. He is going to ruin all my plans and bring in his wake the Russian troops. Now our Ukraine will be devastated and lost".).

Vassilij Golitsyn, in order to save his reputation at the court, persuade the Cossacks to depose Samoylovych, accusing him of having ties with th enemy, and elected Mazepa as the new *Hetman* (August 4, 1687). Th Western European press carried reports of Mazepa's election as the nev *Hetman.*⁶

The first English newspaper to mention Mazepa, was *The London Gazeti* of October 6, 1687. Using information from Hamburg dated September 3(1687, *The London Gazette* reported that according to the news from Kyiv Samoylovych and his son were being taken to Moscow to answer charge of treason and in the meantime Golitsyn put "the Sieur Mazeppa, a Perso of Great Reputation for his Valour" in charge of the Cossack force: Mazepa's election was also reported in the London magazine, *Moder*. *History, or a Monethly Account of All Considerable Occurences fo December 1687*, (No. 3, p. 19).

At the beginning of 1704, the Tsar, having regained the Baltic provinces increased his aid to his ally, the Polish king. Augustus II, by sending hir Russian troops and calling on Mazepa for the Cossack regiments Consequently, Mazepa appeared in the pages of the English press and wa often mentioned in such London magazines as A General View of th World, or the Marrow History, The Master Mercury: being an Abstract of the Public News, The Monthly Register or Memoirs of the Affairs o Europe, and newspapers such as The Daily Courant, The Flying-Post, Th London Gazette, The Post-Boy, The Post-Man and others.

Reports about Mazepa even reached America. One of the oldest contem porary American newspapers, New England's *The Boston News-Letter* reporting on the Great Northern War, mentioned Mazepa several times. In the edition of January 29, 1705, *The Boston News-Letter copying* the London semi-weekly, *The Post-Man* of August 15, 1704, reported verbatim: "...th Cossacks commanded by famous Mazeppa, consisting of 19,000 Choice mei with a Train of Artillery of 36 Pieces of Cannon have join'd King Augustu near Jaworow". (In fact, Mazepa did not join him, he only sent 10.000 men.

Mazepa's support of the Polish King in 1704 aroused public interest in the *Hetman* also in the German press. Many German newspapers reported about Mazepa's military operations in 1704: just to mention only a few the Hamburg weekly, *Historische Remarques*, of July 20, 1704, No. 31, and the Leipzig *Die Europaeische Fama* of 1704 published Mazepa's biography (Vol. XXV, pp. 57-60), and in the second edition published his picture or

⁶ The following German newspapers reported about Mazepa's election: Leipzige Post- und Ordinar-Zeitung, Part I of the 39th week. 1687. (a correspondence from Moscow of August 13, 1687): Berliner Somntag-Postillion, 1687. No. 38 (a correspondence from Moscow of August 13, 1687); Berliner Dienstag Fama, 1687. No. 37 (a correspondence from Lemberg of August 28, 1687); Berliner Dienstag-Mercurius, 1687 No. 38 (a correspondence from Jaslowiecz of August 18, 1687): Theatrum Europeum (Frankfurt a. M.), 1687, Vol. XIII, pp. 67-68: Neu-eroeffneter Historischer Bilder-Saal (Nuremberg, 1710), Vol. V, p. 853. See also: B. Krupnyckyj, Hetman Mazepa v osvit leniu nimets'koi literatury joho chasu, (Zhovkva, 1932).

the first page. The Viennese newspaper, such as the *Wienerisches Diarum* and the *Post-taeglicher Mercurius*, often included news of Hetman's activities. The *Wienerisches Diarum* of February 2, 1704, for example, reported about a conference between Peter I and Mazepa, when the latter presented the Tsar an expensive sabre. The same paper of March 16, 1706, referred to Mazepa as a "Fieldmarschall".

The Post-taeglicher Mercurius quite often deemed the Hetman newsworthy. In the edition of April 4, 1704, the Post-taeglicher Mercurius stated: "Moscow, February 11, ...Yesterday His Excellency Sir Hermann [Ivan] Mazeppa, General or Commander-in-Chief of the Cossacks, who are under His Tsarist Majesty, after having many conferences with His Excellency, Sir Governor Count Mainschifoff [Menshikov] and other Ministers, left for Barudin [Baturyn] in the Ukraine, in order to make preparations for an early campaign in Poland".

Mazepa's support of the Polish King aroused interest not only in the Western-European press, but also in the diplomatic, especially the English, circles. England was not directly involved in the Great Northern War, but the English government vigilantly followed the development of the war through its diplomatic corps.

The contentions and events in Russia, Poland, and Ukraine, were reported not only by the English envoy in Moscow, Charles Lord Whitworth, but also by the English resident at the Swedish Royal Headquarters, Captain James Jefferyes, the English envoy in Poland and in the Baltic area, Dr. John Robinson, in Vienna by Sir Philip Meadowes (or Medows), and others.⁷

Mazepa's participation during the Great Northern War on the side of the Polish king, Augustus II, aroused a great deal of interest in him in Europe. His alliance with the Swedish king Charles XII (1708) and the defeat at Poltava provided especially rich material not only for the contemporary Western European press, but also for the diplomats, accredited in Moscow, at the Swedish king's headquarters and in Poland.

At the mention of the name Mazepa, most English-speaking people think of Byron's mythical hero bound on a horse galloping through the wilderness, rather than an historical person. The historical Mazepa is quite different from the one depicted in literature.⁸

Mazepa was the Hetman or chief executive of the autonomous Ukrainian Cossack State, also known as the *Hetmanstate* ("Hetmanshchyna"). In order to avoid several controversial terms pertinent to his biography, some clarification is necessary. It would be appropriate to make clear that the terms "Rus", "Ruthenia", "Malorossija", "South Russia" and "Ukraina", as well as their inhabitants, "Rusy", "Rusici", "Reussen", "Ruthenians",

⁷ For details see: T. Mackiw, English Reports on Mazepa, 1687-1709, New York-Munich-Toronto, 1983.

⁸ For details see: Hubert F. Babinski. The Mazeppa Legend in European Romanticism, (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1974).

"Ukrainians", had, to be sure, meanings according to particular historica situations in the relations between Poland, Russia and Ukraine, but that al of these names refer to the land and its inhabitants on both sides of the Dnieper (Dnipro — Ukrainian pron. — Ed.) with the capital city of Kyiv

The term "Ukraine" represents not just a geographic and linguistic problen but also a political one. In the past certain Polish and especially Russian circles rejected the names "Ukrainians". Instead, the Poles preferred "Rus" and "Rusin", the Russians "Malorossija", and "Maloross" (Little Russians) The Ukrainians refused these names as discriminatory. The sensitive historiconsciousness of the Ukrainians asserts itself even now in the Soviet Union where national identity is most repressed. Thus the linguistic definition o the word "Ukraina" as border area ("Okraina"), as well as the Tsaris "Malorossija" (Little Russia), are rejected. The name is explained in the native tongue as "Kraj" (country), and is regarded as the symbol of the origin of the Ukrainian sense of national identity and feeling for the home land already in the thirteenth century.⁹ The name "Ukraina" is mentioned for the first time in the Chronicle of Kyiv for the year 1187.

In the fourteenth century these territories came under Lithuanian rule (Olgierd, 1341-1377): after the union of Krevo (1385) they became part o the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. They remained under Lithuanian administration until 1569, i.e., until the union of Lublin.

After the agreement between Lithuanian and Poland in Lublin, the Ukrain came under Polish administration. In the first half of the seventeenth century the Polish nobility ("Szlachta") reduced the Ukrainian people to a statu without rights. The introduction of serfdom, the national oppression of the Ukrainian masses, and above all the pressure which was exerted on the populace to make them accept Catholicism, led to a profound disconten and to numerous uprisings of the Cossacks.

The word "Cossack" or "Kozak" had its origin with the Turko-Tarta peoples, such as Polovtsen, Kumans ("Codex Cumanicus"), and mean "guard", "sentry", "courier", or "escort", and later "free warrior" or "hired border-soldier"¹⁰. In the fifteenth century military units were formed among the Cossacks in Eastern Europe for special purposes. There were Cossack in Lithuania, Poland, Russia, and Ukraine. In Ukraine the Cossacks were not only a social class, but they also functioned as a national army to protect the Ukrainian population from Tartar attacks as well as from the oppressions of the Szlachta.¹¹ This led to violent Cossack uprisings (1591-3

⁹ D. I. Myshko, "Zvidky pishla nazva 'Ukraina'," Ukrainskyj Istorychnyj Zhurnal (Kyiv, 1966). Vol. X, No. 7, p. 42. See also: R. Serbyn, "Rus' in the Soviet Scheme o East Slavic History", The New Review, Vol. VIII, No. 4 (1969), pp. 169-182.

¹⁰ I. I. Sreznevskij, Materialy slovarja drevnerusskago jazyka, (St. Petersburg, 1893) Vol I, p. 1174.

¹¹ For details see: G. Stökl, Die Entstehung des Kosakentums, (Munich, 1953) M. Hrushevsky, A History of Ukraine, translated by O. J. Frederiksen, (New Haven Yale University Press, 1948).

1596, 1625, 1630, 1637, 1638). During the great national movement for liberation (1648), the Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky set up a military republic, also known as the Hetman State, under a Polish protectorate (1649).¹² The Hetmanstate consisted of three provinces: Kviv, Bratslav, and Czernvhiv. In this state Ukrainian administration was introduced, and the Polish army could not be guartered there (Article 9). The strength of the Ukrainian (Cossack) army was set at 40,000 men (Article 1). The Polish king, Jan Kasimir, had recognized the Hetman State in the peace treaty of Zboriv on August 18, 1649.¹³ Because the Polish Sejm would not ratify this to seek an alliance with Russia. Moscow was eager to establish a protectorate over the Ukraine, but hesitated to be involved in the Ukrainian-Polish struggle because of the defeats she had suffered from Poland in the past. The Russians, however, assumed that if the Poles were to defeat Khmelnytsky, they would then turn the Cossacks with the Tartars against Moscow. Therefore the Russians sent a delegation to Warsaw to demand the restoration of the terms of the Peace treaty of Zboriv. Poland refused to comply, and in the autumn of 1653 the Russians called the estates general ("Zemskii Sobor"). which decided that the Tsar was entitled "to accept under his high hand Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky and the entire Zaporozhian Host, with its cities and laws" by force from Poland.¹⁴ When Khmelnytsky was notified about the Russian decision, he designated the city of Perejaslav as the site for the meeting with the Russian delegation, which was supposed to administer an oath of loyalty. On January 18, 1654 the public ceremony took place. Khmelnytsky placed before the Cossack assembly the protection of the Tsar, which was received by acclamation. The head of the Russian delegation, V. Buturlin, handed the Hetman the charter from the Tsar and asked that the whole assembly take the solemn oath of allegiance to the Tsar. When Khmelnytsky requested Buturlin to first take an oath in the name of the Tsar that Russia would not surrender Ukraine to Poland, would defend the country from its enemies, and would respect the privileges and rights of all classes of the Ukrainian people, the Russian envoy refused. He stated that the Tsar was an autocrat, who ruled according to his own will and neither made pledges nor took oaths to his subjects, because his word was sufficient. In order to avoid breaking off negotiations, the assembly took the oath of alliegiance to the Tsar, although some high-ranking officers refused.

After Buturlin's departure, the Ukrainian Cossack Government set forth a draft of the terms of the treaty and sent two envoys to Moscow, where

¹² About Khmelnytsky's life and his activities see: N. Kostomarov, Bogdan Khmelnytskyj, Polnoje Sobranje Sochinenij (St. Petersburg, 1904), Vol. IV; George Vernadsky, Bohdan: Hetman of Ukraine, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941).

¹³ For details see my article "The English Press of 1649 on the Battle and Peace Treaty of Zboriv", *The New Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 1-2 (1973), pp. 28-49. treaty, and since the war with Poland went on, Khmelnytsky was forced

treaty, and since the war with Poland went on, Khmelnytsky was forced 14 Hrushevsky, *A History of Ukraine*, p. 296.

after two weeks of negotiations it was accepted by the Tsar. According t the terms of this treaty the Tsar promised to guarantee that:

- 1. The Ukrainian Army was to consist of 60,000 Cossacks.
- 2. The rights and liberties of the Ukrainian people were to be maintaine and respected.
- 3. The state offices were to be held by the Ukrainians.
- 4. The Hetman was to be elected by the Cossacks and only notify th Tsar of his election.
- 5. The Hetman was to be permitted to carry on international diplomatic relations, except with Poland and the Ottomans.
- 6. All the Cossack judges were to be free to perform their duties withou interference.¹⁵

The text of the treaty of Perejaslav (it actually should be called the treaty of Moscow) was so vague that the Russians and the Ukrainians interpretec it differently. The Tsar "taking Ukraine under his high hand" turned the protectorate into an annexation to Russia. Khmelnytsky and his associate considered the Tsar's protection as a temporary military alliance to defeat Poland.

Most Russian and Ukrainian historians consider this treaty to stipulate a stage of vassalage of Ukraine under Russia. Some interpret it that Ukraine was simply incorporated into Russia, with certain privileges and rights that did not exist in autocratic Russia. Others consider that it established Ukraine as an autonomous state dependent on Russia.¹⁶

As was expected, the Treaty of Perejaslav caused the Russo-Polish war, which ended with the peace treaty at the village of Andrussovo on January 13, 1667. According to this treaty, Ukraine was divided into two parts: the Poles held Ukraine on the Right Bank of the Dnieper River and the Russians the Left Bank. The Zaporozhian Cossacks were to remain doubly dependent on both Poland and Russia.

At that time protectorate status was a very common condition, even for such countries as Holland (under Spain), Prussia (under Poland), Livonia and Estonia (under Sweden), and the Balkan countries (under Turkey). Although the Ukrainian Cossack State or the Hetmanstate was a protectorate, nevertheless, as the German historian Hans Schumann observed in his dissertation, the Hetmanstate had its own territory, people, government, and military forces, (namely the Cossacks); and the creator of this state, Bohdan

¹⁵ Vernadsky, op. cit., pp. 131-7. Hrushevsky, A History of Ukraine, pp. 294-6.

¹⁰ 16 For details see: D. Doroshenko, A Survey of Ukrainian History, ed. by O. W. Gerus, (Winnipeg, 1975), pp. 231-257; Hrushevsky, A History of Ukraine, pp. 293-7; Orest Subtelny, The Mazepists, (New York, 1981), pp. 293-7.

Khmelnytsky, who carried on international diplomatic relations (except with Poland and the Ottomans), was *de facto* an independent ruler.¹⁷

It should be pointed out, however, that the designation of the Hetmanstate refers to the Ukrainian military and not the Cossack state, because the Cossacks were not a nation, but rather the military force of the Ukrainian state. The state lasted until 1764, when Catherine II forced the last Hetman, Cyril Rosumovsky (1750-1764), to abdicate, and ultimately incorporated Ukraine into the Russian Empire. Hetman Ivan Vyhovsky (1657-1659) had already considered the Cossacks as the armed forces of Ukraine; he signed the agreement with Poland at Hadiacz ("Pacta Hadiackie") in 1658 as "Hetman of the Armed Forces of the Ukrainian Principality".¹⁶ His Great Seal reads: "Ivan Vyhovsky — Great Hetman of the Ukrainian Principality, Governor-General of Kyiv...",¹⁹ There was a clear distinction between Ukraine and Russia at that time, as can be seen on the contemporary maps by Guillaume le Vasseur de Beauplan, P. Gordon, Johann Baptist Homann, and others.²⁰

When Mazepa was elected the new Hetman (August 4, 1687), his prerogatives were limited by the so-called "Kolomak Terms". In general the articles of Kolomak assured "rights and liberties" though they were considerably curtailed. According to these terms, the register of the Cossacks was fixed at 30,000 (instead of 60,000). Mazepa had no right to conduct diplomatic relations with foreign countries and he had to send letters from foreign governments to Moscow (Article VII). For "security" of his person a Russian infantry regiment was stationed at his residence in the city of Baturyn (Article XVII). In the XIXth article intermarriage between Ukrainians and Russians was highly recommended in order to create "unity under the Tsarist Majesty".²¹

Although Mazepa's prerogatives were curtailed by the Kolomak articles,

18 Wacław Lipinski, Z dziejów Ukrainy, (Cracow, 1912), p. 303; (Jan Wyhowski, Hetman Woy(sk) X(ies)tw Ruskich".).

19 Hrushevskyj, Ilustrovana istorija Ukrainy, (Winnipeg, 1918), p. 332; (2nd ed.); Lipinski, op. cit., p. 617 ('Ioan Vyhovskyj, Velikij Hetman Kniazhestva Ruskoho, Kijevskij Vojevoda-General...').

20 G. de Beauplan, Description d Ukraine, qui sont plusieurs provinces du Royaume de Pologne, (Rouen, 1650). Also 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); P. Gordon, Geography Anatomized..., (London, 1693); J. B. Homann, Neuer Atlas über die gantze Welt, (Nuremberg, 1714).

21 Ohloblyn, Hetman Ivan Mazepa ta joho doba, Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka, (hereafter "ZNTS"), Vol. 170, (New York—Paris—Toronto, 1960), pp. 31-5; Doroshenko, A Survey of Ukrainian History, pp. 315-6; Kostomarov, Mazepa i mazepintsy, pp. 391-2.

¹⁷ H. Schumann, Der Hetmanstaat 1654-1764 (Breslau, 1936), p. 4. (The text of this dissertation is also published in Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas, (1936), Vol. I, pp. 499-548.

he still exercised the full power of his civil and military authority and was regarded as the chief-executive by the contemporary foreign diplomats in Moscow. For example, Jean de Baluze (1648-1718), the French envoy in Moscow, visited Mazepa at his residence in Baturyn, in 1704 and made the following remark about him: "...from Muscovy I went to the Ukraine, the country of the Cossacks, where for a few days I was the guest of Prince Mazepa, who is the supreme authority in this country."²² Another French diplomat, Foy de la Neuville, who met Mazepa, remarked that "...this Prince is not comely in his person, but a very knowing man, and speaks Latin in perfection. He is Cossack born."²³ And the English envoy in Moscow, Charles. Lord Whitworth (1675-1725), remarked in his report of November 21, 1708, that Mazepa in Ukraine "governed so long with little less authority than a sovereign Prince."²⁴

Mazepa's contemporary, the brilliant English journalist Daniel Defoe (1661-1731), wrote in his book about Tsar Peter I that "...Mazepa was not a King in Title, he was Equal to a King in Power, and every way Equal if not Superior to King Augustus in the Divided Circumstances in which his Power stood, even at the best of it."²⁵ Indeed, Mazepa was aware of his position and "considered himself a little less than the Polish King."²⁶ In fact, the Russian government communicated with the Hetmanstate through the Russian Foreign Office ("Posolskij Prikas").²⁷

Mazepa, with his good education, rich experiences, and personal charm, won not only the favour of the new Tsar Peter I, but also his respect. Otto Pleyer, the Austrian envoy in Moscow (1692-1718), in his report of February 8, 1702, remarked that "...Mazepa is very much respected and honoured by the Tsar."²⁸

There is a great deal of historical and belletristic literature concerning Mazepa and his deeds. Already during Mazepa's lifetime the Hamburg

25 D. Defoe, An Impartial History of the Life and Actions of Peter Alexowitz Czar of Muscovy, (London, 1729), p. 208.

26 Kostomarov, op. cit., p. 422.

27 M. M. Bogoslovskij, Petr I. (Materialy dla biografii), (Moscow, 1848), Vol. IV, pp. 320, 332.

^{22.} Baluze's letter was discovered by Ukrainian historian, Elias Borshchak in the Bibliothèque Nationale under "Fonds Baluze", Vol. CCCLI, and was published in a Ukrainian translation as an appendix to his essay "Mazepa. Liudyna i diyach" (hereafter "Mazepa"), ZNTS, Vol. 152, (1933). pp. 28-30.

²³ Foy de la Neuville, Relation curieuse et nouvelle de Moscovie, (de la Haye, 1699); I used the English translation: An Account of Muscovy as it was in the year 1689, (London, 1699) p. 43.

²⁴ Public Record Office in London, State Papers Foreign Russia (hereafter PRO SP), 91, Vol. 5. Whitworth's reports were published under the title: Donesenija i drugija bumagi črezvičajnago poslannika anglijskago pri russkom dvore, Charlsa Witworta, s 1704 po 1708 i 1708 po 1711 g., in Sbornik Imperatorskago Russkago Istoričeskago Obščestva, (hereafter "Sbornik"), (St. Petersburg, 1884, 1886), Vol. 39, 50.

²⁸ Haus, Hof, u. Staatsarchiv, (hereafter "HHS"), Russica 1-20. cf., N. Ustrialov, Istoria tsarstvovaniya Petra Velikago, (St. Petersburg, 1885-1863), Vol. IV, part 2, p. 573.

weekly Historische Remarques²⁹ and the Leipzig magazine Die Europaeische Fama (1704) had published his biography,³⁰ and in the second edition of 1706 published his picture on the first page. Analyzing the authorship of the portrait of Mazepa published in the Europaeische Fama results in confusing assumptions. The German historians U. Thieme and F. Becker attributed it to "...S. Falka, who painted the portrait and D. Bevel made the engraving of Mazepa."31 Some historians, such as V. Sichynskyj, H. F. Babinski and others, following Thieme and Becker, also attributed it to Beyel.³² J. Pauls believes that the author of this engraving is unknown.³³ Of course, these assumptions are incorrect. How could Samuel Falka, who was born on May 4, 1766 and died January 20, 1826,34 paint Mazepa's portrait, and how could Daniel Beyel, who was born on September 27, 1760, and died July 4, 1823,35 make an engraving which was published in 1706? The fact is that Falka only made a copy of the engraving from the Europaeische Fama and marked the year 1796 on his copy, which was published by the Hungarian-German historian, Johann Christian von Engel, in his History of the Ukraine and the Ukrainian Cossacks.³⁶ The real author of Mazepa's engraving in the Europaeische Fama was the German engraver Martin Berningroth (born in 1670 in Ramelsburg, died in 1733 in Leipzig).³⁷

Mazepa's contemporaries, Gustav Adlerfelt and Georg A. Nordberg, and the German historian and field-chaplain Johann Wendel Bardili, all of whom saw him in person, included valuable information about his life and deeds in their diaries.³⁸ Voltaire, who wrote favourably about him, made Mazepa's

32 V. Sichynskyj, "Graviury na chest' Mazepy i gravirovani portrety hetmana", Pratsi Ukrainskoho Naukovoho Instytutu (hereafter "PUNI"), (Warsaw, 1938), Vol. 46, Part I, p. 160; H. E. Babinski, The Mazeppa Legend in European Romanticism, (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1974), p. 14.

33 J. Pauls, "Great Maecenas of the Arts Glorified by Painters", *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 4 (1966), p. 23. 34 Thieme u. Becker, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 564.

35 Thieme u. Becker, op. cit., Vol. XI, p. 231.

36 J. C. von Engel, Geschichte der Ukraine und der Ukrainischen Kosaken, (Halle, 1796), p. 1.

37 K. H. Heinecken, Dictionaire des Artistes, (Leipzig, 1788), Vol. II, p. 601; Allgemeiner Porträt Katalog, (Hamburg, 1931), p. 497 ("...1657 Mazeppa, Ivan. Kosakenhetman, 1644-1709 Bender, Berningroth").

38 Adlerfelt, Histoire Militaire de Charles XII, roi de Suède, (Amsterdam, 1740), 4 vols; I used the English translation The Military History of Charles XII, King of Sweden, (London, 1740), Vol. III, pp. 63-67; Nordberg, Konung Karl XII's Historia, (Stockholm, 1740), I used the German translation Leben und Thaten Carl des XII. Königs in Schweden, (Hamburg, 1745-6), Vol. II, p. 93; Bardili, Des Weylland Durchl. Printzens Maximilian Emannuels Hertzog in Württemberg... Reisen und Campagnen..., (Frankfurt-Leipzig, 1749), p. 418.

²⁹ Historische Remarques, January 22, 1704, No. 4, pp. 26-7.

³⁰ Die Europaeische Fama, Vol. XXV, pp. 57-60.

³¹ U. Thieme und F. Becker, Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler, (Leipzig, 1909), Vol. XI, p. 231.

name known throughout Europe in his History of Charles XII.³⁹

A very accurate, but somewhat outdated, biography of Mazepa was written in Russian by the above-mentioned Ukrainian historian Nicholas Kostomarov.⁴⁰

The turning point in the evaluation of Mazepa came in F. Umanets' monograph, Getman Mazepa (St. Petersburg, 1897). In his research, Umanets came to the conclusion that Mazepa should not be condemned as a traitor.⁴¹

Ellias Borshchak and René Martel wrote, in a popular style, Vie de Mazeppa (Paris 1931). Clarence A. Manning (Columbia University) is the author of a similar work, Hetman of Ukraine: Ivan Mazepa (New York, 1957). The Ukrainian historian Borys Krupnytskyj (Krupnycky) wrote an objective study about Mazepa, entitled Hetman Mazepa and his Era, 1687-1709.⁴² An essay, "Mazeppa", by L. R. Lewitter (Cambridge University) was published in the London magazine History Today.43 Lewitter, however, often contradicts himself in his judgement of Mazepa and his deeds. The Ukrainian historian Alexander Ohloblyn (formerly of Kyiv University) wrote an up-todate biography in Ukrainian.⁴⁴ Probably the best and most accurate up-todate biography on Mazepa was written in Swedish by the late Ukrainian-Swedish historian, Bohdan Kentrschynskyj.45 A rather short outline of Mazepa's biography was written by the Ukrainian-American historian Orest Subtelny (Hamilton College) in his work The Mazepists (New York, 1981). Although many Russian historians condemned Mazepa, credible contemporary foreign eyewitnesses justified his alliance with the Swedish King.

The contemporary English press dealt in an unbiased fashion with Mazepa. English eyewitnesses, such as officers in the Russian Service and diplomats in Moscow, at the Swedish headquarters in Danzig and in Vienna wrote about Mazepa in a neutral manner and stated the facts as they saw or heard them. As can be seen in contemporary English reports, which will be examined below, Mazepa was conceived to be a figure of considerable consequence in East European affairs during the Great Northern War. A representative of England even attended the solemn burial of Mazepa in Bender.46

Finally, one detail should be elaborated on, namely the spelling of the

³⁹ Voltaire, Histoire de Charles XII, (Rouen, 1731); I used the English translation The History of Charles XII, King of Sweden, (London, 1807), pp. 258-262. 40 Kostomarov's monograph was published first in Russkaja Mysl, 1882-1884, then in Istoricheskije Monografii, 1885, Vol. XVI. It was also translated in Ukrainian (Lviv, 1895-6). E. Melchior de Vogüé used Kostomarov's Mazepa in his literary story "Mazeppa: La légend et l'histoire", Revue des Deux Mondes (1881), Vol. 48, pp. 320-351, which was translated into English by James Millington, The True Story of Mazeppa, (London, 1884) and by C. M. Anderson, "Mazeppa as Known in Legend and History", A Czarevitch of the Eighteenth Century, (London, 1923), pp. 169-239. 41 T. Mackiw, Mazepa im Lichte der zeitgenössischen deutschen Quellen, ZNTS, Vol. 174. p. 17.

Vol. 174, p. 17.

<sup>Vol. 174, p. 17.
42 Krupnyckyj, Hetman Mazepa und seine zeit, 1687-1709, (Leipzig, 1942).
43 Lewitter, "Mazeppa". History Today, Vol. VII, No. 9 (1957), pp. 590-6.
44 Ohloblyn, Hetman Ivan Mazepa ta joho doba, ZNTS, Vol. 170.
45 Kentrschynskyj, Mazepa, (Stockholm, 1962).
46 E. Borshchak, "Early Relations between England and Ukraine", The Slavonic and East European Review, Vol. X, No. 28 (1931-3), p. 149.</sup>

name Mazepa. It is widely accepted that his name is spelled with a double 'p'. This does not correspond to historical fact, as may be shown from Mazepa's available letters bearing his own signature, written with only one 'p'. A Russian historian. Nicholas Ustrialov, published Mazepa's three letters, where his name is spelled with one 'p', in his history of the reign of Peter I.47 There are fifty-four of Mazepa's letters to the Polish voyevode Adam Sieniawski (1704-1708), bearing his own signature, containing one 'p'.⁴⁸

There are also three other letters written by Mazepa to the Polish vovevode Zygmunt Galecki; these were intercepted by the Swedes in 1704, and were preserved in Svenska Riksarkivet in Stockholm under Cosacica I, and published by a Swedish historian, Alfred Jensen.⁴⁹ In all three letters Mazepa signed his name with only one 'p'. James Millington had already noted this detail when translating into English Melchoir de Vogüé's Mazeppa: La Légende et l'histoire, (1881), stating that "... I follow the orthography of Western Europe, but the name ought strictly to be written with one 'p', Mazepa..."50

47 N. Ustrailov, Istorija Tsarstvovanija Petra Velikogo, Vol. II, pp. 479-482. (These letters were proven to be false; cf., Kostomarov, op. cit., p. 416; A. Darowski, "Intryga Salmonka", Szkice historyczne, (Warsaw, 1901), pp. 191-237. 48 P. Khrushch (Chruszcz), "Neznani oryginalni lysty Hetmana Ivana Mazepy do Adama Sieniavskoho, vojevody belzkoho z 1704-1708 rr." Analecta Ordinis St. Basilii Magni, Vol. VI, pp. 219-223. Also O. Subtelny, On the Eve of Poltava: The Letters of Ivan Mazepa to Adam Sieniavski, 1704-1708 (New York, 1975), pp. 148-150. 49 A. Jensen, "Try lysty Mazepy", ZNTS (1909), Vol. 92, p. 241. See Mazepa's signature on the adjacent copy of his letter of August 8, 1704. 50 J. Millington, The True Story of Mazeppa, (London, 1884), p. 24. (For details see my article "Mazepa or Mazeppa?", The Ukrainian Review, Vol. X, No. 4 (1963), pp. 42-45.

pp. 42-45.

(To be continued)

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. NEW PUBLICATION Boretz. - Kondon, W2 4HG.

Wolodymyr T. ZYLA

THE RISE OF EXILE LITERATURE: A SURVEY OF MODERN UKRAINIAN POETRY

Because of the establishment of the Soviet regime in the Ukraine, future historians of twentieth-century Ukrainian literature will have to consider its division into two separate branches. Ever since the early 1920's, when the brief period of Ukrainian independence ended, many Ukrainian writers and poets who were opposed to the new political order left the country. They moved to Western Ukraine (which after 1920 was under Polish rule), to Prague in Czechoslovakia, Warsaw in Poland, and farther West to Berlin and Paris. For some twenty years these places witnessed a considerable growth of Ukrainian literature which gravitated towards L'viv as a major centre of literary and cultural development. This literature, however, was not a true exile literature because it grew predominantly on Western Ukrainian soil. Only during World War II, when all Ukranian territories were incorporated into the Soviet Union and neighbouring Poland and Czechoslovakia became Communist, were Ukrainian authors forced to move farther West, many of them to cross the ocean and settle in Canada and the United States.¹ At this point the second branch of Ukrainian literature, which developed in opposition to Soviet trends of socialist realism, became truly an exile literature.

An examination of Ukrainian exile literature should perhaps be prefaced by a brief review of the development of Ukrainian literature under the Soviets. The introduction of the "New Economic Policy" (NEP) in 1921-1922, followed by the so-called "Ukrainization" (1923-1932), or "cultural renaissance of the twenties", was a period of a sweeping national and cultural revival that resulted in favourable development of literature.² However, this development was soon impeded by the growth of Russian imperialistic tendencies, compulsory collectivization, and the campaign against Ukrainian intelligentsia. Using systematic reprisals, the regime was able to silence the Ukrainian literary revival. Many writers who were not physically destroyed were either repressed by terror or bribed by rewards to work for the Soviet regime. According to incomplete statistics during the late twenties and throughout the thirties, some 103 authors were killed, some 74 were silenced,

^{1.} I. Korowytsky, "The Emigration After the War", Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia, ed. Volodymyr Kubijovych (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1963), I, 1079.

^{2.} Hryhorij Kostjuk, "Na magistrali istoriji" (On the Highway of the History), Slovo, 3, (1968), p. xii.

and many during World War II left to the West seeking new opportunities for their literary endeavours.3 The war with Nazi Germany produced some relaxation of political controls over Ukrainian writers. But at the end of the war, these controls were reimposed again and many Ukrainian writers who were then in a serious search for national identity were accused of nationalism.⁴ The Khrushchev period permitted some relaxations which brought advances in literary development when the young generation in the late 1950s and early 1960s began turning away from political ideology in search of universal themes. But as usual this liberalization was short, and after 1964 political control over literature was intensified and many Ukrainian writers began appearing in underground publications.⁵

In contrast, Ukrainian writers who have not suffered under the Soviet regime have fared better. By the end of the Ukrainian-Russian War (1917-1921), there began the first exodus of Ukrainian writers who were actively involved in the literary revival following the national revolution. Among those who left the country with the Ukrainian government and the army were O. Oles' (Oleksander Kandyba), Spyrydon Cherkasenko, Volodymyr Samijlenko, Volodymyr Vynnychenko, Mykola Voronyj, Modest Levyc'kyj, Mykyta Shapoval, and many others. Hryhorij Chuprynka, a noted modernist who had a developing interest in Edgar Allan Poe, was shot by the Russian Bolsheviks in 1921. Samijlenko and Voronyj returned to their native country, but there their literary talents were stifled.⁶ Other exile authors came predominantly from the prisoner of war camps for the Ukrainian army which were scattered in Poland. Most of them joined the so-called "Prague Literary School". This group included a number of outstanding poets: Oleksa Stefanovych, Leonid Mosendz, Jurij Darahan, Maksym Hryva, Oleh Ol'zhych, Olena Teliha, Mykola Chyrs'kyi, Oksana Liaturyns'ka, and others.

The founder of the school was Darahan (1894-1926)⁷, a man of exemplary personality who in his collection of poems, Sahajdak (1926, The Quiver) wrote about Medieval Kviv, the period of Hetman Ivan Mazepa, in the spirit of Classicism by using non-Classical forms of lyricism that were nevertheless rigid in style. The spiritual leader of the school was young Stefanovych (1900-1970), an exceptionally gifted poet who knew Ukrainian literary traditions of ancient and medieval times and who made effective use of this knowledge in his works. In his collections Poeziji (1927, Poems) and Stefanos (1939), he always seeks difficult modes of expression in order

^{3.} B. Krawciw, "Ukrainian Literature and Literary Criticism Abroad", Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia, p. 972. For the list of the liquidated authors see Yar Slavutych, The Muse in Prison (Jersey City: Svoboda, 1956), pp. 16-20. 4. George S. N. Luckyj, "Ukrainian Literature", World Literature Since 1945, ed. Ivar Ivask and Gero von Wilpert (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1072) - 669

^{1973),} p. 668. 5. Ibid., p. 669.

^{6.} M. Hlobenko, "Central and Eastern Ukraine", Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia, p. 1043.

^{7.} Jurij Lawrynenko, Zrub i parosty (Stumps and Sprouts): Essays and Articles in Literary Criticism (Munich: Suchasnist', 1971), pp. 153-58.

to labour on his ideas and the forms that express them. Stefanovych likes to introduce religious motifs and archaic phraseology in his poetry, and whether he deals with the present or the past of his country, he follows the heroic manner. His poetry is very elaborate, especially his sonnets. Some poets are truly gems that carry in them something supernatural.⁸ Leonid Mosendz (1897-1948) is known for several collections of poetry (*Junats'ka* vesna [1933, Youthful Spring], *Zodiac*, 1941, and others) in which he tries to reconcile his attitude toward life with his inclination for reflection. He is philosophical, especially when he writes on the mysteries of the universe.⁴ His dramatic poem, *Vichnyj korabel'* (1933, The Eternal Ship) presents the conflict between the heroism and the weakness in human nature which was very much in line with the spirit of the whole Ukrainian Prague School. He tries to synthesize Ukraine with Western Europe by constantly repeating his call "Don't forget the West". The nobility and the knightly manners of the West were composite parts of his mind.¹⁰

Another poet of the school is Oleh Ol'zhych (1908-1944), son of the noted Ukrainian poet O. Oles' whom we will discuss later in this article. Ol'zhych came to Prague as a fourteen-year old boy and there in exile he grew into an outstanding poet and scholar of archaeology. He left two collections Rin' (1935, Gravel) and Vezhi (1940, Towers), and one collection of poetry that was published posthumously, Pidzamchja (1946, At the Foot of the Castle). His collected works, Velychnist' (Majesty) appeared in 1969. As a poet he is very representative of his age; his greatness lies in simplicity and in avoidance of superficial effects. Metrically he has much in common with Stefanovych, especially in fine workmanship and great simplicity of form. Ol'zhych died tragically when he was tortured and killed by the Nazis in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp.¹¹ Mykola Chyrs'kyj (1902-1942) was a clear, passionate lyric poet who began his poetic career as a heroic idealist.¹² His work, Emal' (1941, Enamel) was a vehicle for his political and nationalist ideas. Some of his lyric poems "reveal a modicum of imagism"¹³. Oksana Liaturyns'ka (1902-1970) in her poetry used motifs from ancient Ukrainian ages, particularly from mythology and pre-Christian times. Her poetry is noted for the plasticity of her "masculine" expression.14 She was known during the Prague period from two collections of poetry, Husla (1938, The

10. The Ukrainian Poets, p. 406.

13. Ibid.

14. Tbid., p. 441.

^{8.} The Ukrainian Poets, selected and translated C. H. Andrusyshen and Watson Kirkconnell (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1963), pp. 428-29.

^{9.} Vol. Shelest, "Poezija Leonida Mosendza" (The Poetry of Leonid Mosendz) Ovyd (Horizon), 15, No. 3 (July-September 1964), 49-58.

^{11.} I. Korowytsky, "Western Ukraine and the Emigration", Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia, p. 1062. See also A. Jurynjak, "'Velychnist' Oleha Ol'zhycha" ("Majesty" of Oleh Ol'zhych), Ovyd, 20, No. 4 (October-December 1969), 33-36. Velychnist', ed. V. Derzhavyn and I. Kurpita (Chicago: ODVU, 1969), the most complete edition of Ol'zhych's works.

^{12.} The Ukrainian Poets, p. 431.

Psaltery) and Knjazha emal' (1941, The Princely Enamel). Olena Teliha (1907-1942), often referred to as the Joan of Arc of the Ukraine,¹⁵ wrote intimate poetry full of voluntaristic patriotism. She was profoundly convinced that Ukrainian women should play a new role in society. For her activity in the Ukrainian national cause she was arrested and shot by the Gestapo in Kyiv. She has two posthumous collections of poetry, Dusha na storozhi (1946, The Soul on Guard) and Prapory dukha (1947, The Banners of the Spirit). The sum of all Olena Teliha's poetic creativity and national impulses has vielded her a deserved recognition found in the work Olena Teliha (1977). Teliha has been considered the greatest female poet in Ukrainian literature just second to Lesja Ukrajinka.¹⁶ This is indeed well demonstrated in this book which is of broader design when compared with her previous collections. In it, especially in the literary criticism of the poetess' work we are most often reminded about Teliha's fine poetic world full of truth and vision. Her poetry gathers weight as it goes on, it stimulates the reader's imagination and envelops a special intimacy as well as a sense of feminine excitement that cannot be expressed by metaphor alone.

In exile in Prague, until his death in 1944. was another outstanding Ukrainian poet O. Oles' (born 1878). Oles' came into exile as an established lyricist, author of several collections published in the Ukraine.¹⁷ His poetry at home became unusually popular. The Soviet literary critic, V. Korjak, wrote about Oles': "The influence of Oles' poetry during the revolution was tremendous. He was the one who built the national consciousness of the intelligentsia that later actively fought in the armies of the Ukrainian National Republic against the Soviet regime."18 In his Chuzhynoju (1919, In a Foreign Land), Oles' portraved the profound nostalgia for the native land of a thousand warriors who after lost battles were in foreign lands. This collection is characterized by profound feeling, simplicity, and reminiscences about his native country. As a sample of his work, one might cite:

In exile days flow as tears, Thoughts in exile sleep as the dead, Sweet reminiscences hiss as serpents. The soul sobs, as a child. The soul is torn, as the wound... The balsam is as far away, as the sun. And the sun, the sun, as the happiness There, there only in the land beloved!¹⁹

^{15.} Ibid., p. 463.
16. Olena Teliha (Symposium), ed. O.]hdanovych (Detroit—New York—Paris).
17. Z zhurboju radist' obnjalas' (1907, Joy and Sorrow in Each Other's Embrace),
Poeziji (1909-1911, Poems, Books II-III), Po dorozi v kazku (1910, A Journey into the Dream), and Poeziji (1917, Poems, Book V).
18. V. Chaplenko, "Zberezhimo nashoho henija" (Preserve Our Genius), Svoboda,

²¹ May, 1974, p. 2. 19. O. Oles', *Chuzhynoju* (In a Foreign Land [Vienna: Waldheim-Eberle A. T., n.d.], p. 10). This and all subsequent translations are mine except where indicated.

Oles' poetry is marked by its sincerity, lightness of touch, new and fresh images, melodiousness, and euphony. He is the very embodiment of the Ukrainian spirit, with all its hopes and despairs, happiness and tragedy, laughter and tears. His Komu povim pechal' moju (1931, Whom Can I Tell About My Sadness) is full of the melancholy, pensiveness, and irony that were so characteristic of his years in exile. He was partly a symbolist, capable of relieving the depressive effects of his poetry by humorous, ironic, and satirical nuances. Some of his works, because of their musical qualities, were set to music by the Ukrainian composers M. Lysenko, Ja. Stepovyj, and K. Stetsenko. In 1958 during the Khrushchev era through the efforts of the noted Ukrainian poet, Maksym Ryl's'kyj, a volume of Oles' poetry, Vybrane (Selected Poems), was published in Kyiv with Ryl's'kyj's introductory remarks. Securing this publication was a very difficult task because Oles' was a distinctly national poet who, during the Ukrainian struggle for preservation of independence, reached the height of his poetic development. But Ryls'kyj attempted to prove that Oles' "never wrote against the Russians"20 and this argument prevailed; some selected poems of this first Ukrainian poet from exile appeared in the Soviet Ukraine; the first time his works had been briefly available there since the late 1920s and especially 1930 (when his Vybrani tvory [Selected Works] were published in Kharkiv).²¹ This official reintegration of Oles' into Ukrainian literature under the Soviets is of major importance, especially when one takes into consideration that some thirteen poems from Whom Can I Tell About My Sadness (an exile publication) were included in this collection.

The foremost poet among Ukrainian exiles was, however, Jevhen Malanjuk (1897-1968) whose tense poetry²² was often illuminated by an idyllic tenderness. In his *Persten' Polikrata* (1939, The Ring of Polycrates), he presents a highly original image of the Ukraine as Scythia and at the same time takes a philosophical approach in justifying his images. In his poetry he tries to educate the Ukrainian people to new values for a new understanding of life on its path to statehood. He is against everything that is weak and without purpose, and thereby he glorifies "the intensity, continuity, ponderosity, and completeness"²³ which in his opinion are essential factors in order to build something stable, something permanent. In his poetry he longs for the "Scythian Hellenic beauty" to vanish from his land, and he hopes that our "own Rome might rise" on "fertile land north of the Pontus" (Ukraine). In his poetry he sees the coming of a new epoch in which the cell will be reduced to "rubble and ashes", and the book will be nothing but a "torn

^{20.} Chaplenko, p. 3.

^{21. &}quot;Oles'," Ukrajins'ka Radjans'ka Encyklopedija (Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopaedia), ed. M. P. Bazhan (Kiev: Academy of Sciences of Ukrainian S.S.R., 1962), X, 315.

²² Stylet i stylos (1924, Stilleto and the Stylos), Herbarij (1926, Herbarium), Zemlia i zalizo (1930, The Earth and Iron), and Zemna Madonna (1934, The Earthly Madonna).

^{23.} Yar Slavutych, "Istoriosophia Jevhena Malanjuka" (The Historiosophy of Jevhen Malanjuk), *Pivnichne sjajvo* (The Northern Lights), 3 (Edmonton, 1967), 128.

paper."24 His ideas were new and interesting, especially for the people who lost their chance for statehood. Therefore his impact on the development of Ukrainian poetry was profound, and many young poets tried to imitate his ideas and his approach.25

Bohdan Lepkyj (1872-1941), a noted Ukrainian poet and author of several collections,²⁶ settled in Berlin immediately after the war and then moved to Cracow about 1927. The unsuccessful struggle for Ukrainian independence evokes in this belated Romantic a number of beautiful songs and lyrics of soft musical vocality and profoundness of feeling.²⁷ In 1976 appeared an interesting study concerning Lepkyj's life and work²⁸ in which Vasyl' Lew probably came as close as we shall ever come in such a critical evaluation. Lew's learning and literary sensitivity give him a great deal to say about the author's poetry. This includes questions of sources and influences as well as of poetic thought. It is not surprising that this work will play a crucial role in any further study of Lepkyj, especially of his imagery which is the very structural fabric of his poetry.

Another centre of literary activity was in Warsaw around the journal My(1934-1939). In the centre of this group was Jurij Lypa and Natalija Livyc'ka-Kholodna. Lypa (1900-1944), a poet and essayist, cultivated in his works high literary standards. His collection Svitlist' (1925, Brightness), Suvorist' (1931, Severity), and Viruju (1938, I Believe) are characterized by a great exactness and conciseness of expression. He began as a symbolist, passed through a phase of "Voluntaristic Romanticism" and ended as a neoclassicist.29

Jurij Klen (1891-1947, [pseudonym of Oswald Burghardt]) left Soviet Ukraine in 1931 and and moved to Germany, where he lectured at several universities on Slavic literature. Two collections of his poetry are of extraordinary significance: Prokljati roky (1937; 1943, The Accursed Years) and Karavely (1943, The Caravels).³⁰ The first collection portrays the Stalinorganized famine in Ukraine in 1933 which ended in great catastrophe for the Ukrainian peasantry. His unfinished epic Popil imperij (The Ashes of the Empires) deals with Tsarist Russia, Nazi Germany, and the Soviets. In his works Klen often sounds prophetic because of his idealistic inclination.

30. Lawrynenko, p. 221.

^{24. &}quot;Western Ukraine and the Emigration", p. 1062.
25. Lawrynenko, pp. 159-60. During this period Malanjuk also published a volume of poetry Vybrani poeziji (1943, The Selected Poems).
26 Strichky (1901, Verses), Osin' (1902, Autumn), Lystky padut' (1902, The Leaves are Falling), Na chuzhyni (1904, In a Foreign Land), Nad rikoju (1905, By the River), Z hlybyn dushi (1905, From the Depths of the Soul), and others.
27. Yar Slavutych, "Poezija Bohdana Lepkoho" (The Poetry of Bohdan Lepkyj), Zbirnyk naukovykh prac' na poshanu Jevhena Vertyporokha (A Festschrift for Jevhen Vertyporokh). Canadian Shevchenko Scientific Society, No. 12 (Toronto: Shevchenko Scientific Society, 1972). 100-08. Scientific Society, 1972), 100-08.

^{28.} Vasyl' Lew, Boldan Lepkyj, 1872-1941, Zhyttja i tvorchist' (Bohdan Lepkyj: 1872-1941 — His Life and Works), Memoirs of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, Vol. CXCIII (New York: Shevchenko Scientific Society, 1976).

^{29.} The Ukrainian Poets, p. 427.

His considering the spirit stronger than matter is his basic poetic ideology. Often retaining his neo-classical traits, Klen became a realist especially in works where he presented the suffering of the Ukrainian people. Klen did some superb translations of Shakespeares's plays and of the works of French symbolists. While living in Ukraine, Klen was the editor of the complete works of Jack London in thirty volumes published in Ukrainian.³¹

During the German-Soviet War (1941-1945), many Ukrainian poets who were active under the Soviets came to the West and settled at first in Western Ukraine, predominantly in L'viv (1942-1944). The end of the war contributed to further exile of Ukrainian literati to Western Germany and Austria. Here for four years (1945-1949) there was a merging of the Eastern and Western Ukrainian and exile Ukrainian elements into one exile Ukrainian literature as a separate branch of literature free from Soviet interference. It was an extremely active period during which stress was laid on a creation of "great literature" as a result of a new age that was emerging from the ashes of the war.³² To undertake this important task, a new organization of Ukrainian writers came into being. MUR (Mystec'kyj ukrajins'kyj rukh [Ukrainian Artistic Movement]) was established on September 25, 1945 in Fürth, Germany. The main purpose of the organization was, "in high artistic and perfect form, to serve its people and thereby establish the voice and the authority of Ukrainian literature in the world of art."33 Such a call required works of high literary quality which would serve the needs of the Ukrainian nation while contributing some treasures of true merit to world literature. The organization encompassed almost all writers of Ukrainian descent who were living at that time to the West of Soviet boundaries.34

The Ukrainian poetry of this period made significant achievements in the poetical work Poet by Teodosij Os'machka (1895-1962).35 This complex narrative poem, written in octaves, is divided into 23 songs. To some degree, it is autobiographical and profoundly philosophical. It portrays a man who, out of the depths of despair, wages a fierce struggle with eternity.³⁶ He storms

35. In the Ukraine, he wrote three collections of poetry: Kruch (1922. The Preci-pice), Skyts'ki volui (1926, Scythian Fires), and Klekit (1929, The Clapper. In exile, in addition to *Poet*, he published *Suchasnykam* (1943, To My Contemporaries). 36. Serech, pp. 267-68 and Lawrynenko, p. 115.

^{31.} The Ukrainian Poets, p. 390.

^{32.} Yury Serech, Ne dlja ditej (Not For Children): Essays on Modern Ukrainian

^{32.} Yury Serech, Ne dlja ditej (Not For Children): Essays on Modern Ukrainian Literature (New York: Prolog, Inc., 1964). pp. 230-31.
33. Ibid., p. 231.
34. Oles' Babij, Ivan Bahrjanyj, Petro Balej, Vasyl' Barka, Mykhajlo Bazhans'kyj, Leonyd Bilec'kyj, Vasyl' Chaplenko, Volodymyr Derzhavyn, Serhij Domazar, V. Domontovych (Viktor Petrov). Fedir Dudko, Jurij Dyvnych, Andrij Harasevych, Mykola Hlobenko, Svjatoslav Hordyns'kyj, Ostap Hrycaj, Katrja Hrynevycheva, Dokija Humenna, Ivan Kernyc'kyj, Jurij Klen, Ivan Korowytsky, Jurii Kosach. Ivan Koshelivec'. Ihor Kostec'kyj, Wadym Lesych, Natalija Livyc'ka-Kholodna, Oksana Liaturyns'ka, Leonyd Lyman, Ivan Majstrenko, Jevhen Malanjuk, Volodymyr Mijakovs'kyj, Mykhajlo Orest. Teodosij Os'machka, Sofija Parfanovych. Pavlo Petrenko. Borys Podoljak, Leonid Poltava, Stepan Ryndyk, Ulas Samchuk. Yury Serech, Volodymyr Shayan, Mykola Shlemkevych, Hlib Skhidnyj. Yar Slavutych, Vasyl' Sofroniv-Levyc'kyj, Oleksa Stefanovych, Oleksa Varava, and Oleksa Veretenchenko.
35. In the Ukraine, he wrote three collections of poetry: Kruch (1922, The Preci-

with elemental hatred against those who caused his tragedy and that of his country. The background of the poem is the destruction of the Ukrainian peasantry during the collectivization. The tragedy reaches its peak, when, before the eyes of the poem's hero, the Soviet Secret Police destroy his family. He sees in it the destruction of the soul and rises in revolt against the principles of biological and spiritual life standing now face to face with the cosmos and eternity. Above all this, the poem's hero is profoundly religious; he sees in man a substance of God and this same substance he sees in the universe. The concept of the Poet is highly original; its author is talented and occasionally reaches the heights of a genius. The work shows balanced descriptive and analytical qualities and at times generates a sorrow that is difficult to endure.

In contrast to the painfully incisive work of Os'machka in the *Poet* is the poetry of Mykhailo Orest (1901-1963) in Dusha i dolja (1946, The Soul and Destiny). Orest is an ecstatic and visionary poet who grew under the influence of the German symbolism of Rilke and George. His poetry manifests the characteristics of "schöne Seele,"37 and he is possessed of a true poetic talent. He is not the type of man to protest against the world of evil as Os'machka does but rather to avoid the said evil. His friends are not people but trees in the forest for which he finds very special words. According to C. H. Andrusyshen, "His poems and lyrics generally resemble irradiated stained-glass windows causing one to respond sympathetically to their symbolic, metaphysical inspiration."38 His poetry is exceptionally uplifting and involves the supernatural in that it is directed to some spiritual goals, foreign to everyday reality. He was not always properly understood and correctly interpreted.³⁹ It is possible that this collection and his earlier collection Luny lit (1944, The Echoes of the Years) were recreated from memory but composed while he was in Soviet slave labour camps in the mid-thirties.40

Klen's The Ashes of the Empire also belongs to this period. Some excerpts from the work were then published in émigré newspapers and journals (the complete work was finally published posthumously in 1957). Vasyl' Barka (born 1908) produced in the same period collections of poetry, Apostoly (1946. The Apostles) and Bilyi svit (1947, The White World). His verse is somewhat biblical, abounding in Old Church Slavic expressions and in folkloristic elements. He depends heavily upon the Shevchenko poetic tradition:" his poetry is philosophical, at times even too intellectual to be understood quickly; his vocabulary abounds in diminutives. His central idea

41. Serech, p. 268.

^{37.} Serech, p. 296.

^{38.} The Ukrainian Poets, p. 432.

^{39.} Sereh, p. 269. Yar Slavutych's unpublished doctoral dissertation "The Poetry of Mykhajlo Orest and Its Background" is a useful work that gives a lucid interpretation and evaluation of poet's works. See also Slavutych's article "Mykhajlo Orest: A Thinker in Poetry", Canadian Slavonic Papers, No. 2 (1970), 97-107. 40. His other collections Derzhava slova (1952, The Realm of the Word) and Hist'

i hospoda (1952, The Guest and the Inn). See also The Ukrainian Poets, p. 432.

is that man and nature are basically good, but man has clashed with nature and suffered much because of his pride, indifference, and misunderstanding of his fellow-beings. During this era Malanjuk also contributed two important poems "Kamin" (1947, The Stone) and "Osinnja vesna" (1947, The Autumnal Spring) which are good examples of aphoristic-philosophical lyrics. Here he is profoundly interested in man, who is at the centre of his attention.¹² These poems amount to an intense search for his ideal.

Some fifteen other poets of the younger generation worked during this period and published some 12 collections of their poetry. Yar Slavutych (born 1918), in addition to his four Ukrainian collections,⁴³ was the only one of the Ukrainian poets to have his works translated into German by Volodymyr Derzhavyn and published under the title Spiegel und Erneuerung (1949). Several of his poems were also translated by Elisabeth Kottmeier and published in her anthology of Ukrainian poetry Weinstock der Wiedergeburt (1957). Thus the period of 1945-1949 was very fruitful for Ukrainian exile poetry. All of these publications were produced under extremely difficult conditions. There were no permanent Ukrainian publishing houses; works were often published at the expense of the individual authors, or they sometimes were supported by Ukrainian businessmen. Then Ukrainian exile authors had two main journals Zahrava (Dawn) and Arka (Arc), and the almanac Mur. During this period Ukrainian exile poetry lost two important bards Jurij Klen, who died October 30, 1947 as a result of material privations, and Leonid Mosendz, who died October 13, 1948 of tuberculosis.

43. Spivaje kolos (1945, The Singing Wheat-ear), Homin vikiv (1946, The Echo of Ages), Pravdonostsi (1948, The Crusaders for Truth), and Spraha (1950, Thirst). (To be continued)

THE AGONY OF A NATION The Great Man-made Famine in Ukraine 1932-1933 by Stephen Oleskiw with a Foreword by Malcolm Muggeridge, cover design by Rostyslav Hluvko. concise analysis of the circumstances which led to this terrible tust in recent Ukrainian history and its aftermath with much ative material, eyewitness accounts and bibliography. lished by the National Committee to Commemorate the 50th ersary of the Artificial Famine in Ukraine 1932-33. 72 pp. Price in the U.K. £1.50 Orders to be sent to : 49, Linden Gardens, London W2 4HG England A concise analysis of the circumstances which led to this terrible holocaust in recent Ukrainian history and its aftermath with much illustrative material, eyewitness accounts and bibliography.

Published by the National Committee to Commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the Artificial Famine in Ukraine 1932-33.

^{42.} Ibid., p. 269.

Askold KRUSHELNYCKY

A CHEMICAL REACTION TO THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS

A report on the International Afghanistan Hearings held in Oslo. March 33-16, 1983

The Soviet MI 24 helicopter swooped low over the small Afghan village, dropping two canisters which tumbled towards the yellow, dusty earth. The canisters exploded and yellowish-grey smoke billowed thickly rising 200 feet towards the heavens.

The film crew, which had retreated at the sound of approaching helicopters entered the village of Faizahad, 150 km north-east of Kabul, two hours later. Bernd de Bruin, the Dutch journalist leading the crew, was appalled at what he found. 14 women and children had been killed in the attack but what was different from other similar attacks he had witnessed was that the bodies did not have any bullet or shrapnel wounds but the corpses had all turned a garish blue colour. Benrd de Bruin realised he was the first film journalist to have recorded a Soviet chemical weapons attack.

This startling film was part of the evidence presented at the International Afghanistan Hearings held in Oslo, Norway between March 13 and 16, 1983, which traced the course of the conflict between Afghan freedom fighters and the Red Army which invaded Afghanistan on December 27, 1979, in a bid to force that mountainous country into the Russian empire.

The hearing was instigated on the initiative of friends of a Norwegian journalist, Stalle Gundhus, who was killed by Soviet occupation forces last year whilst covering the Afghan war. The hearing was supported by Norwegian politicians of all political shades and took place, in the Folkets Hus, Oslo, headquarters of the country's Labour Party.

The hearing took the form of an "examination" of "witnesses" by a panel of distinguished politicians, journalists, clergy and members of various organisations.

The panel included Dr. Claude Malhuret, president of Medicins Sans Frontiers, Paris, Mr. P. N. Lekhi, senior advocate of the Indian Supreme Court, Stuart Schwarstein, senior fellow of the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Cambridge, Mass., USA, Mr. Peers Carter, former British ambassador to Afghanistan, Walter H. Rueb, editor of the German newspaper Die Welt and Anders Bratholm an Oslo University law professor.

The "witnesses" were composed of Afghans — exiles and freedom fighters — who had been flown in from Pakistan for the hearings and others such as doctors, journalists and persons interested in chemical warfare who had all visited Afghanistan since the conflict began. The "witnesses" presented their accounts of what they had seen or hearc and were asked questions by the panel. The audience of journalists and various observers were allowed to draw their own conclusions.

The most powerful evidence indicated that chemical weapons were being used by the Red Army in Afghanistan in an attempt to crush the national resistance movement of the Mujahadin and as in other countries, occupied by the Russians, that torture was used routinely.

The hearing was opened by the chairman of the organising committee. Bjorn Stordrange, a Conservative member of the Norwegian Parliament who said: "We must not fool ourselves into believing that we safeguard peace in Western Europe by forgetting the violence and lack of peace which exist in other parts of the world.

"Furthermore, we must not forget that our own peace has little value if it does not safeguard those values on which freedom is founded".

The official opening was done by Mr. Knut Frydenlund, also an MP and a former Norwegian Foreign Affairs Minister. He pointed out that like Afghanistan, Norway was also a small country adjoining the Russian empire.

He said: "In 1964 when the then foreign minister visited Russia he was told that Afghanistan was a model of how a small country should arrange its relationships with the USSR. When I myself visited Moscow nearly 20 years later they did not repeat this proposition".

In all, 11 Afghans attended the hearing to give first-hand accounts of different aspects of the war in their country. Some told of the heroic way in which the Afghan freedom fighters continue to struggle with inferior weapons and an appalling lack of medical supplies against the 100,000-strong army of occupation armed with the most sophisticated killing machines that modern technology can provide.

Others had been imprisoned and tortured by the KGB in the notorious Policharki prison in Kabul. They considered themselves luckier than thousands of their fellow countrymen who, after the most barbarous kinds of torture, were executed by the Russians or their Afghan communist henchmen.

One witness, Mohammad Ayyoub Assil, was a former Kabul police colonel and gave a graphic account of the various methods of torture adopted by the Russians.

Nasir Ahmed Farouqi, a member of the Islamic Union of Afghanistan gave an account of fighting between guerillas and the Red Army in Afghanistan's Logar Valley region describing how enraged communist units gave vent to their frustration after being unsuccessful against the Afghans by pillaging villages and summarily executing civilians or, as happened in at least one case, by stripping a man naked and leaving him outside all night so that he died by freezing to death.

Mr. Farouqi also said that in January this year communist soldiers entered villages to try and forcibly draft villagers into the Afghan army to replace

those who have deserted to the freedom fighters and have depleted the army strength from around 90,000 to 30,000.

Mr. Farouqi also gave a moving description of the capture of a French doctor, Philippe Augoyard, one of a team of French volunteers who try to give medical assistance to Afghans caught up in the war.

The Red Cross is forbidden to operate in countries where a guerilla war is in progress and M. Augoyard and his colleagues are regarded as enemies by the Russians and their Afghan lackeys.

Mr. Farouqi said that in January the Russians made a concerted effort to capture the French doctors and interrogated and tortured villagers for information as to their whereabouts. Some villagers were executed for refusing to reveal the doctors' location.

But eventually Russian helicopters attacked and landed troops in the village where the doctors and Mr. Farouqi were hiding.

The doctors and Mr. Farouqi tried to flee but they had been exhausted by freezing conditions and nights made sleepless by bombardment.

Mr. Farouqi hauled Dr. Augoyard up mountains through shoulder-deep snow but eventually the doctor could go no further. Mr. Farouqi said he made the agonising decision to abandon Augoyard only when the Russians were approaching. If he had been captured it would have meant certain death.

Dr. Augoyard was captured on January 16. He was forced to make a "confession" on Kabul television some time later in the style reminiscent of the Stalin show trials. On March 14 those attending the hearing heard that the puppet Afghan Government had sentenced Dr. Augoyard to eight years imprisonment. Throughout his detainment, the French Government was not allowed access to Dr. Augoyard.

One of Dr. Augoyard's colleagues, Dr. Laurence Laumonier, appealed to the world's governments to press for his release. She said: "This is a very serious precedent for relief in the world as a whole. What they are saying is that a doctor is committing a crime by trying to help those who are suffering".

She described the horrific conditions in which the volunteer doctors have to work and said that the Russians deliberately bombed hospitals even when they were clearly marked with a red cross.

Another French doctor and colleague of Dr. Augoyard, said that medical facilities were almost non-existent in Afghanistan and sick or wounded people had to make the hazardous trek to Pakistan to get help if they could not reach one of the volunteer doctors. He said that apart from physical diseases which were now rife in some parts of the country, many Afghan women and children were suffering from serious psychological disorders because of the stresses of war.

Abdul Rahim, a former engineer and now a member of the resistance, described how in 1980 he was working on an irrigation system project in the Helmland Province of Afghanistan and witnessed a massive tank attac on villages in the area. He described how about 50 Afghan women wh were being chased by tanks jumped into a river and drowned rather tha be captured by the Russians who they believed would rape them.

Mr. Rahim said that the Russians systematically destroyed crops in th areas where guerillas operated to force people to flee and deprive the freedom fighters of supplies.

Other Afghans described the low morale of the Red Army saying tha many soldiers, mainly from the Soviet Asian republics, had deserted and joined the freedom fighters and that other prisoners said the occupation forces were disillusioned because their commanders had told them they were going to defend Afghanistan from "Chinese or American imperialists".

For about 18 months now reports have been coming in of the Russians use of chemical weapons in Afghanistan, something outlawed by internationa treaties to which the USSR is a signatory.

At the hearing, in addition to the dramatic film already mentioned, there were produced other artefacts which indicated that the Red Army use chemical weapons in Afghanistan including chemical warfare protectior gear and pictures of a chemical testing kit with Russian instructions to check which occured in the Panishir Valley region last year.

A guerilla commander, Abdul Wahed, told the hearing that on April 2 1982, he witnessed a chemical attack. The Russians had met with stift resistance in the Panishir Valley and started bombing the area. Mr. Wahed said: They used bombs which produced smoke. Then we saw the soldiers in the areas near the smoke. They were divided into small groups each containing 25-30 soldiers, all wearing gas masks and protective gear.

"At first we did not know even what they were, whether they were some odd kind of elephant men or robots. We were not familiar with these things".

He said the smoke irritated his men's eyes and some were nearly unconscious but a combination of strong winds and distance from the main chemical attack saved him from the worst efforts.

After the fighting Mr. Wahed searched the battlefield and found some of the discarded gas-masks and the bodies of some of his comrades. They did not have any bullet or shrapnel wounds and he concluded that they had been killed by the gas.

Ricardo Fraile, a French doctor of law and a researcher at the Institut National des Etudes de Defence et de Disarmament at the University of the Sorbonne, told the hearing he and a group of others had studied the various allegations of chemical weapons usage in Afghanistan. He had been to Afghanistan clandestinely although the UN commission investigating the accusations had been barred from entering the country.

He told the hearing that the evidence was overwhelming to show that the Russians used nerve gas, toxins and other chemicals to cause injuries and death in Afghanistan.

Staurt Schwartzstein, director of the Chemical/Biological Weapons

Information Project at the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis in America, also concluded the same saying that the "yellow rain" agent being used by Russia's surrogates in other parts of Asia such as Cambodia, was also being used in Afghanistan and was probably the yellowish-grey cloud seen in the Dutch journalist's film.

One of the most moving testimonies came from 22-year-old Farida Ahmadi, a member of the Afghan Women's Revolutionary Association. She attended the hearing despite learning on the second day that both her parents had been murdered in prison by the Russians.

In April 1981 she was arrested by the secret police for being found in possession of an anti-Soviet leaflet. There then followed four months of imprisonment and torture for the young medical student.

She said that she shared a small cell in Kabul's Policharki prison with about 40 other women. She was subjected to a variety of inhuman tortures, some carried out by Afghan communists but always under Russian supervision.

At one stage she was taken to a darkened cell which was littered with amputated limbs and skulls, the walls were covered in blood. The eye of a comrade was plucked out in front of her and she was told the same would happen to her if she did not cooperate.

Miss Ahmadi said that women prisoners were raped and tortured by electrical wires attached to sentitive parts of the body.

One torture involved her being forced to stand up for 14 days, the wardens lifting her to her feet each time she collapsed.

One of Farida's interrogators asked her why she was not completely terrified by what she saw at the prison and she replied: "I would like you to bring everyone here so that they could see just what your Soviet revolution really means".

Eventually she was released but knowing that she was being kept under surveillance in the hope she would lead the Russians to her comrades she decided to leave Kabul and managed to escape to join the Mujahadin.

Mohammad Ayyoub Assil was in a position to describe the various tortures used by the communist régime for he was a police colonel with access to the prison. He was a professor of penal law at Kabul University and was asked to remain in the capital by guerilla groups to whom he passed information.

He eventually defected after he led a 4,000-strong pilgrimage to Mecca. He was supposed to be the Government's watchdog but along with 1,500 other pilgrims resolved not to return to Afghanistan.

Mr. Assil said that 12,000 people had been tortured to death by the police alone and that from being a body to uphold law and order and investigate crime the country's police is now merely one arm of the Kremlin's terror machine. He said that the means of torture included :

- 1) electrical shocks applied to the genitals,
- 2) hair and beard being pulled out by the roots,
- 3) prisoners being denied visits to the toilet and otherwise being humiliated
- 4) interrogators urinating into prisoners' mouths,
- 5) dogs attacking prisoners,
- 6) people being suspended upside down for long periods,
- 7) women being raped and sharp objects inserted into their vaginas,
- 8) table legs being placed over prisoners hands while people sit on th table thereby crushing the prisoners' limbs.

Mr. Assil said: In March 1980, I personally witnessed the arrest of woman eight months pregnant, and her husband who were tortured in Kabu

"The wife was raped several times in front of her husband's eyes, why was being forced to watch without being able to turn away. I will neve forget the screams of the woman being raped".

Mr. Assil also stated that some Russian officers conducted "man-hunts for pleasure. The procedure was to bomb a village and then to shoot villager with rifles from helicopters as they fled.

He said: "21 years ago I came across a book in a Kabul library which said that the Russians would never be civilized. I could not believe this a the time. Today I can only confirm that this is true".

But despite the grim evidence of the Afghans which painted vividly th horrors inflicted on their nation by the Russians the overall message of th hearing was that Afghanistan would continue to fight the Kremlin and it forces until the country was free.

KYIV VEI	RSUS	MOSCOW
		the Organization ationalists
Ukrainian Munich, 1970		tion S ervice, 59 pp., 50p. (\$1.50)
Kyïv versus Mos	scow - T	es of the Free World — he Main Ideological es of the OUN.
	order from	m:
UIS, 200, Liverpool Road, London, N1 1LF	or	UBP, 49, Linden Gardens Lonuon W2 4HG.

DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

CAPTIVE NATIONS MOTION' PROPOSED IN BRITISH PARLIAMENT

On Friday 15th and Monday 18th July 1983 a motion was proposed in the House of Commons by Mr. John Wilkinson, Conservative M.P. for Ruislip-Northwood regarding the official recognition by the British Government of the third week in July each year as *Captive Nations Week*. The motion was seconded by the following five Members of Parliament: Mr. Stefan Terlezki, Mr. Cyril D. Townsend, Mr. David Atkinson, Sir Anthony Kershaw and Mr. Peter Blaker. Following below is the text of the motion and the signatures of 67 other M.P.'s who have declared their support for the motion:

That this House wishing to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the designation by President Eisenhower of the United States of America of the third week in July as Captive Nations week in the United States of America, and recognising the common commitment to the principles of freedom, democracy and self-determination of peoples shared by the United States of America and United Kingdom, urges Her Majesty's Government also to designate officially the third week in July as Captive Nations Week in the United Kingdom as a symbol of the British nation's support for the restoration of the right to self determination, democracy and freedom for the peoples within the Soviet Union and of Eastern Europe behind the Iron Curtain.

Mr. Peter Temple-Morris Mr. Cranley Onslow Mr. Mark Wolfson Mr. Roy Galley Mr. Jonathan Sayeed Mr. Patrick Thompson Mr. Alan Howarth Mr. Colin Moynihan Mr. Anthony Steen Mr. Geoff Lawler Mr. John Ward Mr. Roger Sims Mr. Roger Gale Mr. Christopher Chope Mr. Colin Shepherd Mr. Andrew MacKay

Mr. Toby Jessel

- The Reverend Martin Smyth
- Sir John Biggs-Davison
- Mr. John Heddle
- Mr. Robert Jackson
- Mr. David Gilroy Bevan
- Lord James Douglas-Hamilton
- Mr. Alistair Burt
- Mr. John Maples
- Mr. Henry Bellingham
- Mr. Robert Hayward
- Mr. Churchill
- Mr. John Page
- Sir Frederic Bennett
- Mr. Michael Brown
- Mr. Robert Atkins

Following this motion, on Wednesday 20th July ammendments were submitted by Mr. Donald Stewart and Mr. Gordon Wilson and then by Mr. Dennis Walters. The first ammendment concerned the lack of a parliament for the people of Scotland and the second the fate of the Palestinian people.

Also the following signatures were added to the original motion:

Mr. Kenneth Warren Mr. Stephen Dorrell Mr. Tom Sackville The Rev. William McCrea Mr. Roger King Sir Walter Clegg Mr. Cecil Franks Mr. Piers Merchant Mr. Conal Gregory Sir Raymond Gower Mr. Richard Holt Mr. Greg Knight Mr. T. H. H. Skeet Mr. Timothy Wood Mr. John Watson Mr. Nigel Forman Sir Geoffrey Johnson Smith Mr. Nicholas Baker Sir Antony Buck Mr. David Sumberg Mr. Harry Greenway Mr. Michael Spicer Mr. James Couchman Mr. Ivan Lawrence Mr. Michael Shersby Mr. Michael Latham Mr. Bill Walker Mrs. Edwina Currie Mr. John Butterfill Mr. Marcus Fox Mr. Nicholas Winterton Mr. William Powell Mr. Robin Squire Mrs. Jill Knight Sir Anthony Meyer Mr. John Watts Mr. Mark Robinson Mrs. Ann Winterton

Mr. John Stokes Mr. J. M. Taylor Mr. Ralph Howell Mr. Roger Freeman Mr. Martin Stevens Mr. Derek Spencer Mr. Robert Banks Mr. Robin Maxwell-Hyslop Mr. Edward Leigh Mr. John Powley Mr. John Carlisle Mr. Julian Critchley Mr. Tim Yeo Mr. Richard Shepherd Mr. Michael Howard Dr. John G. Blackburn Sir Brandon Rhys Williams Mr. Ian Grist Mr. Peter Hubbard-Miles Mrs. Elizabeth Peacock Mr. Peter Bruinvels Mr. Charles Wardle Mr. Humfrey Malins Mr. Patrick Ground Mr. Michael Stern Mr. Gwilym Jones Mr. Richard Ryder Mr. Neil Thorne Mr. Jerry Hayes Mr. Michael Hirst Mr. Neil Hamilton Mr. Gerald Malone Mr. Robert Rhodes James Mr. David Lightbown Mr. Michael Carttiss Mr. Martin Brandon-Bravo

Mr. Richard Tracey

PRESS RELEASE

ON THE 45TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE TRAGIC DEATH OF EVHEN KONOVALETS

Ukrainians from throughout the Free World have gathered here in Rotterdam this weekend to commemorate the tragic 45th anniversary of the assassination of one of the most prominent Ukrainian political leaders — Evhen Konovalets.

Evhen Konovalets was a leader in the fullest sense of the word. He embodied all the attributes of a leader of a nation from military expertise and organizational skills to diplomatic and political acumen. Throughout the 17 years that he directed the Ukrainian liberation movement he strengthened and expanded it and his perception of political realities gave it the definite guidelines which are still relevant and are adhered to this day.

He was born on June 14, 1891, in the village of Zashkiv, the Lviv region, in Western Ukraine. His father was the school-master in the village. During his formative years, first in the village, then later in the gymnasium in Lviv and later at the Faculty of Law at Lviv University, he saw and experienced personally the fate of a subjugated nation. The economic exploitation of the peasants by foreign occupiers, the discrimination against all strata of Ukrainian society, the deliberate curtailment of social and economic progress made a deep and lasting impression on him. It was during these years that he became convinced that only in a free and independent Ukrainian state would the Ukrainian nation be able to prosper and decide its own destiny. This conviction was to become the focal point of his whole life and the attainment of this ideal was to guide and direct his thoughts and actions.

With the outbreak of World War I he was conscripted into the Austrian army where he attained the rank of lieutenant. In 1915, he was taken prisoner by the Russians and placed in an internment camp located on the Volga. During his internment, along with other Ukrainian officers, he started to formulate plans for the creation of Ukrainian military units. With the outbreak of revolution in 1917, he escaped and went to Kyiv where he offered his services to the newly created Ukrainian state. There he organized the regiment of "Sich Riflemen", which through his military expertise, organizational skills and discipline distinguished itself in battles against the Bolsheviks. The Sich Rifle Regiment under his command was soon expanded into a division and throughout the War of Ukrainian Liberation distinguished itself against all the enemies of the Ukrainian National Republic. After the defeat of the Ukrainian armies, he was interned in a prisoner-of-war camp in Lutsk Poland. He left this camp in the spring of 1920 with the intention of organizing Ukrainian soldiers interned in Czechoslovakia and Italy intc military formations. At a Council of Ukrainian soldiers held at Prague in July, 1920, Colonel Konovalets proposed the creation of the Ukrainian Military Organization whose purpose was to continue the fight for Ukrainian independence through revolutionary underground activity and small armed actions.

In the summer of 1921 he returned to Lviv to personally expand and direct the activities of the Ukrainian Military Organization in Ukrainian territories occupied by Poland and the Soviet Union. Having set up the organizational apparatus in Ukrainian territory, he left Ukraine in December, 1922, to propagate in the world the cause of Ukrainian independence.

From 1922 to 1929 he resided in Berlin. Throughout this time, he extensively strengthened the Ukrainian Military Organization and initiated contacts with leading political circles in Germany, Great Britain, Lithuania, Italy, Spain and others. He also organized political information activities, establishing Ukrainian foreign press bureaux and publishing houses in various countries. During this time he recognized the need for reorganization and that the active inclusion of a new generation of Ukrainians would be needed to strengthen and expand the national liberation movement. On January 29 to February 3rd, 1929, the First Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists met at Vienna in the course of which the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) was founded and Colonel Konovalets was elected president. He held this position until his death in 1938.

Due to the nature of his political activities he was forced to change residence many times. From 1929 to 1936 he lived in Geneva, Switzerland, but was forced to leave after an assassination attempt in 1936 by the GPU agent Norman. From 1936 until the time of his death, his residence was in Rome, Italy. The growing strength of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, their increasing activities in Ukrainian territories occupied by both Poland and Soviet Russia were of grave concern to the Soviets and they increased their attempts on his life. It was of major political importance to the Soviet Russians to eliminate Colonel Konovalets before the forthcoming war because he had become the symbol and the catalyst of the Ukrainian liberation movement.

Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN)

May 21, 1983.

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A STATEMENT BY THE EUROPEAN FREEDOM COUNCIL

In the light of Moscow's recent more aggressive pursuit of its imperialistexpansionist aims in practically every geo-political region of the world, in Central America, Africa, South-East Asia and the Middle East, the European Freedom Council (EFC) strongly endorses the policy of strengthening the military capabilities of NATO and of raising the level of political awareness of the citizenry of the Western Democracies, faced with this Soviet-Russian threat.

The EFC welcomes the strengthening of NATO by the conservative Governments of Great Britain and the CDU/SDP/FDP of the Federal Republic of Germany, by which the defensive capacity of the Free World in general has been increased. Furthermore, the EFC supports the integration of Spain into the NATO Alliance, particularly in light of Spain's geopolitical and military potential. The EFC also urges the Italian people to raise their level of vigilance in the face of an increasing communist threat.

In light of the alarming number of Soviet Russian submarines that have been recently found in the territorial waters of Sweden and elsewhere, the EFC strongly condemns Soviet Russian encroachment on the sovereignty of independent nations as blatant and unwarranted acts of aggression wherever they occur. Western public opinion should especially take notice of this Soviet Russian policy of encroachment and recognise in it Moscow's true aggressive militarist aims.

The EFC supports US Public Law 86-90 (1959), by which the United States pledged to re-establish national, independent, sovereign and democratic states of the presently subjugated nations. In pointing out that the liberation struggle of Afghanistan and Poland, and the developing national-liberation revolutionary processes in Ukraine, the Baltic countries, in the Caucasus, in Turkestan, Byelorussia and other subjugated nations serve as testimony to the indomitable strength of these nations, the EFC believes that US Public Law 86-90 on the Captive Nations ought to become the cornerstone of a practical Western policy vis-à-vis the Soviet Russian empire.

In commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the establishment of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) in 1943, at the very height of World War II and during Ukraine's two-front war of liberation, led against Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia, the EFC calls upon all freedom-loving peoples, particularly the Western Democracies, to render a full measure of moral and political support to the national-liberation struggle of Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Slovakia, Czechia, Croatia, Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, North-Caucasus, Turkestan, and other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism.

The Hungarian Revolution of 1956 did not even receive the West's political support. Today the heroic Afghan nation needs Western technical military assistance. The recent mass demonstrations in Poland attest to the fact that an occupational régime can never subdue a nation that aspire: towards national independence and freedom.

The EFC calls upon the Western Powers to initiate a psychological political offensive, as a significant factor of support for the liberatior struggle of the subjugated nations, with the aid of strengthened radio broadcasts, whose content will reflect the aspirations of these nations towards national independence, sovereignty and democracy.

In light of Soviet Russia's growing military and nuclear threat to the Free World, the EFC feels that the subjugated nations are the West's most reliable allies, since potentially they represent a force capable of freeing the imprisoned nations in the USSR and the so-called "satellite" states and of dismantling their communist system from within by coordinated and synchronised national uprisings on the territories of the subjugated nations thereby eliminating the Communist Russian threat of nuclear war.

The EFC fully supports President Reagan's position regarding the "zerooption" on European-based US and Soviet Russian missiles. Moscow only respects a policy of strength.

In cognizance of the fact that fifty years ago. in 1933, nearly eight million Ukrainians were starved to death by the Communist Russian colonial régime in an organised man-made famine, known in Ukraine as the "Velykyj Holod" (the Great Famine), the EFC calls upon the Western Democracies to convene an International Tribunal that would further investigate, document and condemn this deliberate Communist act of genocide. The "Holod" was Moscow's instant "final solution" to the problem of Ukrainian resistance to its colonial policies, particularly its collectivisation programme. The Russian empire has repeatedly used this form of suppressing the national-liberation aspirations of the peoples that it has enslaved, albeit not on such a large scale, most recently in Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Vietnam, and elsewhere.

The EFC wholeheartedly endorses the recent resolution of the European Parliament (of January 14, 1983), proposed by H.R.H. Otto von Habsburg, M.E.P., which expresses the European Parliament's full support of the reestablishment of national. independent and sovereign democratic states in Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. Furthermore, the EFC encourages the European Parliament and the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe to adopt similar resolutions voicing support for the national-liberation struggles of the other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism, by demanding the application of the United Nations Resolution on De-Colonization and other relevant resolutions to the USSR and its "satellites". The EFC expresses its conviction that the present "peace movement" in Western Europe, which has deceived many truly idealistic people, is, none-theless, a Moscow-sponsored and financed instrument, designed to spread and further exacerbate anti-American sentiment in Europe, thereby entrenching Europe's "neutrality", that is, Soviet Russian hegemony over the European continent. The EFC appeals to all freedom-loving peoples in the world to uncover and denounce Moscow's links with international terrorism, as the USSR is the only inherently aggressive power that may precipitate World War III.

The EFC appeals to the free nations of the world to use all the means at their disposal to put pressure on the Kremlin to liquidate all the concentration camps, the slave labour "GULag", all political and psychiatric prisons and to demand the release of all political and religious prisoners in the USSR and other communist-dominated countries, particularly Yurij Shukhevych, who has spent over thirty years in Bolshevik prisons and concentration camps and was recently blinded by the KGB.

> John Wilkinson President, E.F.C.

SENATOR YUZYK CONTINUES NATO AND HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVITIES

Canadian parliamentarians of the House of Commons and the Senate are not only involved in the time-consuming legislative process, but also in international affairs. For this purpose there exist several parliamentary associations with membership from both chambers, such as the Canadian Parliamentary Association, International Parliamentary Union, Canadian Commonwealth Society, Canada-Japan Society, Canadian NATO Parliamentary Association, Canadian Helsinki Parliamentary Group, Baltic Evening Parliamentary Sponsoring Group, and several others.

Senator Paul Yuzyk, retired professor of East European, Russian and Soviet History at the University of Ottawa, author of several books, mainly on the Ukrainians in Canada, and of numerous articles, on February 4th this year has completed 20 years of dedicated service in the Senate, to which he had been summoned by Prime Minister John Diefenbaker in 1963.

He has been active in most of these parliamentary associations, but has concentrated in two fields. Since 1975 he has been vice-president of the Canadian NATO Parliamentary Association, and this year has been reelected to that post unanimously at the annual meeting held February 2, 1983. Senator Yuzyk has the longest record (10 years) of any Canadian Parliamentarian as delegate to the Annual Session of the North Atlantic Assembly. In that body he was rapporteur of the Sub-Committee on the Free Flow of Information and People for 4 years and the editor of the quarterly publication of the Assembly *The Bulletin*, which monitors the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Final Act carried out by the Sovi and Western blocs.

Yuzyk continues his activities in Human Rights. For the past 6 years 1 has been vice-president of the Canadian Helsinki Parliamentary Grou having been re-elected this year. Mr. Jesse Flis, M.P., of Toronto, continue as President. Yuzyk was a Canadian delegate to the Belgrade Revie Conference and to the Madrid Review Conference, which is still in sessio: His work consists of meetings with Canadian Ambassador Louis Roger the Foreign Minister, and senior officials of the Dept. of External Affair He raises matters of Human Rights in the Senate sessions and in the pres

The Senate of Canaa Ottawa, Feb. 8, 1983

BOOK REVIEW

An Etymological Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language: Volume II J. B. Rudnyc'kyj, (Winnipeg-Ottawa: UVAN and UMMAN/ULA 1972 1982), 1182 pp. Distributor: University of Ottawa Press, Ottawa, Canada

The maturity of language requires documentary evidence of its develop ment and growth. Usually, four types of linguistic works serve to fulfil this need: (1) recordings of the living language within a country, (2) dictio naries which enable language accessibility to other languages, (3) etymo logical recordings, (4) special works (i.e. orthographic, thesaurus type material grammar, a.o.). Quietly, and without much fanfare, the last pages of *Volum*. *II: An Etymological Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language*, by J. B. Rud nuc'kyj appeared recently. This accomplishment thus completes and culminates a mostly single-handed, forty-year effort.

Volume II of the two volume set consists of the letters "d" to "b" (sof sign)*, with the material presented in typical Rudnyc'kyj fashion, utilizing an etymological formula developed by him and in use since the initia publication of Part I, Volume I in 1962.¹ The letters "d" through " \tilde{z} " (pp 400) were published serially between 1972 and 1977 by the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences (UVAN) headquartered in Winnipeg, Canada. The remaining portions, letter "z" to "b" (soft sign) appear in "selective form" pp. 401-1182), with the Ukrainian Mohylo-Mazepian Academy of Sciences

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^{*} Palatalization - Ed.

¹ Cf. J. B. Rudnyc'kyj, Etymological Formula, Slavistica No. 44 (Winnipeg: UVAN 1962), 64 pages.

(UMMAN) and the Ukrainian Language Association (ULA) bearing the responsibility for publication.

The first striking feature of this work is that it shows the Ukrainian language as "living". Rudnyc'kyj's choice of words, coupled with onomastic data shows the flexibility and adaptability of the language system. He submits 4180 entries in Volume II, giving it an active wordly character. For sure, this dictionary is a record of the development of Ukrainian from Indo-European and Proto-Slavic to Modern Ukrainian. It shows Ukrainian language progress or regression, both outside and within the ethnic lands of Ukraine.

All encompassing in his efforts, Rudnyc'kyj documents easily the "internationalist" and "Sovietization" tendencies of words in Ukraine ("EMTES" p. 279; "ESER" p. 284; "ESIVEC" p. 287; "SMERS", "SLON" p. 1024; "JARRYTY" p. 1114 a.o.). Albeit, it also serves as a warning to some as to the state of assimilation and acclimatization of Ukrainian immigrant communities.²

For the historical linguist, the work is a boon with endless possibilities. To begin, Rudnyc'kyj conscientiously traces the word, records, and dates the influences on Ukrainian (French, Latin, Greek, Russian, Romanian, Polish, Brazilian, Australian, American, a.o.). A wealth of synonyms, comparisons with other Slavic languages, onomastic data and neologisms round out the meanings presented. He culled such sources as Miklosich, Vasmer, Petrovskyj, Pokorny, Berynda, Potebna, Brückner, Preobrazenskyj, Simovich, Koshelanyk, Bilash, Chekaluk, Royick, a.o. In addition, he incorporated an important selection of words from present-day journals, books, texts, newspapers, and the vernacular. Of interest we note the inclusion of religious origin of words, vulgarisms and even historical entries dealing with the various recognized Ukrainian nationalist movements.

This along with words gleaned from E. Tymchenko's *Historical Dictionary* of the Ukrainian Language (Kyiv, 1931-1933) and later L. Humec'ka et. al. "Slovnyk Staro-Ukrajins'koji Movy" (Kyiv, 1977) may have been why *Volume II* was confiscated by censorship authorities at the USSR border.

Since Volume II is hailed as the first "selective" Etymological Dictionary of Ukrainian in the English language, Rudnyc'kyj may, in revised editions, want to insure that his listing of sources be consistant throughout. For example, note that in various places the same sources are listed in Ukrainian. Russian and English: Ukrainian, Bohdan (p. 168, 787) and Bilas (p. 227) vs. English, Bohdan and Bilash (p. 932): Ukrainian Horbač (p. 787), Bojkiv (p. 787), Petrovskyj, Berynda, Fasmer (p. 1001); yet, English, Vasmer (p. 817), Miklosich, Pokorny, Brückner; and Russian, Preobrazenskyj.

For the Comparative linguist the work is valuable in that it chronicles the phenomenon of "linguistic interference" upon Ukrainian. The selection of words may leave some wanting etymologies; however, the appearance of other etymological works3 whose publications were initially spurred by

² Cf. Pan'ko Nezabud'ko, "Na Zakhyst Ukrajins'koji Movy", Natsionalna Trybuna, (The National Tribune: Ukrainian Weekly), March 13, 1983, p. 4. 3 Cf. Metropolitan Ilarion, Etymologic-Semantical Dictionary (Winnipeg: Society of

Volyn, 1979) and Etymological Dictionary (Kyiv 1982).

Rudnyc'kyj's effort — may fill their void. A review of Volume I by C. Bida urged Rudnyc'kyj early on to include foreign non-Ukrainian lexicals. Th enthusiasm for which J. B. Rudnyc'kyj records in Volume II neologisms an ideo-lexemes of Ukrainian emigrè groups may, initially, cause difficult since some purists may want to compare some entries with "Jasenivs'kyj's Dictionary of Ukrainian—English Languages (Winnipeg 1914) whose trans criptions of English words into Ukrainian helped early immigrants in th US and Canada. 7.5% of the words listed in Volume II are of America: derivation. This serves as a good representative cross-section to documen and date the state of adaptability, assimilation and "linguistic interference" upon the Ukrainian language on this continent. We note, however, on difficulty with the American, English, as well as Australian and Braziliai entries. The Etymological formula, in some cases, was not strictly applied Was a comparison with other Slavic groups in this milieu made? Or, is th data insufficient to make the comparison?

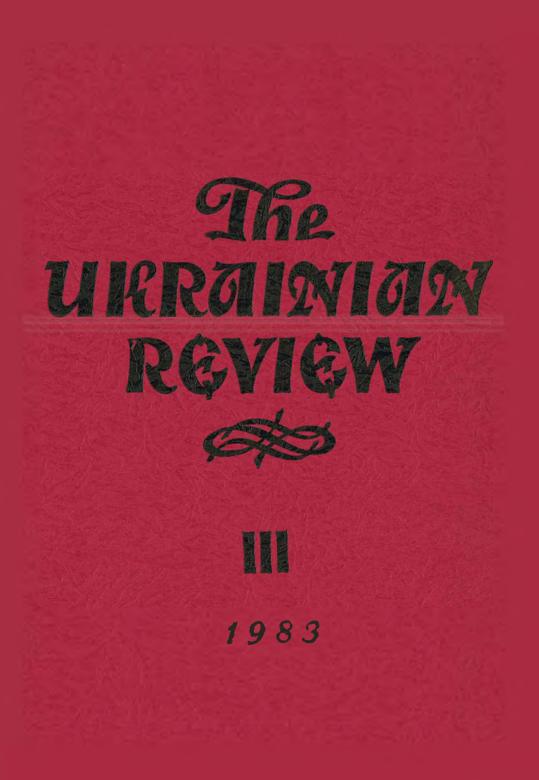
Rudnyc'kyj's original plan was to complete at least 100 entries for each letter. After the letter "r" he became more selective in order to finish the work. The recently published archival guide Scripta Manet IV: A Findin, Aid^{5} assure that the original plan was completed and that the etymologica material exists in the Public Archives in Ottawa under the heading MG31 D58. When the revised edition appears one would like to see these entrie included. Also, identification of each entry in a linguistic sense (i.e. n fo noun; v for verb; conj for conjunction; adj for adjective, etc.) may prove helpful for the non-Ukrainian reader; along with definition of terms and abbreviations as in Volume I. Lastly, the limits of study should also be defined. Although Rudnyc'kyj mentions that Volume II draws upon a heav "regionalism character", his chronology in the Postscript states that entrie end with inclusions from Soviet Ukraine. Yet, a number of etymologies are from Ukrainian immigrant communities in the USA, Canada, Australia Brazil, a.o. Perhaps an additional subdivision titled "Ukrainian in Diasporia' should be added.

In conclusion, an examination and analysis of the entries in Volume I show a serious attempt to document the fact that linguistic interference languages and cultures in contact and socio-linguistic interplay are factor with which all languages must contend. The data in this, the first Slavie etymological dictionary in English, awaits future expansion and analysis Volume II thus completes a major work; and is an important and lasting contribution to Ukrainian and world linguistics.

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⁴ Cf. America, No. 75, Philadelphia, 21. 4. 1966.

⁵ Scripta Manet IV: A Finding Aid (Ottawa, 1983, pp. 14-17).



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To Yaroslav Stetsko With best wishes,

Rouald Reagan

President R. Reagan speaks at the White House Ceremony commemorating the 25th Anniversary of Captive Nations Week and the 40th Anniversary of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (July 19th, 1983).

25th OBSERVANCE OF CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK AND COMMEMORATION OF THE 40th ANNIVERSARY OF ABN IN WASHINGTON D.C., USA

Washington D.C. was recently the scene of celebrations organised to mark the 25th Observance of Captive Nations Week (proclaimed for the first time by President Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1959) and the 40th Anniversary of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN). The programme of events included a luncheon, a conference, an evening banquet and an address by President Reagan. The celebrations were significant in that the speakers at the various events, many of whom at the moment hold high office in different parts of the present United States Administration, gave a penetrating insight and showed a great understanding of the seemingly unsurmountable problems of the countries of Eastern Europe, at present subjugated by Soviet Russian imperialism, and thus gave fresh hope about a possible re-examination of American policies towards that part of the world. Many of the speeches given at these celebrations are included in this issue of the *Ukrainian Review*.

The programme of events began on Monday July 18th when a luncheon was held in the Cannon Caucus Room on Capitol Hill in Washington. The main address was given by Dr. Jeanne Kirkpatrick, U.S. Ambassador at the United Nations (see p.12 of this issue). Also speaking at the luncheon were Richard Allen, former head of the National Security Council and Yaroslav Stetsko, President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc on Nations (ABN). The luncheon, which commemorated both Captive Nations Week and the 40th Anniversary of ABN, was hosted by Congressman Gerald B. Solomon and Congressman Samuel B. Stratton, both of New York. Congressmen Philip Crane of Illinois, who acted as master of ceremonies, in introducing Yaroslav Stetsko, the former Premier of Ukraine and the President of ABN, quoted Thomas Jefferson: "Patriotism is not an outburst of emotion, but a lifetime of dedication". He then went on to praise the former Premier as the "patriot for all seasons". Later Congressman P. Crane made a special appeal on behalf of Yuriy Shukhevych, the son of the former C-in-C of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army R. Shukhevych, still incarcerated in the USSR. The invocation at the luncheon was delivered by the Rev. Joseph Denishchuk, pastor of the Ukrainian National Catholic Shrine of the Holy Family on Washington.

The commemorations continued with a conference which was held in the Dirksen Caucus room on Capitol Hill. It was opened by Maj. Gen. John K. Singlaub, chairman of the U.S. Council for World Freedom. The major theme at the conference was the problem of Soviet Russian aggression and subversion around the globe. Taking part in the conference were Dr. Ku Cheng-kang, honorary chairman of the World Anti-Communist League; William Middendorf III, U.S. ambassador to the Organisation of American States; John Wilkinson M.P. from Gt. Britain; Bohdan Fedorak, president of the American Friends of the ABN; Jeremiah Chitunda, secretary for foreign affairs, National Union for Total Independence of Angola; Wahid Kharim, former Afghan ambassador to the United States; Le Thi Ahn of the Coalition of Free Vietnamese; and Dr. Douglas Darby, author and former member of the Australian Parliament. The conference was co-sponsored by the National Captive Nations committee and the Conservative Caucus. Congressman G.B. Solomon was the chief congressional organiser, with Sen. Jeremiah Denton and Congressmen Crane and Stratton serving as members of the steering committee headed by Gen. J.K. Singlaub.

An important item in the programme that followed was the address of U.S. Vice-President George Bush which took place at the evening banquet held at the Hyatt Regency Hotel on Capitol Hill. He began his address with a reference to the Great Famine in Ukraine, in which, he noted, 5-7 million people lost their lives. Through the years similar melancholy anniversaries have come to be marked: East Germany, 1953, Hungary, 1956, Czecho-Slovakia, 1968, Afghanistan, 1979, Poland, 1982. "Let us be clear about one thing, stressed Vice-President Bush in his speech, our concern extends to all systems that deny basic human freedoms... And we condemn brutality whether it be on the right or the left. We are outraged at official torture and state-sanctioned lawlessness where ever they occur. and where we have influence we will use it to correct these injustices". He also noted that since the observance of Captive Nations Week began in 1959 "five once-free countries had been turned into Communist prison states: Cuba, Cambodia, the former Republic of Vietnam, Laos and Afghanistan". Now a similar chain of events was developing in such Central American countries as El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Peru, Colombia and Guatemala. The experience which politicians have gained from this recent history is that the notion of "power sharing" with leftist leaders had to be discounted, though this notion is still supported by many "well-meaning but misguided people" in the United States. Citing the examples of Laos and Nicaragua, the Vice-President said: "We now know what happens when you try to share power with Communists". To this he added: "The people of the world have made their will abundantly clear, voting with ballots when they have the chance and, when ballots are denied them, 'voting with their feet' - thousands upon thousands fleeing from communism". Vice-President G. Bush then went on to say that Captive Nations Week should not be a mere sombre observance, but also a "time of celebration ---a celebration of the human spirit that remains unconquerable, that has survived and will ultimately triumph over all oppressions. Because no matter how oppressive the Communists may be, they can never extinguish the light of freedom". He continued: "After two and more generations of subjugation, it still shines brightly in the hearts of the people of Eastern Europe, the Baltic States, Ukraine, and the other captive nations".

Present at the banquet were approximately 325 guests — including the ambassadors of Korea, Zaire and El Salvador, the charges d'affaires of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia; members of the State Department, White House and other government officials. The host of the banquet was Sen. Jeremiah Denton, a former American POW in Vietnam, who related a gruesome story of his tortures at the hands of the Vietnamese Communists. Gen. J.K. Singlaub delivered opening remarks, while Edward J. Derwinsky, former congressman of Illinois and now State Department counselor, acted as master of ceremonies. Katherine C. Chumachenko, executive secretary and acting chairperson of the National Captive Nations Committee, was the main co-ordinator of all four Captive Nations Week events held in Washington.

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The culmination of the 25th observance of Captive Nations Week and the 40th Anniversary of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations took place at the White House with President Ronald Reagan (see p.6) issuing the Captive Nations Proclamation "to reaffirm the dedication to the ideals of freedom, which unite us and inspire others". In his remarks Pres. Reagan stated: "Today, we speak to all in Eastern Europe who are separated from neighbours and loved ones by an ugly Iron Curtain. And to every person trapped in tyranny whether in Ukraine, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Cuba or Vietnam, we send our love and support and tell them they are not alone. Our message must be: Your struggle is our struggle. Your dream is our dream. And some day you, too will be free".

These words of the President of a world's major superpower and the cradle of modern democracy are truely heartening to the millions who continue to languish under Soviet Russian rule in E. Europe, in countries like Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia and many others, however it remains to be seen whether these countries and their plight will become a guiding factor in the policy of the United States, because the fact remains that the task ahead for the people in the West that descend from these countries of E. Europe and C. Asia is still to impress upon the politicians of the West, as one speaker had argued at the conference in Washington, that the national liberation struggles of these subjugated nations should become the primary weapon within the strategic plan of the West to gain victory over Soviet Russian Communism.

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REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AT CAPTIVE MATIONS WEEK OBSERVANCE CEREMONY

July 19, 1983

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Thank you. You know, I have to apologize here for keeping you waiting. And I always, wonder if there isn't some way, without making it sound that way, if in the announcement they couldn't say "the late President" — (laughter) — of the United States.

But thank you all very much and members of the Congress and Excellencies here and fellow Americans, and may I add, fellow citizens of the world who yearn to breath free, we are honoured to welcome all of you. I'd like to thank Congressman Jerry Solomon for his strong support of this event.

And today we come to show solidarity with our brothers and sisters who are captives, not because of crimes that they have committed but because of crimes committed against them by dictators and tyrants.

We met here last month with a group of Baltic Americans honoring Baltic Freedom Day. And I said that we gathered to draw attention to the plight of the Baltic people and to affirm to the world that we do not recognize their subjugation as a permanent condition. (Applause.)

Today, we speak to all in Eastern Europe who are separated from neighbours and loved ones by an ugly iron curtain. And to every person trapped in tyranny, whether in Ukraine, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Cuba or Vietnam, we send our love and support and tell them they are not alone. (Applause.) Our message must be: Your struggle is our struggle. Your dream is our dream. And some day, you, too, will be free. (Applause.)

As Pope John Paul told his beloved Poles, we are blessed by divine heritage. We are children of God and we cannot be slaves. (Applause.)

The Prophet Isaiah admonished the world, "...Bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives." Some 25 centuries later, philosophers would declare that "the cause of freedom is the cause of God." We Americans understand the truth of these words. We were born a nation under God, sought out by people who trusted in him to work His will in their daily lives, so America would be a land of fairness, morality, justice and compassion.

Many governments oppress their people and abuse human rights. We must oppose this unjustice. But only one so-called revolution puts itself above God, insists on total control over the people's lives, and is driven by the desire to seize more and more lands. As we mark this 25th observance of Captive Nations Week, I have one question for those rulers: If communism is the wave of the future, why do you still need walls to keep people in, and armies of secret police to keep them quiet? (Applause.) Democracy may not be perfect, but the brave people who risk death for freedom are not fleeing from democracy. They're fleeing to democracy from communism.

Two visions of the world remain locked in dispute. The first believes all men are created equal by a loving God who has blessed us with freedom. Abraham Lincoln spoke for us: "No man," he said, "is good enough to govern another, without the other's consent."

The second vision believes that religion is opium for the masses. It believes that eternal principles like truth, liberty, and democracy have no meaning beyond the whim of the state. And Lenin spoke for them: "Its true, that liberty is precious," he said, "so precious that it must be rationed." (Laughter)

Well, I'll take Lincoln's version over Lenin's (Laughter), (Applause.) And so will citizens of the world, if they're given free choice. Now some believe we must muffle our voices for the cause of peace. I disagree. Peace is made, or broken, with deeds, not words.

No country has done more, or will strive harder for peace, than the United States. And I will personally embrace any meaningful action by the Soviet Union to help us create a more peaceful, safe and secure world. I welcome the Soviet pledge of cooperation at the Madrid Review Conference on Security and cooperation in Europe. With every ounce of my being I pray the day will come when nuclear weapons no longer exist anywhere on earth. And as long as I'm President, we'll work day-in-and-day-out to achieve mutual and verifiable reductions in strategic weapons.

When Congress approved the MX Peacekeeper program last May, America demonstrated its bipartisan consensus to implement the recommendations of the Scowcroft Commission. This bipartisan step marked progress toward genuine arms reductions.

In the next few days, the Congress will vote on the question of supreme importance: Do we continue forward, or do we turn back from the Scowcroft Commission's recommendations? In terms of speaking to the world with one, bipartisan voice, of standing up for U.S. vital interests, and of strengthening America's agenda for peace, no question matters more for this country in 1983.

Rather than seek temporary, partisan advantage, let us work together for the future of mankind. We must not waver in our request for genuine peace and cooperation. We must keep our military strong to deter aggression. And we will never shrink from speaking the truth.

Ask yourselves: Was it our words that destroyed peace in Afghanistan, or was it Soviet aggression? Is peace served by sealing our lips while millions are tortured or killed in Vietnam and Cambodia? It's not provocative to warn that, once a communist revolution occurs, citizens are not permitted free elections, a free press, free trade, free unions, free speech, freedom to worship, or property, or freedom to travel as we please.

Many military regimes have evolved into democracies. But no communist regime has ever become a democracy, provided freedom or given its people economic prosperity.

We will speak the truth. Alexander Herzen, the Russian writer warned: "To shrink from saying a word on defense of the oppressed is as bad as any crime." That's why we want improved and expanded broadcasts over the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe — (Applause.) — Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. And that's why we want and the Cuban people need, Radio Marti. — (Applause.) Now, many of you here have known the suffering that I've described. You are the conscience of the free world. And I appeal to you to make your voices heard. Tell them: "You may jail your people, you may seize their goods. You may ban their unions, you may bully their rabbis and dissidents. You may forbid the name Jesus to pass their lips, but you will never destroy the love of God and freedom that burns in their hearts. They will triumph over you. (Applause.)

Help us warn the American people that, for the first time in memory, we face real dangers on our own borders, that we must protect the safety and security of our people. We must not permit outsiders to threaten the United States. We must not permit dictators to ram communism down the throats of one Central American country after another. (Applause.)

We've seen construction in Cuba of a naval base from which Soviet nuclear submarines can operate. We see Soviet capacity for air reconnaissance over our Eastern coast from Cuban bases.

And we see Soviets and Cuba building a war machine in Nicaragua that dwarfs the forces of all their neighbours combined. Let's not fool ourselves: this war machine isn't being built to make Central America safe for democracy. It isn't being built to pursue peace, economic or social reform.

It's being built, by their own boasts to impose a revolution without frontiers.

Now, this is not my problem. It's our problem. But if we pull together, we can solve it. As I announced yesterday, I'm appointing a bipartisan commission on Central America. And let us resolve today: there must be no more captive nations in this hemisphere. (Applause.)

With faith as our guide, we can muster the wisdom and will to protect the deepest treasures of the human spirit — the freedom to build a better life in our time and the promise of life everlasting in His Kingdom.

Alexander Solzhenitsyn told us, "Our entire earthly existence is but a transitional stage in the movement toward something higher, and we must not stumble and fall, nor must we linger... on one rung of the ladder."

With your help, we must stand shoulder to shoulder, and we'll keep our sights on the farthest stars.

Thank you very much and God bless you.

Yaroslav STETSKO

THE FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS (ABN)

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) originated at a Conference of Subjugated Nations attended among others, by representatives of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, North Caucasus, Turkestan and Idel-Ural in 1943.

The Conference appealed to the Western Allies that they enter into a common front with the subjugated nations not only against Nazism, but also its generic prototype — Bolshevism as well.

This would have saved all of humankind from the present threat of a thermonuclear holocaust and would have led to the liquidation of both the Russian and German colonial empires.

The ABN's primary purpose was to serve as the political and military coordinating centre of the insurgent movements of the subjugated nations.

In the 1950's the ABN's concept of liberation was effectuated in the Gulag in the mass strikes and insurrections of the political prisoners from the subjugated nations, who then numbered over 17 million.

In its full scope the national-liberation revolution of the subjugated nations is a struggle between two polar worlds, two irreconcilable systems, two different world-views and ways of life: the world of heroic Christianity and religion in general, against the atheism of Moscow; independent and sovereign nations against a global colonial empire; democracy against totalitarianism; national traditions, the particular, specific values of every nation, a mosaic of national cultures, each of which adds its own jewel to humankind's treasure house against russification and "socialist realism"; the right of private property against collectivist slavery; the family as the cornerstone of a morally strong nation against moral decay; the national against the imperialist ideal.

Presently, the ABN is systematically mobilizing the enslaved peoples in the USSR and its "satellites" for the final stage of the continuing revolutionary, national-liberation processes — national uprisings, leading to the destruction of the communist system and the dissolution of the Russian colonial empire from within into national, sovereign and independent, democratic states, each within its own ethnographic borders.

The struggle of ideas and political concepts is the decisive component of these revolutionary liberation processes. A barometer of the great weight that Moscow places on ideological-political warfare against the forces of liberation is a recent address by Konstantyn Chernenko, delivered at a plenary session of the Central Committee of the CPSU on June 14, 1983.

In his address Chernenko identified the greatest threats to the Russian empire — nationalism and religion. He also voiced the fears of the Kremlin in bringing attention to President Ronald Reagan's call for a "crusade" of ideas against the "communist evil".

President Reagan, continually stressing "Project Democracy", has understood the significance of an ideological-political offensive, particularly with regard to the subjugated nations.

The ideological struggle is no less vital than the current pressing need for technological modernity of the West's weapons systems.

Ideas are the decisive weapon!

It is in this respect that we should always bear in mind one basic fact: that the non-Russian subjugated nations in the USSR constitute a majority of the population of the Soviet Union.

Bolshevism as a synthesis of Russian imperialism and communism, is a total system of occupation, enforced by the Communist Party, the KGB and the entire terror apparatus; it is one gigantic concentration camp multiplied to the tenth power.

This system is an aggregate of means and modes of repression, whose primary purpose is to uproot and destroy the traditional structures and institutions of a given nation, while simultaneously replacing them by force with Bolshevik, i.e., Russian, communist, étatist, atheistic, anti-individualistic, anti-national institutions. In 1933, fifty years ago, in the resistance against Bolshevik collectivization and the Russian way of life, over seven million Ukrainians were murdered by Moscow in a brutal, deliberate and unprecedented man-made famine.

Freedom or slavery — this is the dilemma facing all of humankind, particularly Western democratic societies.

In order to emerge victorious from this dilemma, the Western Democracies must relinquish many of the luxuries of a consumer society and a welfare state. This is the only way that the West can achieve military parity with the Warsaw Pact, particularly with regard to conventional armaments.

It is more virtuous to live a modest, even spartan lifestyle and guarantee one's freedom, than to seek short-term material benefits and as a result jeopardize one's freedom.

Ours is the age of the Bomb.

The only alternative to this apocalyptic spectre lies in a military and political strategy of liberation.

The subjugated nations, with the political and moral support of the Free World, are capable of dismantling the Russian prison of nations and its communist system from within, thereby eliminating the threat of a nuclear holocaust.

In the words of US General John Singlaub: "The subjugated nations are the Achilles' heel of the Soviet-Russian empire... They are, in fact, the West's most reliable allies and constitute the liberation alternative to nuclear war"

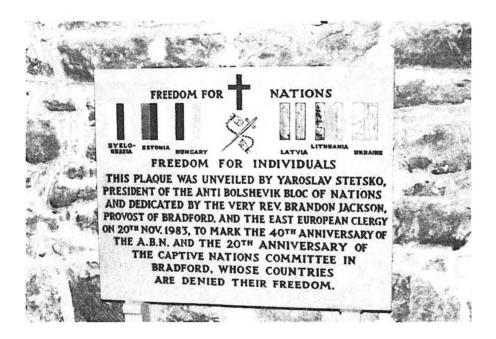
The West should render moral and political support to the national-liberation struggle of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism in the USSR and its "satellites".

It ought to create the necessary preconditions for this struggle to be most effective and ultimately victorious, by terminating all forms of technological and economic assistance to the Russian empire.

Such a policy would not only be in the interests of the subjugated nations, but of the Western Democracies as well.

If the West refuses to help us in our cause of liberation, then at least it should refrain from helping our enemy and the enemy of all humankind.

He who helps the subjugated nations in their quest for national independence is securing his own freedom.



A recently unveiled plaque in Bradford Catherdral (See p.27 of this issue of Ukrainian Review)

ADDRESS BY AMBASSADOR JEANE J. KIRKPATRICK UNITED STATES PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS TO THE CAPTIVE NATIONS CONFERENCE WASHINGTON, D.C. JULY 18, 1983

I want to focus today on what I believe to be the most important question in our time. It is how to preserve peace with the freedom, independence and selfgovernment that makes peace and, indeed life, worthwhile. The principal obstacle in this pursuit of peace with self-government in a contemporary world is the relentless habit of the Soviet Union and the Soviet empire of growing and ruling by force. That habit is difficult for us to bear in mind even for most of us here. Almost everyone is from time to time bemused by Soviet rhetoric and confused by the audacity of Soviet claims and Soviet lies. Therefore it is important from time to time to step back and review briefly the essential elements of that empire.

The Bolshevik Revolution inherited an empire that Lenin once referred to as a "prisonhouse of peoples," a territory that has already expanded from some 15,000 square miles in 1462 to 8,600,000 square miles in 1914. Russia at the time of the Bolshevik Revolution, had expanded at a rate of more than 50 square miles a day over a period of some 450 years. Since Lenin had criticized this "prisonhouse of peoples" it was assumed that the Bolsheviks might dismantle the empire. But as everyone knows, Lenin and his successers have expanded it and have imposed upon its subjects the ruthless force of modern totalitarianism. You know the dismal record; I know it.

The people who have been absorbed into the Soviet empire differ: their languages differ, their cultures and religions differ, but the process of expansion, that has extended the Soviet empire from Ukraine to Managua, has all essential elements in common. All nations which currently form part of the Soviet empire, the Soviet bloc as we call it in the United Nations, have been conquered by force and not by moral force, not by persuasion, certainly not by the tides of history. All the nations of all the peoples absorbed in the Soviet empire have fallen to the conquest of arms, weapons, violence. And all the communist regimes ruling them rely ultimately on force — on heavy weapons like the tanks that crushed the revolt of Hungary in 1956 and of Czechoslovakia in 1968, heavy weapons that bomb and burn the villages of Afghanistan, heavy weapons that burn the villages and the churches of the Indians of Nicaragua's Atlantic coast.

Since we have so much trouble absorbing and remembering these facts it is important from time to time to review them. Perhaps we should begin where the Soviet empire began, with Ukraine. In 1961 my predecessor at the United Nations, Adlai Stevenson, traced the growth of the Soviet empire after the Bolshevik Revolution in a speech to the United Nations. "We are told", said Stevenson, "that the peoples of the Soviet Union enjoy the right of self-determination... How did this 'right' work out in practice?" Stevenson went on:

"An independent Ukrainian Republic was recognized by the Bolsheviks in 1917, but in 1917 they established a rival Republic in Kharkiv. In July 1923, with the help of the IRed Army, a Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic was established and incorporated into the USSR. In 1920, the independent Republic of Azerbaidzhan was invaded by the Red Army and a Soviet Socialist Republic was proclaimed. In the same year, the Khanate of Khiva was invaded by the Red Army and a puppet Soviet People's Republic of Khorezm was established. With the conquest of Khiva, the approaches to its neighbour, the Emirate of Bokhara, were opened to the Soviet forces which invaded it in September 1920. In 1918, Armenia declared its independence from Russia... In 1920, the Soviet army invaded, and Armenian independence, so long awaited, was snuffed out. In 1921,—The Red Army came to the aid of Communists rebelling against the independent State of Georgia and installed a Soviet regime."

"This process inexorably continued. Characteristically, the Soviets took advantage of the turmoil and upheaval of the Second World War to continue the process of colonial subjugation at the expense of its neighbours. The Soviets' territorial aggrandizement included the Karelian province and other parts of Finland and the Eastern provinces of Poland, the Romanian provinces of Bessarabia and Bukovina, the independent States of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, the Koenigsberg area, slices of Czechoslovakia, South Sakhalin, the Kurile islands, and Tanna Tuva..."

Let me pause for a moment over this first tragic conquest of the Soviets following World War II, the incorporation of Eastern Europe. Terrible controversies continue to rage about the responsibility of the Allies, in their various negotiations and conferences, for the tragedy that Eastern Europe underwent, that Eastern Europe continues to undergo today. Especially, of course, the controversy rages about the responsibility of our leaders at Yalta for this tragedy. The current *Encounter* magazine has a fascinating exchange on the Yalta Conference which I recommend to all of you. It provides new insights and raises some new questions. Like all historical controversies, this one is not likely to be settled definitively in the forseeable future. But there are certain basic facts about the incorporation of Eastern Europe concerning which there is no controversy at all.

First, we know who made the first contribution. It was Adolph Hitler, of course. It was Adolph Hitler who met Joseph Stalin's exacting demands: the Baltic States, half of Poland, Bessarabia, and an agreed sphere of expansion south and east. The much-vaunted "Non-Aggression Pact" between Hitler and Stalin was, of course, an aggression pact which provided for the incorporation of those states of Europe and the destruction and partition of the Polish state. The distinguished scholar, Robert Conquest, has said that perhaps then best description of the attitude of Hitler and Stalin toward the destruction of Poland was found in Molotov's speech to the Supreme Soviet in October, 1939 after that combined invasion of Poland when he (Molotov) said: "One blow from the German army and another from the Soviet army put an end to this ugly product of Versailles." So who struck the first blow? It was Hitler and Stalin acting in concert through the Hitler-Stalin pact.

The second fact, about which there is no controversy, is that the quality of Soviet rule in Eastern Europe was clearly forshadowed by the Katyn massacres, in which 15,000 officers of the Polish army were on a beautiful spring day, systematically slaughtered. As the author of the *Encounter* article suggests, Katyn presented itself as a starting prism through which the nature of Soviet rule and the chances of cooperation with Stalin could be assisted, not just by the Polish government-in-exile in London but also by Churchill and Roosevelt. The Katyn massacres were known to all the participants at Yalta at the time of the meetings. This systematic decapitation of the Polish nation provided chilling evidence, to anyone willing to see, of what conquest by the Soviets would mean in the heart of Europe: it would mean what it had meant to be overcome by the Bolsheviks inside the Soviet Union itself.

Stalin was a great believer in destroying groups and classes which stood in the way of consolidating power. He was interested, above all, in removing those persons who stood in his way or whom he thought might stand in his way. Stalin understood the social dynamics of control as well as Plato had when, in *The Republic*, he described the role of elites in political change: as elites change, regimes change. So Stalin set about destroying the elite which he thought could be an obstacle to his power in Poland. Churchill wrote that though they knew about the Katyn massacres when they met at Yalta, "it was decided that the issue should be avoided."

We may be shocked that such a decision would be made but, in fact, we should not be because a great many other people have made parallel decisions concerning the Soviet Union in almost every decade which has followed. Still the cynicism with which the men who met at Yalta discussed the future of Eastern Europe has the power to shock. Let us again turn to the recollections of Churchill, about the conversation around the table at Yalta. Concerning the division of influence in Eastern Europe, Churchill wrote:

"The moment was apt for business, so I said: 'Let us settle about our affairs in the Balkans. Your armies are in Bulgaria and Rumania. We have interests, missions and agents there. Don't let us get at cross purposes in small ways. So far as Britain and Russia are concerned, how would it do for you to have ninety percent predominance in Rumania, for us to have ninety percent of the say in Greece, and go fifty-fifty about Yugoslavia?"

While his words were being put into Russian, Churchill wrote down these percentages on a piece of paper, adding a 50-50 division for Hungary and giving the Kremlin a 75-25 predominance in Bulgaria. Stalin agreed. But more important than the cynicism of the participants was that Stalin declined to keep his cynical promises. He wanted 100 percent predominance in all those countries and he got it in all those countries in which the Red Army was already present.

The third fact, which is not the least bit controversial, is that the Soviet army guaranteed the conquest of the states of Eastern Europe. Whatever role Yalta may have played in the legitimization of that conquest — and I myself think that role has probably been overstated — the fact is that the conquest took place not by way of agreements signed at Yalta, but by way of the hard fact of conquest and the continued presence of the Soviet army.

All the other extensions of Soviet power since World War II have taken place in essentially the same fashion. In all extensions of Soviet power, force, violence, arms, weapons, murder have played the crucial role. In Czechoslovakia it was a violent coup. In Cuba it was a civil war. In Vietnam it was, I insist, a war of aggression. In Cambodia, it was also a war of aggression, and in Laos, likewise, in Afghanistan, in Nicaragua those familiar combinations of terrorism, guerrilla war, and imported force.

Rousseau told us that might cannot endure unless it is transformed into right. The fact is, of course, that, if exercised brutally enough, might can endure longer than any of us care to imagine. Legitimization helps, but there is not a scintilla of evidence that the peoples of any of the nations governed today in the shadow of the Red Army or any of their imperial armies accept the legitimacy of that rule.

From time to time, crises in Soviet rule and Soviet predominance occur inside the Soviet empire. And when those crises occur, the skeleton of Soviet power is laid bare. let me just mention a few of those crises. Because the lies which surround them are so multiple and repeated so incessantly and the deception is so smothering, both in intention and effect, it is important from time to time just to remind ourselves of these basic patterns.

Following the annexation of the Baltics, the Soviets embarked on a policy of ruthless Sovietization in those countries, which encountered universal opposition. Then, on a single "night of terror" — June 14 1941 — the Soviets deported almost the entire Baltic intelligentsia to Siberia where most of them perished. The Baltic Nations were decapitated, very much as the Polish nation was decapitated at Katyn. When the Germans invaded the Soviet Union a week later, massive, spontaneous uprisings occurred in all three Baltic states and a large part of their territory was liberated from the Soviets before it was subsequently occupied by the Nazis. But the Red Army eventually recaptured the Baltics, precipitating an exodus of some 200,000 people who feared the return of Soviet rule — perhaps some of you or some of your relatives. The Soviets reconsolidated their control in the Baltics with killings, repression, and mass deportations. Between 1944 and 1949, we estimate that some 600,000 Balts out of a population of just a little over four million were deported to Siberia. Guerrilla resistance to the Soviet occupation continued until 1952, eight years after the re-entry of the Red Army. Since then, of course, the Soviets have continued a conscious policy of cultural russification, but there is not, until this day, a scintilla of evidence either that they have succeeded in russifying the peoples of the Baltic nations or in persuading them of the legitimacy of their rule.

We've had ample opportunities to observe the skeleton of Soviet power. We had the opportunity when the brave Hungarian people confronted the Soviet tanks with their bare hands. It is interesting to recall the words with which the Soviet rulers justified their supression of that revolt. Nikita Khrushchev, commenting on Budapest Radio, April 1958, noted: "We knew that the imperialists would shout wildly that we interfered in the Hungarian people's affairs. But we also knew that within a short time the Hungarian working class, working peasantry, and intelligentsia would realize and understand that there was only one correct road." There is no evidence to this day that the Hungarian working class, the workfing peasantry, or the intelligentsia has understood that there was only one correct road and that that road was the road of Soviet conquest. They only bowed before superior force. They did not acquiesce.

Neither did the Czech people. When the Czechs rose up in 1968 in that marvellous Prague spring, they, too, were crushed by the exercise of force in its purest form. Once again Soviet leaders justified the suppression of people who asked only to be permitted to govern themselves. *Pravda* commented as late as 1978 about the events of 1968 saying: "World reactionaries cannot accept either the victory of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic working class in February 1948, or their own defeat in August 1968."

That's interesting. The Czechs that sought their freedom in 1968 had become "world reactionaries."

As a result of World War II the Soviets gained Eastern Europe. But they were not satidsfied. Expansion continued. No clearer case of conquest by force brute, unadorned and unobfuscated — than that of Afghanistan. Today the Soviet Union occupies Afghanistan against the will of the Afghan population. Approximately 3 million Afghans, about one-fifth of the Afghan population, have fled into Pakistan to escape the carnage wreaked by Soviet occupation. Another 2 million have remained outside the country. Those remaining inside Afghanistan still control some 75 percent of the country, despite the fact that they are poorly armed and trained, despite the fact that the Soviet Union has used against them the most sophisticated weapons in its arsenal, ranging from heavily armed helicopter gunships to supersonic aircraft.

Within the Kabul government, Soviet personnel direct virtually all aspects of administration, including the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Defense, Interior, Information and Culture, Justice and Economic Planning. Since 1979, Soviet personnel have also commanded the Afghan army down to the brigade level and sometimes down to the company level, and still they cannot guarantee the loyalty or performance of that Afgham army Nothing more clearly reflects the lack of public support for the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan than the collapse of the Afghan army. The puppet regime in Kabul has resorted to desperate measures to recruit that army. Young men, some only 12 or 13 years old are seized in bazaars, loaded into ground or air transport, shipped to another section of the country where they are shoved into uniform. Only those who escape --- some of whom have been interviewed by the international press — are heard from again. The others simply disappear and the families do not know where. Recent call-ups of men who have already completed military service have been met with riots and protests, which are in turn met with violence. Protestors are gunned down and still the Soviet occupiers cannot put together an army on which they can rely. They must rely on their own. And so their army in Afghanistan has grown while they talk about negotiations to stop the resistance.

It is interesting to read the official Soviet comments on their invasion and occupation of

Afghanistan. *Moscow News* commented in 1980, "We knew that the decision to bring troops into Afghanistan would not be popular in the modern world... Noninterference is a good thing, but the principles of international law do not exist in a vacuum... history and politics cannot always be fitted into legal formulas." And Communist Party General Secretary Yuri Andropov commented after his appointment to the Secretariat of the Central Committee, "Our response to events in Afghanistan was a lofty act of loyalty to the principle of proletarian internationalism, which was necessary to defend the interests of our Motherland." What kind of a threat did the people of Afghanistan constitute to the government of the Soviet Union? The threat of simply being there? The last independent Afghan government was not like the government of Nicaragua today. It was not importing tons of arms; it was not importing thousands of advisers and troops from hostile foreign nations The Afghan people were simply trying to live their lives in their own way. The consequence was the invasion.

This is the most brutal century, probably, in all of human history, and the Afghan occupation stands out even in this brutal century.

Then we come to Poland, where it also has been also easy to observe the infrastructure of Soviet imperialism. With the rise of Solidarity and the stubborn insistence of the Polish people on expressing themselves in ways not wholly acceptable to their Soviet overseers, the Soviet-controlled government responded by declaring martial law on December 13, 1981. This repression was justified in the familiar way, namely, the need to secure the "fundamental interests of the state and its citizens," to secure "conditions for the effective protection of peace and public order" and to restore "social descipline." Virtually all free activities by the Polish people were prohibited; holding gatherings, marches, demonstrations of any kind, sporting, artistic, or entertainment activities. It was forbidden to disseminate information or distribute publications in any manner. The right of employees to organize and hold strikes or protests was forbidden. The organization of free trade unions was forbidden. Sweeping censorship was imposed on top of the sweeping censorship that already existed.

A few months later, on March 15, 1982, martial law was introduced by the Government of Nicaragua. Again, the familiar justifications. Junta coordinator Daniel Ortega announced a general law of national emergency which suspended all political rights and guarantees that had been provided in August, 1979 just after the Sandinista regime had come into power. The junta suspended all non-Sandinista news programs, suspended all programs of political content, suspended all rights of association and political activity, and imposed new sweeping censorship rules.

Given the facts I have been reciting, why do so many have so much trouble facing the fact that to "fail to be flexible" in one's opposition to Communism is nothing, more or less, than to stand firmly in support of human freedom? Why does the notion persist that the Soviets are in some way morally superior to other elites who have used amoral means to gain power and impose repressive, minority, military dictatorship? The sources of this confusion are, I think, several.

First is the deliberate semantic confusion fostered by the Soviets themselv es through

their systematically perverse use of language. By calling "autonomous" that which is powerless, "federated" that which is unitary, "democratic" that which is autocratic, "united" that which is schismatic, "popular" that which is imposed by terror, "peaceful" that which incites war — in brief, by systematically corrupting language to obscure reality — the Soviets and their various friends make inroads into our sense of political reality. Language is, after all, the medium in which we think. And it is exceedingly difficult for us, or anyone, to eliminate all the traditional connotations of words like, "for a lasting peace and a people's democracy," and remember that they had nothing to do with either peace or popular movements or democracy.

A related form of semantic subversion, practiced by communist parties everywhere, in the effort to capture prestigious symbols, slogans, and traditions. Communist parties in the under-developed world attempt to identify themselves with the slogans of nationalism and anticolonialism at the same time that they affiliate with the only active colonialism in the contemporary world. Communists in France, for example, identify themselves with the symbols of the Resistance, communists in the United States stake claim to Tom Paine and Abraham Lincoln, and in Nicaragua they claim Sandino, a Nicaraguan nationalist and patriot, and in no sense a Communist or an international revolutionary.

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn goes, as he so often does, to the heart of the matter when he points to the relationship between violence and the lie. The Soviets expand their power and they maintain it through the use of violence systematic, deliberate, uninhibited — and through the use of the lie. "Let us not forget," he said in his Nobel address, "that violence does not and cannot exist by itself: it is invariably intertwined with *the lie*. They are linked in the most intimate,n most organic, and most profound fashion: violence cannot conceal itself behind anything except lies, and lies have nothing to maintain them except violence. Anyone who has once proclaimed violence as his *method*, must inexorably choose the lie as his *principle*."

Since they require lies, we require truths. And the importance of meetings like this today is that it brings together people to speak the truth.

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John WILKINSON M.P.

THE CAPTIVE NATIONS — OUR COMMON CAUSE*

I come with some trepidation to this podium as a Member of the British House of Commons — the mother of Parliaments. We British, the originators of the principle of no taxation without representation, were in the days gone by not always its most adept or consistent practitioners — particularly for people thousands of miles away like yourselves. We've even been known to burn down a legislature only a stone's throw away from here. Nevertheless, I believe our record of support for freedom, self-determination, and democracy over the years speaks for itself.

It is a great honour, therefore, for me to participate in this historic public commemoration of the 25th Anniversary of the enactment by President Eisenhower of the joint resolution of Congress that the third week in July be designated Captive Nations Week.

Since then, up and down the length and breadth of this great land whose inspeiration was freedom and whose consistent object has been the cause of liberty, the observances, statements and religious services which have involved Representatives, Senators, Governors, Mayors, and people alike each Captive Nations Week — have for a generation kept very much alive in the hearts of the American people the conviction that their own indeniable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness will one day be shared by those who suffer the oppression of Marxist-Leninist dictatorship and foreign military occupation.

How fitting that Congress in both its Houses as the interpreter of the people's will and of the rights of each and every state of this Union should have been the prime mover of an annual act of dedication to peoples who in many instances have a common historical, cultural and religous inheritance with ourselves and share with us an equal entitlement to those fundamental freedoms, which should be the patrimony of all people everywhere, but which are so cruelly denied in the captive nations by the imposition of Godless communism and the naked application of brute force.

How fitting that the ratifier and enacter of that first Captive Nations Resolution should have been President Dwight D. Eisenhower, who as the Supreme Commander of the Allied Armies of Canada, France, the United Kingdom, and the United States in World War II first liberated Western Europe and then thereafter, as Supreme Allied Commander for Europe defended Western Europe against the deadly menace of totalitarian communism.

Those first and most inspired champions of liberty and individual dignity, the Athenians in the days of Ancient Greece, had a great reverence for what was fit-

^{*} the text of the speech by John Wilkinson M.P. in Washington D.C. on July 18, 1983.

ting and appropriate in the natural order of human affairs — "os dei" — as they termed it. By the standard of what is due and right it is indeed appropriate that this quarter centenary celebration of Captive Nations Week should have fallen in the Presidency of Ronald Reagan whose own commitment and that of the full authority of the Administration to the universal cause of freedom, particularly where it is most severely jeopardized by the military intervention of the Soviet Union or its proxies as in Afghanistan, Poland, Central America, Indochina, and South Central Africa, has given hope to the faint-hearted and courage to the oppressed. His personal support of our endeavours and his public proclamation on the occasion of Captive Nations Week, as well as the honoured participation in our proceedings of his Vice President George Bush tonight and of Ambassador Middendorf and Ambassador Kirkpatrick this afternoon, lend substance to exhortations and afford credibility to our common commitments.

To a European, the significance of Captive Nations Week is real, immediate, and stark. We live in a continent artificially and cruelly divided not by choice of its people, but by Soviet force of arms. There are in one continent the 21 free Western Countries of the Council of Europe, who have in the words of the preamble to the European Convention on Human Rights reaffirmed "their profound belief in those fundamental freedoms which are the foundation of justice and peace in the world and are best maintained, on the one hand, by an effective political democracy and, on the other, by a common understanding and observance of the human rights upon which they depend." There also uneasily coexists with us on the same continent the Soviet Union which has created undoubtedly the largest, longest standing, and best organized apparatus of state control, individual oppression, and imperial enslavement in the history of mankind. Its Warsaw Pact "satellite" states and the other Captive Nations in the European part of the USSR (Byelorussia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Ukraine) share the degradation of proud, once independent peoples who have had to subordinate their historic national heritage to the vassal status demanded by the alien Soviet-Russian forces of occupation.

However, generations of Soviet occupation have not dimmed the Captive Nations' yearning for freedom, self-determination, and democracy. They look to us in the West to share in their liberation by insisting that those human rights and liberties which we enjoy should be extended to them also. The power of democracy and of the rule of law lies in its inextinguishable appeal to the spirit and the heart of men; however dire their oppression, however pitiful their circumstances.

We Europeans have no excuse ever to be forgetful of the truth. The history of our continent does not lack for anniversaries and reminders of our situation. Fifty years ago the Soviets imposed the most horrendous artificial famine through the enforced collectivisation of agriculture in Ukraine and millions died. Forty years ago, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations was created and few men have done more to fight for Freedom for Nations and Freedom for the Individual than Yaroslav Stetsko, former Prime Minister of Ukraine and President of the ABN, who has honoured us with his presence and moving statement at this 25th Anniversary commemoration of the Capive Nations Week resolution. And 30 years ago, the workers' uprising in East Berlin was put down by Soviet tanks as were the Hungarian freedom struggle in 1956 and the Czechoslavakian freedom struggle in 1968. The Polish freedom struggle needs no anniversaries. It continues to this day.

As President of the European Freedom Council, which exists to coordinate the efforts of organisations and individuals throughout Western Europe fighting communism, I am particularly proud that there is on the Order Paper of the House of Commons in London today an Early Day Motion signed by some 50 Conservative members paying tribute to the official designation by President Eisenhower of the third week in July as Captive Nations Week and calling upon the British government to do likewise.

The support which we free Europeans give to our captive brethren behind the Iron Curtain is vital. We betray them if we appear to take for granted in our own countries the freedom and democracy they so earnestly desire for theirs. Their Christian faith, forged in the fire of persecution, is an example to us all. The way that the Catholic Church in Poland embodies the national and personal aspirations of the Polish people rather than the Communist Party has ramifications which are nothing short of revolutionary. Their endurance and resolution bear testimony to their steadfast belief in the final victory of justice over evil.

They are indeed our *best* allies, holding true, in spite of labour camps, constant surveillance and harassment by secret police, deportations, illegal trial and torture, detentions, enforced psychiatric treatment, deprivation of employment and education, to their belief in human rights and basic freedoms.

Their struggle for justice and for self-determination diminishes rather than augments the risk of nuclear war or Soviet military aggression. With troubles among their "satellite" satrapies and among the subject peoples within the Soviet Union itself, Soviet foreign policy planners can less readily afford to be expansionist and adventurist abroad. A precarious home base is no foundation for future conquests.

This does not diminish, on our part in he West, the common need for a strong defence — quite the contrary. We are unworthy of our friends in the Captive Nations if we in the Atlantic Alliance are not prepared to make the sacrifices necessary to protect our liberties for others if by our negligence we put them at risk in our countries? Our foreign policy will be bolder and always the more effective if we are strong.

A policy of accomodation with the Soviet Union born out of weakness offers no hope of freedom to the Captive Nations and no security for ourselves. Our common cause with the Captive Nations demands the noblest response from the free democracies of the West, the peoples of the Atlantic community — a policy that is neither timorous nor rash, a policy which is bold but not a threat to peace. The frontiers of freedom can be rolled back, but we must remember that those whom we thereby liberate will need our consistent support to do it.

Congressman William S. BROOMFIELD

CAPTIVE VICTIMS OF COMMUNISM

Let me express my sincere appreciation to the Committee for extending me the privilege of speaking to you on this special occasion.

This year's Captive Nations Week assumes a special significance for a number of reasons. It is the anniversary of Congressional Action decreeing that the United States should recognize the need for freedom in more than 30 captive countries.

I can clearly remember that day some 25 years ago when, as a young Congressman, I was honored to witness the signing of the first captive nations proclamation by President Dwight Eisenhower.

Captive Nations Week is also important because of recent American efforts to more fully assess our political, economic and military relationships with the Soviet Union.

Recent Congressional debates ranging from the foreign policy issues of strategic arms limitations to Soviet-backed insurgency in Central America are providing a forum for addressing American economic and military policies toward the USSR. In addition your discussions are focusing on political and human rights issues which are often directly related to a better resolution of economic and security problems between countries.

For many years, the issue of human rights has been at the heart of the "captive cause". In Central and Eastern Europe, as well as in Asia, the Soviet Union and its surrogates have extended their "empires", entrapping millions of people under the yoke of Communism. The tragedy of Afghanistan is mute testimony to the Soviets' continuing determination to expand their empire by brute force, if necessary.

Let's talk about Afghanistan for a moment. Over the years, the Soviets have watched with lusting eyes the poor and peace-loving nation of Afghanistan. After destabilizing the former government, the Soviets promptly set up their own puppet regime. The Soviets claimed that they were invited to stabilize that nation and invaded it a few months later. Over 105,000 Soviet troops now occupy that country. Over 1 million Afghans have been killed in the fighting. The personal freedoms of all Afghans are rapidly being taken away. The United States did very little in response to the Soviet takeover. We even lost our American Ambassador there in the process.

Recent events in Poland are equally grim. In response to the increasing activities and growing influence of the Solidarity Union, the Soviets used intimidating tactics and held military maneuvers on the Polish border. They later installed a new pro-Soviet regime under the tutelage of Soviet-trained General Jaruzelski. Under the current Martial Law in that country, human rights are rapidly becoming a thing of the past. The United States had been able to do little to remedy this sad situation. Among others, Nicaragua and Ethiopia also become recent victims of Soviet imperialism. What fate awaits other smaller nations in Central America and the Caribbean?

Over the decades, many of the "Captives" have managed to persevere in their struggle against the Communist empires for national and individual rights. Much blood has been shed in the process. Who can forget the rebellions against the Communist regimes in East Germany in 1953, in Poland and Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968? These were demonstrations of man's inherent need to be free and a tribute to man's courage and tenacity in pursuing the fight for justice and human rights.

Through terror and deceit, the Communists have been ruthless in their efforts to control the captive peoples of Europe and Asia. In particular, the Soviets have made numerous attempts to harass, humiliate and russify the people of their empire. All available evidence indicates that individual dissent in the Soviet Union itself is more harshly suppressed now than it was five years ago. The Soviets have continued the commitment to ruthlessly suppress nationalism in "republics" like Lithuania, Georgia and Ukraine.

Since all of us are commemorating this anniversary in the Ukrainian Cultural Center tonight, let me discuss a case in point — the violation of human freedoms in Ukraine. As all of you know, Ukraine is the richest republic in the USSR in terms of its natural resources, its fertile soil and its natural beauty. It encompasses a huge area of over 230,000 square miles. It has always been coveted by the Russian rulers of the past as well as the present. Ukrainians, as much as any people in the world, cherish freedom and understand the meaning of its loss. This is so because freedom has been denied to them throughout so much of their history. In this century, the people of Ukraine have suffered under both Communist and Nazi tyranny.

By the eve of World War I, the Ukrainian national movement took on a definite political character. It was in the setting of the War that the Ukrainians were able to achieve, at least momentarily, their ultimate goal of national independence.

It is unfortunate that because the independence of Ukraine lasted but a short time, some people tended to forget Ukraine was free and independent for five years.

Later, during the early 1930's, Joseph Stalin engineered a drastic repression as he attempted to quell a revival of Ukrainian culture. Stalin then turned on the hard-working Ukrainian peasants who loved freedom and constituted the backbone of the Ukrainian nation. Who can forget the brutal "Stalin Famine" of 1932-1933 which claimed over seven million innocent men, women and children?

Today, the Kremlin's program for Ukraine includes both civil and religious persecution. The Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic Churches have been repressed and almost totally crushed by the Soviets even though the Soviet Constitution insures "freedom of conscience, freedom of religious worship and freedom of antireligious propaganda" in the USSR.

Soviet repression of a nation of nearly 50 million persons brutally violates the

most basic human freedoms. Although Ukraine represent 20% of the population of the Soviet Union, 45% of political prisoners in all Soviet Gulags come from Ukraine.

In 1976, The Ukrainian Helsinki Group was formed. This Group planned to monitor Soviet compliance with the provisions of the Helsinki Accords which called for the protection of human rights in all of the signatory nations. Three months after being formed, its leader was arrested. Now, not a single active member of the Group is around. Twenty-three are in prison, six have been exiled overseas, one was driven to suicide and two are under close KGB surveillance after completing their jail terms for their quest for freedom.

According to a recent article in the *Christian Science Monitor*, Mr. Andropov has succeeded in essentially ending all serious dissident activity in the USSR. This massive suppression of any opposition to the regime was cleverly accomplished by expulsions, jailings and wilting KGB harassment techniques.

In spite of this, the Ukrainian people continue to yearn for freedom as they bear the burden of totalitarianism under the direction of the Kremlin. The Ukrainian national spirit and the love of freedom remain so strong that the Soviet rulers of this captive nation are unable to completely conquer them; the Ukrainian people are determined to retain their cultural and intellectual identity. Their quest for freedom is still alive although it suffers untold hardship.

I could go on and on talking about the violations of human rights in other Soviet republics as Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia.

Let me also briefly talk about the sufferings and human rights violations of the ethnic Albanian community in Yugoslavia. As you know, Kosovo has been called "Yugoslavia's Third World". 80% of the people in that province are ethnic Albanians and their per capita income is one-sixth of the rest of Yugoslavia.

Is there any wonder that many ethnic Albanians in Kosovo feel discriminated against. Their demands for greater economic help and more autonomy erupted in violence. The most notable demonstration occurred in 1981. Rather than trying to right the wrongs and remedy the violations of Albanian personal freedoms, the Soviet-backed Yugoslav Government sent in the army to crush each demonstration and uprising. That is what the communists think of human rights.

The Department of State's recent report on human rights violations clearly documents the human rights abuses in the Kosova region.

Thanks to the excellent efforts of Mr. Ekrem Bardha, Chairman of Albanian American Republican Clubs, we now know about the terrible abuses which the Albanians in Yugoslavia are suffering. In a sense, Kosovo is a captive nation within a captive nation. I am delighted that Ekrem is here with us tonight. Like the Ukrainians and others who live under the burden of Communism, the ethnic Albanians in Yugoslavia still manage to maintain their individual integrity.

In spite of increasing worldwide sensitivity to the question of human rights, the Soviets continue on their historical tradition of suppressing their own people and others who have fallen under their control. The ongoing harrassment, arrests and exile of Soviet dissidents and the persistent Soviet repression of stubborn opposition to "russification", are indicative of the unchanged mindset of the Communist leadership. These activities undermine the spirit of such international agreements as Helsinki and Salt to which the Soviets are signatories. is there any wonder then that many of us in Congress question the Soviets' basic honesty in complying with past and future international agreements? Some of these involve the basic security interests of the United States.

What does America do in the face of continuing Soviet expansionism? How do we respond to the USSR's constant efforts to add more nations to the captive nations list? What can we do about their human rights violations? Initially, I believe that we are not doing what we should be doing. Unfortunately, our foreign policy is too passive. The Soviets are confident that we are unwilling to back up our programs and statements.

I believe we must go on the offensive. Let's put these issues on the front burner.

Why not insist that we talk about these continuing problems in all of our ongoing negotiations with the Kremlin? Let us talk about Soviet expansionism, human rights violations and the captive nations of the world each time we sit shown at the table with the Soviets.

Why not extract concessions from the Soviets?

I am gratified to see that the President has already taken the initiative in many of these areas. Project Democracy, for example, was long overdue. It was designed to tell the countries around the world more about our form of government and our system's strengths. To be really effective, however, Project Democracy should include a public commitment. *America should commit itself to adopt a charter of independence for the captive nations in the Russian empire*.

Let us also openly include in our foreign policy programs active moral support for the many liberation struggles in the captive nations from Afghanistan to Vietnam.

Why don't we introduce a resolution in the UN calling on it to recognize the revolutionary, national liberation movements of the Captive Nations now under Soviet control and give *them similar status to that of the PLO*?

Why not use the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe to encourage the idea of national liberation for the captive nations? Without a more active and farreaching foreign policy, the Soviets will continue to expand their empire to the detriment of all free men.

On Tuesday, I attended the White House Captive Nations Week ceremony and was encouraged by what I heard. The President spoke at length about the captive nations of the world. He sent this message to those who have been deprived of their freedom: "Your struggle is our struggle. Your dream is our dream and someday, you too will be free."

I believe that all of us here tonight can be far more hopeful than ever before. I believe that America will offer the captive nations more than hollow promises and praise. Unlike many Presidents, President Reagan is deeply and personally committed to the cause of freedom and democracy. The President fully understands the nature of the Communust threat around the world and the reality of Soviet imperialism. He shares the pain of those who suffer the tyranny of the regimes in the captive nations and understands their problems.

Now, the Soviets are attempting to export the revolutions of Cuba and Nicaragua to the small nations of Central America. Our President has initiated new programs and has made it clear to friend and foe alike that he will not tolerate the aggressive and expansionist actions of the Soviets and their followers. He has taken an equally strong position on the importance of human rights and its vital role in today's world.

I believe that these are the messages of hope to all of us here tonight and to those who suffer in the many captive nations around the world. I am confident that some day we will remove names of countries from the long captive nations list. I salute this Committee and all of you here tonight for not forgetting and for making the time to remember our fellow men around the world who have been deprived of their liberty. Many of you know from firsthand experience what the loss of liberty really means. It is easy to see that your commitment to freedom runs deep.

Just before leaving Washington, I was handed the following message from President Reagan. I want to share its thoughts with you.

Thank you again for making it possible for me to be here with you. Good night.

THE WHITE HOUSE Washington

July 20, 1983

Dear Bill,

I am pleased to join you and the Captive Nations Committee of Metropolitan Detroit in commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the proclamation of Captive Nations Week.

This event provides a special opportunity for the citizens of Detroit to express their continuing concern for the peoples held in the grip of totalitarianism. As a nation born in liberty and dedicated to the eternal truths so eloquently enunciated by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, we have a vital interest in encouraging, nurturing and defending freedom in the world. Americans are the custodians of a democratic tradition firmly established on this continent more than two centuries ago. We are a country committed to the goal of furthering free institutions and representative government.

By commemorating Captive Nations Week, you remind those forced to live under the domination of foreign military power and an alien ideology that Americans support their aspirations for freedom, independence and national selfdetermination.

Your meeting serves as an inspiring display of the spirit of liberty among our people.

Sincerely, Ronald Reagan

40th ANNIVERSARY OF ABN COMMEMORATED IN MUNICH, LONDON AND BRADFORD

On 5th November in Munich the 40th Anniversary of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations was marked by a solemn concert. The keynote speakers at the commemoration were Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, the former Premier of Ukraine and President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) and Mr. John Wilkinson M.P., President of the European Freedom Council (EFC). In his address Mr. Stetsko stressed:

"Bolshevism, being a synthesis of Russian imperialism and communism, embodies within itself the brutal policy of russification in all spheres of life, in the social, political, economic, cultural and religious. As a result of the artificially created famine of 1932-33 7 million Ukrainians perished. This was a barbaric and planned mass killing.

...The main weapon of the Bolshevik regime in its fight against national liberation movements is the organisation of total terror against the enslaved nation as a whole. But this terror may develop into a boomerang which will strike at the state, which uses terror, if the captive nations were to overcome their fear. Then the opposition which exists between the imperialist power of Moscow and the revolutionary authority of the national liberation underground would become apparent."

Mr Y. Stetsko spoke also of the need for a complete change in the consciousness of the people and about the spiritual and political mobilisation of the whole nation. He further emphasized that "we are not fighting against a Russian national state within its own ethnographic borders but against the liquidation of the Russian empire."

Mr John Wilkinson in his address stated that the sovereignty of the state should not be a privilege only enjoyed by the Western nations. He voiced his support for the modernisation of the West's defences without which, he stated, the West would slip more and more under the influence of Moscow. The world, he said, should not acquiesce to the subjugation of nations of Eastern Europe. Also he added, one cannot justify the partition of Germany. Moscow, he said, is pursuing a policy of military expansion which should be resisted. This is why the American rescue mission in Grenada was necessary, he declared. Finally, he concluded the West should provide moral and political support to the liberation struggle of nations united in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

Greetings and best wishes were offered at the concert by representatives from many nations at present subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism. They included: Mr. Parvesh Mera (Afghanistan), Dr. Ivan Bankovsky (Bulgaria), Dr. Margaret Ausala (the Baltic States), Mr. Anton Yakovlevich (Croatia), Mr. Hasan Kasayep (the Caucasus States), Mr. Maciej Pstrag-Bielinski (Poland), Dr Oleksander Shuga (Romania), Mr. Valentino Berko (Slovakia) and Col. Dymytr Kosmovich (Byelorussia). There were also many guests from such nations as Bulgaria, Hungary, Croatia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Afghanistan. Represented were also the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic Churches, the Ukrainian academic world and the Ukrainian community in general. Present at the concert were also representatives from Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe, Mr. George Bailey and Mr. I. Hordiyevskyi.

On 19th November a similar commemorative concert took place in London. It was preceded earlier in the day by a mass-picket of the Soviet Russian embassy. The concert was held at Hammersmith Town Hall. Present at the concert were Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko accompanied by his wife, Mrs Slava Stetsko; Mr. John Wilkinson M.P., Mr. Stefan Terlezki M.P., and Mr. John Watts M.P. The audience heard addresses from Mr. Y Stetsko, Mrs S. Stetsko, Mr. J. Wilkinson and Mr. S. Terlezki. Greetings were presented on behalf of many national groups, including Dr. A. Ramishvili (Georgia), Dr. A. Ilich (Croatia), Mr. I. Dmytriw (Ukraine), Mr. K. Tomasiunas (Lithuania), Dr. J. Zvonar-Tien (Slovakia).

In all the addresses and greetings the speakers expressed their support for the work done by the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, especially its long-standing President Mr. Y. Stetsko and his wife Mrs S. Stetsko, in the struggle against Russian imperialism and communism which today threatens the Free World.

The audience, which included people from the various nations of E. Europe settled in Britain, had come that day from various parts of the country, especially from the North, Lancashire, Cheshire and Yorkshire, the Midlands and the South. They were entertained by the Ukrainian Youth Association Male Voice Choir from Nottingham, conducted by Mr. M. Buchok, the Ukrainian Bandurist Quartet from Bolton (Dr. L. Mazur, Mr. I. Luchka, Mr. Y. Babchuk and Mr. I. Hnylycia) and the Latvian dance ensemble directed by Mr. V. Grigulis.

The following day, on Sunday 20th November a commemorative plaque was unveiled by Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko in Bradford Cathedral to mark the 40th Anniversary of the formation of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and the 20th Anniversary of the Captive Nations Committee in Bradford, formed by representatives from the different E. European communities which have settled in that city since the Second World War. The plaque was consecrated by the very Rev. Brandon Jackson, Provost of Bradford, in front of the deputy Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress of Bradford, Coun. and Mrs. Ernest Saville. The ceremony was attended by Bradford Members of Parliament, councillors, and city hall officials. After the ceremony, a concert was held at the Latvian hall in Clifton Villas.

To further mark the 40th Anniversary of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) a Honorary Committee has been formed which includes 37 political leaders from 17 non-communist countries of the world. Following below is a current list of the members of this Committee:

MEMBERS OF THE HONORARY COMMITTEE COMMEMORATING THE 40th ANNIVERSARY OF THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS (ABN)

- 1. H.R.H. Otto von Habsburg, M.E.P. Honorary President of the European Freedom Council (EFC)
- 2. Lord Neil Cameron, Air Force Marshall, Member of the Honorary Presidium of EFC, London, Great Britain.
- 3. Hon. John Wilkinson, M.P. President of EFC, London, Great Britain.
- 4. General Sir Walter Walker --- Great Britain.
- 5. Sen. Rudy Boschwitz United States Senator.
- 6. Hon. David Sumberg, M.P. London, Great Britain.
- 7. Hon. Neil Thorne, M.P. London, Great Britain.
- 8. Hon. Robin Squire, M.P. Great Britain.
- 9. Hon. Harry Greenway, M.P. Great Britian.
- 10. Hon. Robert Atkins, M.P. Great Britain.
- 11. Hon. Winston S. Churchill, M.P. Great Britain.
- 12. Hon. Michael Stern, M.P. Great Britain.
- 13. Hon. Bill Walker, M.P. Great Britain.
- 14. Gen. Praphan Kulapichitr President, Free People's League, Thailand.
- 15. Hon. Paul Vankerkhoven, M.E.P., Belgium.
- 16. Dr. Woo, Jae-Seung --- WACL Secretary-General, Seoul, Korea.
- 18. Gen. Bruce K. Holloway USAF
- 19. Hon. Philip M. Crane Congressman, House of Representatives, USA.
- 20. Dr. Ku Cheng-kang WACL Honorary Chairman, Taipei, Taiwan, ROC.
- 21. Hon. Jill Knight, M.P. Great Britain.
- 22. Gen. Robert C. Richardson III USAF.
- 23. Mr. Rama Swarup --- Secretary WACL/APACL, India.
- 24. Mr. Han Lih-wu Secretary-General APACL.
- 25. Col. Preben Kühl --- Denmark.
- 26. Mr. Paul A. Pearson World Freedom League, Australia.
- 27. Gen. John K. Singlaub, Chairman of the US Council for World Freedom, USA.
- 28. Dr. Inamullah Khan Secretary-General, World Muslim Congress.
- 29. Mr. Jebran Chamieh Middle East Solidarity Committee, Lebanon.
- 30. Gen. Adriano Magi-Braschi Italy.
- 31. Admiral John Semerzides a.D. Greece.
- 32. Sen. Cihad Fethi Tevetoglu Turkey.
- 33. Mr. Osami Kuboki President, Victory Over Communism, Japan.
- 34. Hon. Guillermo Kirkpatrick, M.P. Alianza Popular, Vice-President of EFC, Spain.
- 35. Hon. Martin Stevens, M.P. Great Britain.
- 36. Hon. Geoff Lawler, M.P. Great Britain.
- 37. Greg Knight, M.P. Great Britain.

News from Ukraine

RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION INTENSIFIES IN UKRAINE

Lately news has reached the West about a marked increase in religious persecution in Ukraine. It is known that on 9th September 1982 Yosyf Terelya formed with others an Initiatory Group for the Defence of Believers' Rights and of the Church. Belonging to this group are also Rev. Hryhoryi Budzynovs'kyi, who acts as secretary, Rev. Dionisiy, Rev. Ihnatiy and Mrs Stefania Petrash-Sichko. This group has prepared a memorandum in which it makes the following demands:

1. That there be a free vote in the Eparchies of Western and Transcarpathian Ukraine where the majority of the faithful recognize and are members of the Greek Catholic faith in order that their property — churches, monasteries and chapels — be restored to them.

2. That permission be granted to build houses of prayer where the faithful of the Ukrainian Catholic Church constitute a minority in relation to other denominations.

3. That academic institutions of the Ukrainian Catholic Church be restored — the theological seminaries in Lviv and Uzhorod.

4. That 50 students of theology be allowed to go to study in the Vatican, as well as 10 students to go to Vienna, Warsaw and Munich.

5. That the printing presses of the 5 Eparchies of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, earlier confiscated by the government, be restored.

6. That commissions be appointed to look into the criminal activities of the organs of the KGB and the MVD who are first in line in being responsible for the persecution of the Ukrainian clergy and faithful.

7. That commissions be appointed to look into the activities of the Soviet psychiatrists who persecuted active members of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

8. That the Church is obliged to observe all state regulations and laws and to encourage its faithful to observe them.

9. That the head of the Church is the Roman Pontiff which means that complete subordination to the Soviet authorities is impossible. The law concerning the separation of the Church from the state should be preserved.

At the same time Yosyf Terelya, now 40 years of age, 18 years of which he has spent in prisons and psychiatric institutions where enforced medication is carried out, wrote a longer letter to the President of the Central Committee of German Catholics Hans Myer in which he provides a summary of the predicament in which Ukrainian Catholics find themselves in Ukraine.

Amongst other things, he writes the following:

"My personal fate is tightly knit with the fate of my people. The fate of Ukraine

is an unending Golgotha; however all suffering must have its end and we await the end of our way of the Cross, to the very place of the crania, after which comes the resurrection... Today every Catholic knows that our Church is banned and suffers persecution at the hand of the communist regime. This way, the way of thorns, along which the Ukrainian Catholic Church steps today, leads our people to love and to the Kingdom of God — the common goal of all Christians. The way to unity on the basis of Christ's commandments will sweep from the face of the earth all international rivalry and contradictions. We, Catholic Christians, cannot be passive onlookers of the destruction of the world".

Terelya continues, writing that the USSR has continuously attempted to distort the national culture of Ukraine. He expresses his regret that while Ukrainian Catholics are being incessantly persecuted in the USSR, 'Christians' of the Free World are helping in the construction of the Soviet war machine.

In a particularly harsh tone Terelya condemns the official representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church, whom he calls 'atheists in cassocks'. As an example he cites the case of the Transcarpathian orthodox bishop Sava, who under the pretext of struggle against the Greek Catholic Church, has destroyed churches and church property.

In conclusion Terelya reminds the world of the right of the Ukrainian people to profess God's word in their native language which has never been permitted within the Russian Orthodox Church.

The consequence of the founding of this Initiatory group and of the writing of the above letter by Yosyf Terelya has seen his renewed arrest on 24th December 1982. We learn about this fact from Yelena Sannikova's letter which she, a Russian Orthodox believer, wrote to Pope John-Paul II. In her letter she describes the persecution which Terelya had to endure after religious literature had been found in his possession.

Sannikova's letter to the Pope concludes with an appeal to him to act in Terelya's defence and the Ukrainian Catholic Church which remains in the underground. She writes: "Your Holiness! I believe that your voice in defence of Yosyf Terelya will give heart to all the persecuted children of your Ukrainian Catholic Church. Take action and worry not only about Yosyf Terelya's fate, but also about the fate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and of all the Ukrainian people. I beg of you: save Yosyf Terelya!"

UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC NUN BEATEN TO DEATH

On 30th September 1982 a priest of the underground Ukrainian Catholic Church, Rev. P. Pirozhok and a Ukrainian Catholic nun, Maria Shved (born 1954, a worker at a television factory) were detained by *druzhynniky* (members of an organisation formed by the Soviet Russian authorities to assist the police and the KGB especially in the carrying out of searches and in the investigation of petty crimes) in a street in Lviv. Maria Shved grabbed her briefcase, which contained church service utensils, and tried to run away. Members of the patrol caught up with her and tried to take away her briefcase. M. Shved put up a fight and was beaten to death. Her body was concealed under a gate and the briefcase handed over to the police. The priest, P. Pirozhok was arrested and accused of murdering M. Shved. However, a woman saw the murder scene and gave evidence that the murder was carried out by 'lads with red armbands'. Rev. P. Pirozhok was released, but his case has not yet been closed.

PRIESTS SENTENCED TO 8 YEARS' IMPRISONMENT

Two priests of the outlawed Ukrainian Catholic Church were each sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment and 3 years' internal exile following a trial in the western Ukrainian city of Lviv. News of the trial, which took place in October of 1981, recently reached the West when it appeared in the November 1982 issue of the *Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania*, an underground publication.

According to the account, Vasyl Kavatsiv, 49, and Roman Stepanovych Esip, 32, both from Lviv, were charged under Art. 209 of the Ukrainian SSR Criminal Code, which makes it a crime to engage in actions 'under the appearance of preaching religious beliefs' and 'drawing minors' into such activities.

During the trial, the two men were charged with organizing religious activities and conducting illegal services among Ukrainian Catholics between 1974-1981. They were accused of teaching religion to minors, hearing confession and asking young people to abstain from eating meat during fast days, a practise the prosecution said, endangered their health. Both men conceded that they were priests, but pleaded innocent to the charges of corrupting minors and jeopardizing their health.

The trial was attended by workers summoned from the local factories, technical schools and offices. Only a few faithful were allowed into the courtroom, but reports indicated that many of the spectators sympathized with the priests. The Chronicle also reported that the trial judge frequently ridiculed the faithful in the courtroom, ordered to have their documents checked and had them photographed. Most of the witnesses were minors, a large number of whom recanted statements made during their preliminary investigation, because they claimed the transcripts had been altered. A teacher who had been present during the preliminary investigation reportedly supported the students' accounts. After they disputed the official version of thier testimonies, most of the witnesses were warned that their uncooperative behaviour could have an influence on the evaluation of their conduct and their future.

Reverend Kavatsiv was born in 1934 in the village of Yablunivka in the Lviv region. Before his arrest he worked as an orderly in a Lviv hospital. Reverend Esip was born in the village of Vodena, also in the Lviv region, and was unemployed at the time of his arrest. Both men had no previous arrests.

SYMCHYCH SENTENCED AGAIN

A former member of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists who was due to be released from a Soviet labour camp later last year has been re-arrested and sentenced to an additional term.

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Reports from Ukraine reveal that *Myroslav Symchych*,* 60, first arrested in 1963 and sentenced to 15 years imprisonment for his part in the Ukrainian liberation struggle, was sentenced to two and a half years of imprisonment in January. He had previously served a 15 year term from 1948-1963.

The trial, which Symchych demanded be conducted in Ukrainian was held in the village of Orekhovo, *oblast* of Zaporizhzhia. The presiding magistrate identified only as Matusenko, charged that Symchych engaged in 'nationalist propaganda' while in the labour camp.

Two Russian prisoners testified that Symchych had used anti-Soviet propaganda to sway them toward his views. In reply, Symchych reportedly stated that he would have chosen to direct his propaganda at Ukrainians. In his final statement, he said he was being tried as a member of the UPA and the OUN, which he said fought all occupiers of Ukraine, be they Russians, Germans or Hungarians.

EXECUTIONS OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS

Three Ukrainians, all former members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, were recently sentenced to death after a trial in the Volhynia region of Ukraine. The outcome of the trial of these three men, M. Kviatkovskyi, P. Shpachuk and V. Stasiv, marks the second time in less than two years that former members of the OUN and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army have been sentenced to death. In 1981 Mykola Dufanets, Artem Bubela and Pylyp Rubachuk, all in their 60's were shot in Lutske, and later Ivan Rumyha and Yuriy Butnyts'kji were shot in the town of Horodenka, Ivano-Frankivs'k region.

A MOTHER'S PROTEST TO ANDROPOV

Stefania Sichko, whose husband and two sons are currently serving terms in Soviet labour camps, has written a letter to Soviet chief Yuri Andropov charging that all three were wrongly imprisoned.

In the letter, dated March 1983, Mrs Sichko wrote that her husband, Petro, 57, and her eldest son, Vasyl, 26, both of whom were re-sentenced last year shortly before completing previous three-year terms, were framed by prison officials. She also expressed fear that another son, 23 year old Volodymyr, who is due to be released this December, will be re-arrested on a fabricated charge.

Petro Sichko, a veteran of the Ukrainian liberation struggle during World War II, was first arrested along with Vasyl on July 5th, 1979. Both members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, they were charged with 'slandering the Soviet state' under Article 187 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code, and each sentenced to three years imprisonment.

According to Mrs Sichko's letter, her husband was re-arrested on May 26, 1982, 40 days before he was due to be released. On July 19, he was sentenced to another three-year term, again under Article 187.

^{*}See Ukrainian Review, No 2, 1982, p. 79

"From the day of his re-arrest to the trial, not once did anyone ask my husband any questions", writes Mrs. Stefania Sichko, "but when the court convened. three witnesses, probably camp inmates, whom my husband never met before, testified that Petro Sichko frequently complained that his sons were falsely convicted, and that Petro Sichko was unhappy with the labour-camp administration."

She also writes that on July 5th the day her husband was due to be released, her home was searched at the behest of the procurator of Voroshylovgrad. The search warrant mentioned that the operation was carried out in order to find copies of appeals her husband may have sent.

On 15th October, 1982, her husband was moved to a labour camp in Kherson, some 85 miles north-east of Odessa and over 400 miles from Dolyna, where Petro Sichko's family lives. Mrs. Stefania Sichko writes that since November of last year she has received only two letters from her husband and that when she tried to visit him recently, she was told that he was being kept in isolation for not fulfilling his assigned work quota. She added that her husband is suffering from tuberculosis and has been assigned to a special invalid brigade.

Writing about the case of Vasyl, Sichko said that her son was re-arested last January in a labour camp in Cherkasy (see *Ukrainian Review*, No 2, 1982, p. 83) shortly before he was due to complete his sentence. He was charged, Mrs. Stefania Sichko writes, "with possession of narcotics for the purpose of selling" under Article 229-2 of the Criminal Code.

Mrs. Stefania Sichko said that she happened to be in Cherkasy on the day of her son's trial, but was refused permission to attend the proceedings even though the *oblast* procurator telephoned the court and said that legally the trial should have been open to the public because it involved a criminal offence.

Although she did not attend the trial, and was not permitted to see her son after it was over, Mrs. Stefania Sichko writes that she learned that her son was severely beaten sometime before the proceedings, and that he appeared in court with both eyes swollen shut and welts and bruises on his face.

She writes that in her last letter, dated January of this year, Vasyl told her that his visiting privileges had been suspended for the year because he allegedly did not meet his work quota. He informed her that work detail leaders told him that they had been ordered to report on him to the authorities, who said that the reports should continue until he is sentenced again.

"How should I understand this" writes Mrs. Stefania Sichko. "That they are fabricating another charge for a life sentence?"

She expressed similar concern for the fate of her second son, Volodymyr, who she writes was sentenced in 1981 to three years imprisonment for, as Mrs. Stefania Sichko puts it, "the sins of his father and brother."

Mrs Sichko says that since January of this year her son had been the target of increased harassment by prison officials. In one incident, she says the authorities singled out her son when the brigade to which he was assigned refused to go to supper in the mess hall following a dispute with the brigade leader. To prove that he did not organize the protest, she says that Volodymyr refused to join a similar protest, and was the only one from his brigade to show up at the mess hall, an action

she said that could have provoked retaliation by striking prisoners. Nevertheless, prison authorities again called him to the headquarters and accused him of organizing the food strike.

Mrs Sichko also says that she suspected that her son was being set up by prison officials when she discovered that he had received a mysterious packet of tea at a time when her own parcels were being refused by labour-camp authorities.

"Except for me, no one sends parcels to my son", she writes, adding that her son "does not even drink tea."

Mrs Sichko also says that her son's cell has been searched on numerous occasions, and the authorities had confiscated his father's address on the grounds that he was not permitted to have it.

She reveals that when her son tried to get the brigade leader to pass on a letter of protest to the procurator's office, he told him that "the only law that governs your fate is in my fist; I can do what I want with you."

"These slanderous accusations and harassment are needed to sentence this pure and honest boy once again, who does not deserve any punishment", writes Mrs Sichko. "Can it be that the role of the corrective-labour camp is to use various forms of trickery in an effort to sentence yet again a good and honest person?"

Mrs Sichko writes: "Generally, if (the authorities) want to try some one, they will. There will always be two prisoners who will testify all kinds of lies, and that is enough to give an innocent person a new sentence."

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SECRET RESOLUTIONS OF THE CC CPSU REVEAL THAT RUSSIFICATION POLICIES ARE TO BE SPEEDED UP IN NON-RUSSIAN REPUBLICS

Official documents of a confidential nature which have circulated in *Samvydav* literature, have recently reached the West. They reveal in a stark form the true nature and intention of Moscow's drive towards complete Russification of the non-Russian republics. Officially we are told of the need to spread and improve the teaching and study facilities of the Rusian language in Ukraine, "to ensure", as the document states, "that the fluent use of the Russian language on a level with the native language becomes a norm for young people graduating from secondary educational institutions...", but the real political intention becomes altogether clear when we read that the Collegium of Education of the Ukrainian SSR regards that, "the fluent use of Russian on a level with the native language constitutes an objective necessity and requirement for every citizen, promotes the further consolidation of friendship and brotherhood among the peoples of the USSR and the development and strengthening of the material and spiritual potential of the Soviet people".

What in effect this would mean for Ukrainian culture, language and above all nationhood, is very clear. To begin with, the Ukrainian language would be forced out of even the small niches of civil life in which it still retains some standing, strengthening still further Russian as the prestige language of communication, ensuring Russian its privileged position as the language of the imperial power without which no young person could not possibly dream of furthering his or her prospects in life. Moreover, the Ukrainian village, until now the bulwark of Ukrainian consciousness, would come under threat with the implementation of these draconian measures, whereas the possibility of any regeneration of Ukrainian in the cities would become even more difficult. The main pressure is, of course, placed on Ukrainian children at secondary school and even kindergarten level. They are being forced by these measures to concentrate their studies on Russian language and literature which are presented to them as a sure means of advancement in terms of career and other life prospects, while on the other hand, they will be encouraged to regard their native language, Ukrainian as a language of the provincial backwater.

There is also a very strange irony that these measures should be drawn up at this very moment, since they coincide with the 120th anniversary of very similar measures implemented by P. Valuyev on 20th July 1863. P. Valuyev, a minister of the interior in the Czar's government, produced a circular in which he prohibited the publication of books and scientific works in the Ukrainian language, asserting that "the majority of Little Russians (the pejorative word used for Ukrainians at this time — Ed) themselves prove very soundly that there never was any Little-Russian language, that there is no such language and that there can never be such a language".

Russian chauvinism, whether it be Czarist or Soviet, are very much the same, both emanate from the same motivating Russian imperialist greed to dominate and to concentrate power in its bid to rule over other nations. These documents clearly show that there will be no relenting in Moscow's determination to acquire further power and that there will be no delay in the attempt to draw together and meld the vast multinational population of the Soviet Union's into one "Soviet people". However, considering the fact that Valuyev's attempt turned into a complete fiasco, the hope remains that this too will be just another shameful attempt to harness the indomitable Ukrainian spirit in tighter Soviet Russian shackles. — Eds

DECISION

of the

COLLEGIUM OF THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR

29 June 1983 Minute No. [undecipherable] Concerning additional measures to improve the study of the Russian language in general-education schools and teacher-training institutions of the Ukrainian SSR.

In light of the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party 50000f Ukraine and the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR of 10 June 1983 No. 268 "Concerning Organizing the Implementation in the Republic of the Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Council of Ministers of the USSR or 26 May 1983 No. 473 «Concerning Additional Measures To Improve the Study of the Russian Language in General-Education Schools and Other Educational Institutions of the USSR of 7 June 1983 No. 63 the collegium of the Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian SSR resolves:

1. To approve additional measures to improve the study of the Russian language in general-education schools, teacher-training institutions, pre-school and extra-scholastic establishments of the republic (attached).

2. [That] the administrations and departments of the Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian SSR, the Pedagogical Scientific Research Institute of the Ukrainian SSR, the regional [*oblast*] [departments of public education], the Sevastopol city department of public education, the Kyiv city administration of public education, the Central, regional, Kyiv and Sevastopol institutes for supplementary training of teachers, the rectors of pedagogical institutes and the directors of pedagogical schools ensure the unconditional implementation of the planned measures to improve the effectiveness of the study and teaching of the Russian language in schools, teacher-training institutions, pre-school and other educational establishments.

To strive to ensure that the fluent use of the Russian language on a level with the native language becomes the norm for young people graduating from secondary educational institutions and the civic duty of every young person.

3. [That] all regional [departments of public education], the Sevastopol city department of public education, the Kyiv city administration of public education, rectors of pedagogical institutes and directors of pedagogical schools report to the Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian SSR on 1 January 1984 and 1985 on progress made in implementing the resolution of the CC CPU and the

Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, as well as of this decision of the Colle gium.

4. [That] responsibility for the implementation of the resolution of the CC CPU and the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, as well as of this decision of the Collegium, and for the preparation of an appropriate report to the CC CPU and the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR in January 1984 and 1985 is assigned to the deputy minister Comrade Taranenko, V. Ye.

[Signed]

APPROVED by a decision of the Collegium of the Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian SSR 29 June 1983

ADDITIONAL MEASURES

to improve the study of the Russian language in the republic's general-education schools, teacher-training institutions, pre-school and extra-scholastic establishments.

1. To make known the content of the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR "Concerning Organizing the Implementation in the Republic of the Resolution of the CC CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR of 26 May 1983 No. 473 «Concerning Additional Measures To Improve the Study of the Russian Language in General-Education Schools and Other Educational Institutions of the Union Republics" to every pedagogical collective of every school and educational institution in which the language of instruction is other than Russian, to every collective of every institute for supplementary training of teachers and methodological department, teacher-training institution and scientific research institute.

To ensure [the necessary conditions for conducting] organizational-pedagogical and ideological-political work aimed at further improving the study of the Russian language in the educational institutions of the public education system of the Ukrainian SSR, bearing in mind that the fluent use of Russian on a level with the native language constitutes an objective necessity and requirement for every citizen, promotes the further consolidation of friendship and brotherhood among the peoples of the USSR and the development and strengthening of the material and spiritual potential of the Soviet people.

Administrations of schools, teacher-training institutions, pre-school establishments, educational work, the Central Post-Graduate Institute for Teachers, the Pedagogical Scientific Research Institute of the Ukrainian SSR, regional [oblast] [departments of public education], the Sevastopol city department of public education, the Kyiv city administration of public education, all regional and city institutes for supplementary training of teachers, rectors of pedagogical institutes, directors of pedagogical schools.

2. By 15 September 1983, to formulate concrete measures and discuss goals for further improving the study of and instruction in the Russian language in generaleducation schools, pedagogical institutes and schools, pre-school and other educational institutions with Ukrainian, Moldavian, Hungarian or Polish languages of instruction at meetings of pedagogical councils, academic boards of institutes, the August (1983) teachers' conferences, meetings of collegiums and councils of public education departments.

Regional [departments of public education], the Sevastopol city department of public education, institutes for supplementary training of teachers, rectors of pedagogical institutess, directors of pedagogical schools.

3. By 1 August 1983, to amend in the prescribed manner the curriculums of general-education schools and pedagogical schools with languages of instruction other than Russian for the purpose of improving the study of the Russian language.

Beginning in 1984, to the extent that the necessary conditions exist, to divide classes and groups numbering more than 25 students into two sub-groups when teaching Russian language and literature in schools and pedagogical schools where Russian is not the language of instruction.

Administrations of schools, teacher-training institutions, planning and financial organ.

4. To improve the network of general-education schools in which Russian is the language of instruction in order to meet the population's need for them fully.

To ensure the unconditional fulfilment of the task of expanding the network of general-education schools and classes with intensified study of Russian language and literature (decision of the Collegium of the Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian SSR of 31 October 1978 No 15). During the years 1984-1985, to establish a school (classes) providing intensified study of the Russian language in each city and district [*rayon*] where there is a national composition of pupils. To apply more widely the experience gained in establishing secondary educational institutions in which instruction is given in both the native and Russian languages.

Beginning with the 1983-1984 academic year, to introduce elective subjects in Russian language and literature for pupils of grades 7 to 10 in secondary and eight-year schools with Moldavian, Hungarian or Polish languages of instruction.

Administrations of schools, planning and financial organs, pre-school establishments, regional departments, of public education, the Kyiv city administration of public schools.

5. To apply measures to raise the level of instruction and study of the Russian language by students of general-education schools with Ukrainian, Moldavian, Hungarian or Polish languages of instruction.

To make provision for regular reviews of the quality of instruction and the level of competence in Russian language and literature on the part of students of schools and pedagogical schools and of students of pedagogical institutes in the annual plans for the work of [this] ministry, scientific research institutes, departments of public education, institutes for supplementary training of teachers, and teacher-training institutions. The results of these studies are to be examined at meetings of collegiums and councils and appropriate directives and recemmendations are to be issued.

Administrations of schools, teacher-training institutions, the Pedagogical Scientific Research Institute of the Ukrainian SSR, regional and city departments of public education, institutes for supplementary training of teachers.

6. To improve the forms and methods of teaching the Russian language to childrn of non-Russian nationalities in pre-school institutions and preparatory classes in schools. In accordance with the new programme, to introduce Russian-language instruction for children in older groups of pre-school establishments in the 1983-1984 acdemic year.

Beginning with the 1983-1984 academic year, to engage Russian-language teachers who are not carrying a full teaching load in general-education *schools* to teach Russian to *children in pre-school institutions, especially in rural areas*.

By 1 June 1984, to prepare recommendations for kindergarten instructors and for parents concerning instruction in the Russian language for older pre-school age children.

Administrations of pre-school education, regional [departments of public education], the Sevastopol city department of public education, the Kyiv city administration of public education.

7. To expand scientific research on the study of the Russian language in schools and pre-school establishments. To introduce the necessary additions to the "Prospective Plan of Important Research in the Pedagogical and Psychological Sciences in the Ukrainian SSR for 1981-1985 with the provision for the study in 1984-1985 of topical problems of the theory and pratice of learning the Russian language and, in particular, the intensification of the practical orientation in the study of Russian, the relationship between the study of Russian and the native language in the national schools, the cultivation of students' spoken Russian, effective methods and measures for teaching Russian in schools with Ukrainian, Moldavian, Hungarian or Polish languages of instruction.

Pedagogical Scientific Research Institute of the Ukrainian SSR, Ukrainian SSR Institute of Psychology, pedagogical institutes.

8. By 1 November 1985, to prepare a prospective plan for scientific research aimed llat improving the forms and methods of teaching Russian language and literature in the national schools in the years 1986-1990, with particular attention to such questions as the methodological principles of teaching Russian language and literature in general-education schools, improving the effectiveness of lessons in Russian language and literature, the special characteristics of teaching these subjects in rural schools, the relationship between instruction in Russian and Ukrainian language and literature, the methods of teaching Russian language and literature in schools with intensified instruction in these subjects, the theoretical principles of the educational complex of the Russian language for students in national schools, improving the content of courses and methods of instruction in Russian language and literature in higher teacher-training institutions.

By 1 June 1984, to complete a study on the joint preparation by 1990 of a complex inter-departmental programme entitled "The Study of Russian as a means of International Intercourse by the Pedagogical Scientific Research Institute of the Ukrainian SSR and the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences.

Coordination council for research in the pedagogical and psychological sciences in the Ukrainian SSR, directors of teacher-training institutions.

9. To prepare and conduct in 1985 a republican scientific-practical conference on the subject: "The Russian Language as the Language of International Intercourse, Friendship and Cooperation Among the Peoples of the USSR."

By 1 February 1984, to submit a pan for organizing and conducting the said conference.

Pedagogical Scientific Research Institute of the Ukrainian SSR, administrations of schools, pre-school education, teacher-training institutions, the Central Post-Graduate Institute of Teachers.

10. In 1984, to conduct conference seminars for heads of Russian language and literature departments in regional institutes for supplementary training of eachers and departments or Russian language and literature in pedagogical institutes and for chairmen of subject commissions of teachers of Russian language and literature in pedagogical schools.

Administrations of schools, teacher-training institutions, the Central Post-Gr aduate Institute for Teachers.

11. To ensure by the end of the 11th Five-Year Plan the availability of teachers with the necessary pedagogical training to teach the Russian language in schools with languages of instruction other than Russian. To make effective use of graduates of teacher-training institutions and existing teachers towards this end. To make effective use of graduates of teacher-training institutions and existing teachers of Russian who have incomplete higher education to enable them to raise their education to enable them to raise their professional qualifications by means of correspondence courses in pedagogical institutes and universities.

By 1 October 1983, to implement the proposals set forth in the State Plan of the Ukrainian SSR concerning expanding training of teachers of Russian language and literature in pedagogical institutes so as to meet the demand for them by schools and pedagogical schools by 1990.

Administrations of cadres, planning and financial organs, teacher-training insgtitutions, regional, city and district departments of public education. 12. Beginning from 1984 and by 1990, to ensure [the necessary conditions for] the enrolment, qualitative instruction and practical training of senior-level students belonging to the indigenous nationalities of the union republics in the pedagogical institutes of the Ukrainian SSR in the numbers designated in Addendum No. 1.

Administrations of teacher-training institutions, planning and financial administration.

13. By 20 February 1984, to prepare proposals for submission to the Council of Mininters of the Ukrainian SSR on how to meet the additional requirements of the republic's teacher-training institutions for cadres of Russian language and literature instructors, based on the calculation that there should be one instructor for every eight students and practice teachers.

Planning and financial administration, administrations of teacher-training institutions.

14. In 1984-1986, at the expense of state capital investments, to carry out the construction of teaching laboratory facilities and dormitories for students of Russian language and literature departments in pedagogical institutes in accordance with Addendum No.2.

Planning and financial administration, department of capital construction, administrations of teacher-training institutions, rectors of pedagogical institutes.

15. In order to improve the quality of training teaching cadres in all specialties of Russian-language instruction in pedagogical institutes and pedagogical schools where Ukrainian is the language of instruction as prescribed in 1983-1984:

— to introduce changes in the curriculums of the appropriate educational institutions and to increase the number of hours allotted to learning the Russian language, utilizing for this purpose the time reserved for the study of academic subjets (electives) and for medical training, and whenever necessary, part of the time allotted to the study of foreign languages;

— to designate those pedagogical institutes in which primary grade and foreignlanguage teachers will be trained for schools with languages of instruction other than Russian with an additional specialization in "Russian Language and Literature in the National School";

— in conjunction with the Ministry of Education of the USSR to designate the deadlines and conditions for introducing final examinations in the Russian language in pedagogical institutes and pedagogical schools;

— to appeal to the Ministry of Higher Educational Institutions of the USSR to introduce the Russian language as a compulsory subject in curriculums for students of non-language departments of pedagogical institutes and pedagogical schools who are graduates of national schools.

Administrations of teacher-training institutions, rectors of pedagogical institutes, directors of pedagogical schools.

16. In 1984, to organize yearly evening courses for individuals who wish to improve their skills in the Russian language at the Drohobych, Kyiv's A.M. Gorki, Kharkiv and Cherkasy Pedagogical Institutes. The Russian language departments at the above-named institutes are to prepare the necessary documentation to ensure the educational process.

Administrations of teacher-training institutions, rectors of pedagogical institutes.

17. By 1 November 1983, to prepare proposals for submission to the State Plan of thle Ukrainian SSR aimed at increasing to 25 persons the annual enrolment in the post-graduate programmes specializing in "Russian Language and Literature" and "Methods of [Teaching] Russian Language and Literature".

To resolve in the prescribed manner the establishment in 1984-1986 of postgraduate courses in such specializations as Russian Language and Literature" and "Methods of [Teaching] Russian Language and Literature" at the Kharkiv, Kirovohrad and Nizhyn Pedagogical Inttutes.

Administrations of teacher-training institutions, rectors of pedagogical institutes.

18. In the 3rd quarter of 1983, to implement the proposals of the Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian SSR:

 — concerning the conditions for accepting graduates of rural general-education schools who have expressed a desire to become Russian-language teachers but who lack a work record to preparatory departments of pedagogical institutes and universities;

— concerning the manner of assigning and enrolling with reduced requirements graduates of eight-year and secondary schools to teacher-training institutions on the recommendation of councils and organs of public education.

Administrations of teacher-training institutions.

19. To introduce in the prescribed manner an entrance examination in Russian language and literature for persons beginning post-graduate study, as well as a final examination in this subject as a requirement for a candidate's degree.

Administrations of teacher-training institutions.

20. Beginning in 1984, to ensure upgrading of qualifications among primary grade and Russian-language teachers in schools with Ukrainian, Hungarian, Moldavian or Polish languages of instruction by organizing two-month long courses once every three years at institutes for supplementary training of teachers and postgraduate training courses at pedagogical institutes and universities; among chairmen of district (city) methodological associations of Russian-language teachers at month-long courses once every three years at the Central Post-Graduate Institute for Teachers; among chairmen of methodological associations of primary grade teachers at regional (city) institutes for supplementary training of teachers.

To ensure upgrading of qualifications among teachers in accordance with the requests of union republics in institutes for supplementary training of teachers and higher educational institutions of the Ukrainian SSR.

Administration of cadres, schools, planning and financial organs, the Central Post

Graduate Institute for Teachers, regional departments and the Sevastopol city department of public education, the administration of public education of the city of Kyiv.

21. On 1 September 1983, to submit a detailed plan for upgrading the qualificatiolns of pedagogical and administrative cadres in all categories in 1984, designating a specific times and place for re-training courses for primary grade and Russian-language teachers in schools where Russian is not the language of instruction, and to issue a directive to this effect.

Adminstrations of cadres, schools, planning and financial organs, teachertraining institutions.

22. To include in the 1984 plan for upgrading the qualifications of pedagogical cuadres re-training courses for Russian-language instructors in the republic's secondary vocational schools at regional (city) institutes for supplementary training of teachers, and to coordinate the number of teachers and the place of their re-training with the State Committee for Vocational Training.

Administration of cadres.

23. By 1 November 1984, to prepare educational-thematic plans for upgrading the qualifications of teachers of primary grades and techers of Russian in schools in which the lpanguage of instruction is other than Russian at two-month long courses at regional (city) institutes for supplementary training of teachers, pedagogical institutes and universities.

Central Post-Graduate Institute for Teachers, Pedagogical Scientific Research rInstitute of the Ukrainian SSR, administrations of schools.

24. In 1985-1986, to ensure the construction and commissioning at the expense of state capital investments of teaching facilities and dormitories for students of institutes for supplementary training of teachers in accordance with Addendum No. 3.

Department of capital construction, regional departments of public education, the Kyiv city administration of public education, institutes for supplementary training of teachers.

25. To apply additional measures to ensure wide use of existing possibilities for providing moral incentives for pedagogical, methodological and administrative cadres who have distinguished themselves in work aimed at improving the study of the Russian language in the republic's schools.

Administrations of cadres, schools, regional, district and city departments of public education.

26. To make provision for the necessary allocations in draft budgets for 1984 andg subsequent years for:

- Raising pay scales (by 16%) for teachers of preparatory and primary grades who teach

the Russian language, teachers of Russian language and literature in grades 4 to 10 (11) in general-education schools and boarding schools, and in pedagogical schools with a language of instruction other than Russian, located in rural areas or urban settlements;

— increasing scholarship funds by extending financial assistance to include students of pedagogical institutes specializing in "Russian Language and Literature in the National School," as prescribed by the decree of the CC CPSU and the Council of Ministers or the Ukrainian SSR of 16 October 1971, No. 755 (resolution of the CC CPU and the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR of 14 December 1971 No. 552) for students of law institutes.

Planning and financial administrations, regional departments of public education.

27. To submit on 1 September1983 proposals concerning the establishment of regular district methodological departments to oversee schools and kindergartens with Moldavian and Hungarian languages of instruction and [providing for] additional full-time methods specialists in Russian language and literature.

Planning and financial administration, administrations of schools, the Zakarpattya, Odessa and Chernihiv regional departments of public education.

28. On 1 January 1984, to open a department of Russian language and literature at the Central Post-Graduate Institute for Teachers and authorize it to supervise the entire system of institutions responsible for upgrading the qualifications of pedagogical, methodological and administrative cadres specializing in the teaching of Russian language and literature in the republic's schools.

Central Post-Graduate Institute for Teachers, administrations of cadres, teachertraining institutions, planning and financial organs.

29. By 1 October 1983, to submit proposals to be implemented in the prescribed manner in reorganizing the journal Russkiy yazyk i literatura v shkolakh USSR [Russian Language and Literature in the Schools of the Ukrainian SSR] into the journal Russkiy yazyk i literatura v srednikh uchebnykh zavedeniyakh USSR [Russian Language and Literature in Secondary Educational Institutions of the Ukrainian SSR] and increasing the number of issues published annually from 6 to 12.

To strengthen the methodological and practical orientation of the journal. To introduce a regular column discussing the experience gained in introducing effective methods of learning and teaching the Russian language in educational institutions of various kinds. Together with the departments of public education and the administrations of vocational training to wage a campaign to increase the number of the journal's subscribers.

Administrations of schools and corresponding sub-departments of the State Committee on Publishing of the Ukrainian SSR, the Ukrainian SSR State Committee on Vocational Training, departments of public education.

30. By 1 October 1983, to prepare and apply together with the "Radyanska Shkola"

[Soviet School] Publishing House specific measures to improve the content and raise the ideologically theoretical and academic level of existing Russian-language textbooks and the methodic supplements to them for schools with Ukrainian, Moldavian, Hungarian or Polish languages of instruction.

By 1 November 1983, to submit proposals to the Ukrainian SSR State Committee on Publishing concerning the publication in 1985-1990 of new Russian-language textbooks for national schools, illustrated school manuals, methodological literature in the Russian language, dictionaries (orthographic, explanatory, synonymic, phraseological and other) and Russian literary works for pupils, students, teachers and lecturers in teacher-training institutions with a language of instruction other than Russian with a view to meeting demands fully, as well as increasing the publication of literature in the Russian language for preschool age children.

To supply the libraries of educational institutions in the system of Ukrainian SSR Scientific research institutes with the necessary literature. Together with organizations that sell books, to compile plans for supplying school libraries, teacher-training institutions, institutes for supplementary training of teachers and district and city methodological departments with the necessary scientific, methodological, political and literary works in the Russian language and ensure that these plans are implemented.

Administrations of schools, teacher-training institutions, pre-school education, educational work, the Pedagogical Scientific Research Institute of the Ukrainian SSR, public education department.

31. By 1 December 1983, to submit a proposal to the USSR State Film Board concerning the release of educational films on the Russian language and literature.

By 1 May 1984, to submit a prospective plan for 1986-1990 for the release of audio teaching aids in the Russian language for primary and secondary grades of schools with Moldavian and Hungarian languages of instruction. To provide sound tracks for the films released in 1981-1983 to instruct children in the Russian language in national schools.

To ensure that an audio reader for an oral course in Russian for preparatory grades in schools with Moldavian and Hungarian languages of instruction is released in 1985.

Administrations of schools, Central Ukrainian School Supplies Trade Office.

NEW PUBLICATION ANNEXATION OR REUNIFICATION by Mykhaylo I. Braichevskyi. Critical Notes on the Treaty of Perevaslav, 1654, between Ukraine and Russia. Published by Ukrainisches Institut für Bildungspolitik, Munich, 1974. Hard cover. 139 pp. Price: £3.00 (\$8.00). Available from: UBP, 49, Linden Gardens UKRAINIAN PUBLISHERS LTD. London W2 4HG. 200 Liverpool Rd., London, N1 1LF.

0H.R.H.The Prince of Wales

HOPE FOR THOSE WHO SUFFER IN SILENCE

On this occasion you have been generous enough to confer on me the same honorary law degree as that given by your predecessors to my great uncle, the then Prince of Wales, over 60 years ago.* I have not been able to find out what he said in 1919, but I fell to reflecting on the importance of law in our society and the way in which the legal framework, built upon and improved throughout the centuries in Britain, and adopted by other counties such as Canada, has preserved our freedom as individuals. The administration of a system of law by an *independent* judiciary which is seen to establish the equality of all before that law, is the means by which our democratic way of life can exist and be preserved. We may take large parts of it for granted; we may criticise it, resent it, ridicule it; pressure groups of one kind or another may seek to alter it; it may produce obvious disadvantages which aggravate people, but ultimately a system of law which is seen to be the most reasonable under difficult circumstances is what protects us from the dangers of authoritarianism whether from left or right. In terms of English law the first battle against authoritarianism was won when King John signed the Magna Carta. From then on the English legal system developed chiefly as the result of clashes with the crown, the supreme fount of power, until the last vestiges of an authoritarian approach to the conduct of men's lives was removed and the crown developed to the point where it can, I think, be said to provide an important link in the chain of defence against a loss of those liberties we hold so dear. And yet, do we hold them dear enough? Is it in fact possible to understand their importance to the life of each individual without first experiencing a loss of liberty, in the sense that it is chiefly one's own experiences that open one's eyes to the realities of the World? In Canada and Britain we have been more than fortunate in avoiding the horrors of occupation and the consequent denial of those basic freedoms we consider to be our natural right. Thousands sacrificed their lives 40 years ago in a desperate defence of that right. If they had not done so, and if an excuse had been found to opt out of that defence or to compromise in some way over the issue, there is no saying how great a shadow would have fallen across the world.

The fact remains, of course, that millions of people do still exist under a shadow of gigantic proportions — the shadow of authoritarianism from either end of the political spectrum. Do we actually have any idea of what that means? We can, I suggest, discover something of what it means by listening to those who have suffered, or who are suffering, in a way that is hard for us to imagine. They tell us that they live within a system which derives its inspiration from the basic motivation of

^{*}This address by H.R.H The Prince of Wales was given during his tour of Canada at Alberta University, Edmonton on Thursday, 30th June 1983.

a thirst for power, and power alone. In such a system power is an end in itself the better to achieve its consolidation and the destruction of all potential enemies. Those who have observed the operation of the system in practice, rather than in theory, will insist that the struggle waged against religion for instance is not for ideological reasons, but for power. This is because a religious man, deep down in his soul tends to remain free of political parties or any other earthly power. The struggle waged against such individuals is because they have dared to expose themselves without being asked. Living in the countries that we do and brought up



H.R.H. The prnce of Wales receives a gift on behalf of the Ukrainian community in Derby on a visit to the town

the way we are without a constant sense of fear or suspicion, without a feeling that those whom we love could be intimidated as a result of our actions tends to make us think that such reports must be somewhat exaggerated and that one set of human beings could not possible do what they do to their fellow men. There is no doubt that countless people whose freedoms are crushed under the weight of a seemingly limitless oppression look towards countries like ours to provide some kind of flickering light of freedom amongst the total darkness that surrounds them. The least *we* can do, I believe, is to attempt to understand the predicament of those who are made to suffer for what they believe in, by imagining what our feelings would be if we were in a similar situation. What better way to describe this than by quoting the Pope who said recently — "I ask those who are suffering to be particularly close to me. I ask this in the name of Christ, who said, 'I was sick and you visited me. I was in prison and you came to me'."

Of course, it is only too easy for people to turn round and say you are being naive and unrealistic. The Christian approach is all very well, but what can we as individuals possibly do, bearing in mind that our freedom of action is so circumscribed. Well for a start, I believe in the overwhelming strength of the human spirit and in the power of faith. Deep in the human soul, as Mihajlo Mihajlof describes it, lies an unfamiliar force which is stronger than all the external forces which surround us. That force is unfamiliar because we have forgotten what it sounds like and what it needs to release it. It is hardly surprising, I suppose, when you think how much else there is in the external world to take its place. But nevertheless it is that force which I think Solzhenitsyn is referring to when he talks about "a decline in courage being the most striking feature which an outside observer notices in the west today". Life is full of mysterious paradoxes, but one of the most extraordinary is that attested to by some of those who have undergone the most extreme spiritual and physical suffering during their imprisonment, but who have also experienced a fulfilment of the soul, undreamed of by people who have not experienced captivity. From this paradox we learn that it is through such individual awareness of the inner voice and through the faith which this engenders that the essence of totalitarian rule can in fact be undermined — in the sense that totalitarianism relies on a belief in the unlimited power of external circumstances, which supposedly direct man's inner world. If there is the very real possibility that the physical world is subject to the spiritual forces of the human soul then there is indeed hope for those who lack the individual freedoms we experience.

And precisely because we enjoy those freedoms we have obligations too. We have two particular obligations. I believe one is to try to appreciate that there is inevitably a price to pay for the blessings of democracy — be it organised crime or pornography or whatever. But it is only a price, and the basis of civilised living, it seems to me, is to realise that you can never have something for nothing. One writer living in a state of "unfreedom" emphasised very well what I am trying to get at when he wrote that "the efforts to diminish the expenses of democracy in the process *not* to be transformed into unfreedom is the eternal care of a democratic society." The second obligation is the one we owe to those countless *individuals* — yes, individuals, (they could be you or me, not a mass divided up into categories to be manipulated like automatons) who, perhaps secretly, deep down in their beings, have expectations of people like ourselves. We have an increasing obligation to concentrate on developing our moral courage and a corresponding awareness of that inner force that we all possess, but without which we will be unable to resist that shadow of authoritarianism and at the same time provide a beam

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT OF UKRAINIAN ORIGIN GIVES HIS MAIDEN SPEECH

The results of the General Election in June this year surprised everybody in the way that the Conservatives were brought back into power for a second term with a huge increased majority in Parliament. But nothing could have been so surprising than the fact that from the midst of the Ukrainian community in Britain somebody had entered the House of Commons to represent a Welsh constituency. It is certain that the election of Stefan Terlezki to represent Cardiff West is a special event which will, no doubt be marked in any future history of the Ukrainian emigration to this country. Mr. Stefan Terlezki has shown that with some hard work and persistence it is not completely beyond the range of possibility for a Ukrainian in this country to assume a position in which he or she could contribute more directly to the political life in Britain today.

Mr. Stefan Terlezki, born in Ukraine in 1927, by profession is a management consultant. Educated at the Cardiff College of Food Technology, he has contested in the past the Cardiff South East constituency on behalf of the Conservative Party in February and October 1974, and South Wales in the election to the European Parliament in Strasbourg in 1979. He has, since 1968, been a member of the Cardiff City Council and a member of the South Glamorgan County Council, since 1973.

Following his election, Stefan Terlezki has been featured in a number of articles in the British press, the *Sunday Express* (June 19th), *Private Eye* (July 1st) and the *Daily Express* (August 30th). Excerpts from his maiden speech on Thursday 3rd November given in the House of Commons have also appeared in the parliamentary columns of other newspapers.

Press reaction to his election has in general been favourable. The Sunday Express, for example, wrote the following: "Stefan Terlezki makes British Parliamentary history: the first MP whose family are citizens of the Soviet Union. But this adopted Welshman, ex-slave labourer, gun-fighter and refugee is the truest of true blue Conservatives. He takes his seat as the only member who has faced Russian guns from the wrong end of the barrel..." Private Eye, the satirical magazine, with its usual propensity to ridicule just about everybody and everything, offered a less than respectful appraisal in its column "The New Boys" falling into the usual trap made so many times before by other publications in reference to Ukrainians by calling Stefan Terlezki a 'Russian emigre' An opportunity soon came for Mr. Stefan Terlezki to show his real self in an interview with Michael Evans of the Daily Express which was given in connection with Arthur Scargill's trip to Moscow on which the miner's union boss praised Soviet leaders and castigated Western leaders, Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher. In reply to Scargill's ridiculous outburst in Moscow Mr. Stefan Terlezki offered his own experiences, and those of his father as proof of that what Arthur Scargill had said about the nature of the regime in the Soviet Union was far from the actual truth. The Soviet Russian government ever fond of bearing the mantle of a peace-lover, especially in today's upsurge of peace demonstrations in the West, is in fact a cynical perpatrator of violence and an agent of despair in the world today, whose idea of peace means no more than the ideological victory of tyranny over freedom. In this interview headed "What Scargill's Beloved Russia did to me" Stefan Terlezki said:

"I know the *real* facts about the Soviet Union. I know what it is like to live in a country where you dare not open your mouth in protest for fear of being grabbed by the KGB. Scargill chooses to ignore this. My father Oleksa was arrested in 1952 presumably because his record showed that he had once been imprisoned as a trade union official for daring to ask for a wage rise for the workers in his factory.

The KGB knocked on the front door at three o'clock in the morning at our home in the small Ukrainian village of Antoniwka and gave my father and sister half an hour to pack their bags.

The KGB do not need to give reasons for arresting someone. And in a country like the Soviet Union, no one dares to resist. Not even Mr Scargill would dare.

My father was told to bring a shovel. On the long journey by cattle truck to Siberia many more were to die of cold and hunger and the shovels were needed to dig graves as well as for work in the labour camps.

I came to live here in 1948 after seeking British protection at the end of the Second World War. But I did not find out where my father and sister were until 1958. My mother died of a broken heart six months later after I was dragged off by the Germans for slave labour in 1942 at the age of 15.

In one of my father's letters to me he wrote "We've got a marvellous climate here. We get 12 months of winter and the rest is summer...

Ever since arriving in Britain with just one pound sterling in my pocket, I have discovered what real freedom is. Scargill shares the same freedom but he abuses it.

Freedom here means being able to travel anywhere without seeking special permission. Being able to stand on the street with three of four others without having a tap on your shoulder and questions asked. And being able to speak your own mind without fearing a knock on the door.

It is because of my experiences that I feel I must speak out against those who want to sabotage this country."

Below is Mr. S. Terlezki's maiden speech in the House of Commons on 3rd November and the reactions from other members of Parliament that ensued. — Eds.

7.30 pm

Mr. Stefan Terlezki (Cardiff West): I am grateful to you, Mr. Speaker, for allowing me to speak for the first time in the House, with my Anglo-Ukrainian-Welsh accent.

I should like to tell the House something about the constituency of Cardiff West which I am honoured, proud and privileged to represent. Cardiff West, and its people could perhaps be described as the United Nations on a smaller scale. there are the Welsh, the English, the Scots, the Irish, the Ukrainians, the Poles, the Pakistanis, the Africans, the West Indians, the Italians, the Spanish, the Portuguese and people from many other parts of the old and the new commonwealth. Strong community links have been forged with the ethnic minorities on a very amicable basis, and social, educational and cultural understanding is being promoted. I am proud that Cardiff West can be looked upon as a model of good relationships between different people, and those people too, are proud to be British.

I am pleased to say what we have several colleges, high schools, and junior and infant schools, as well as a Church of England school, a Church of Wales school, Roman Catholic schools, nursery schools, and special and private schools. Again, those schools help pupils with different social and religious backgrounds to integrate into society and to be good citizens of Great Britain. There is some light industry in the constituency as well as hospitals, good shopping facilities and Cardiff City football club. Indeed, I was once privileged to be that club's chairman. Of course, there are also rugby clubs and quite a few political and non-political clubs. We also have the BBC and HTV studios in the constituency.

I hope that you will allow me, Mr Speaker, to use two words that have echoed through the house, throughout the land, and over the oceans and hills. They are "Order, Order". Those are the words of my predecessor, Mr. George Thomas, or "Our George" as he is affectionately known. He is now, of course, Viscount Tonypandy and he certainly deserves that great honour. I have known him for many years, as my wife was born just a few miles from Tonypandy. He and I have much in common in relation not only to the Rhondda and Tonypandy, but the broad fabric of the social structure of our society.

Mr. Thomas served the people in Cardiff West exceptionally well for 38 years. Although I have no intention of following in his footsteps to the Speaker's Chair, I should ertainly like to follow him in being a good member of Parliament for Cardiff West, as he was, and in being as much in touch with the people there as he has been in the past 38 years. He is a great and much-loved man. I greatly respect him, and am very happy to have paid him a great tribute in this great House.

People matter a great deal to me, irrespective of their colour or background. We must all try to help, protect and respect one another, to be good citizens, to respect the law of the land and to be good patriots of this great country. People in many parts of the world have sought for centuries to copy our constitution and laws and so to guarantee their liberties. The antiquity and continuity of our political structure is a marvel to many others. As a result of our ancestors' endeavours, our freedom and democracy are now second to none. I was not born with a silver spoon in my mouth, but I have found a silver lining in reaching the Mother of Parliaments, the cradle of freedom and democracy. I am very proud to be here today to speak, knowing very well that I do so in freedom. If my father and my friends in Ukraine knew that I was standing here and what I was saying, their tears would flow with joy.

The purpose of our foreign policy is to help, as we have done and continue to do, in many parts of the world, materially, culturally, educationally, politically,

democratically and in many other ways, when possible. Soviet foreign policy exports Marxist ideology in great quantity — most of the time against the wishes of the people. Its aim is not to introduce freedom and democracy, but to suppress and eradicate them whenever possible. If one looks at where Marxism is preached and practised, one will have no illusion about which foreign policy serves its people best — Soviet or British. I have experienced feudalism, Marxism, Communism, Fascism, Nazism and, at the age of 15, a slave labour camp. I believe that I can jusifiably claim that I know how to appreciate freedom and democracy.

I knew nothing about Britain foreign policy or Britain's freedom and democracy until we were liberated by the British and the Americans in 1945. One may well ask: what about the Russian liberators? They liberated a part of Europe from it's freedom, democracy and good living standards and they have put an iron curtain around it. Since 1945 people have been born and lived in open prison. If people do not believe me, they should write to my friends and my father in Ukraine! if they are allowed to tell us, they will.

British foreign policy protects and defends Britain on all fronts — land, sea and in the air. Lt us not be rhetorical and use a sea of words when we talk about defending Britain. Defending Britain means that what our fathers and grandfathers have fought for and died for is worth defending and protecting, so that we, our children and our grandchildren will live in freedom without experiencing slavery, tyranny and oppression, as, regrettably, some of us had to.

Communism is not interested in the flourishing of a country, the health and welfare of its people, freedom, political democracy, religion, culture or its history. Soviet imperialism has oppressed, abused and terrorised nations and has kept many in a political straitjacket in the name of Socialism, Marxism and Leninism.

There are more than 3 million Afghan refugees in Pakistan. Where are the supporters for the campaign for nuclear disarmament and all other do-gooders? Why do they not go to Leningrad, Warsaw, Prague, Budapest and Afghanistan and put their arms around the Russian militarism? We should remember that there are no unilateralists in the Kremlin.

It is not a case of being better red than dead. The option is peace through deterrence and disarmament negotiations. In the Soviet Union, a person could be red and dead — and I know it. Ask the Ukrainians, the Poles, Czechoslovakians, Hungarians, Latvians, Estonians, Lithuanians and Afghans the meaning of tyranny, barbarism and oppression, which are so brutally executed by the Soviet Marxist regime. If people in this great country of ours believe that the grass is greener in the Soviet Union, let them go there and find out for themselves.

Mr. Tony Banks (Newham, North-West): They are not as stupid as the hon. Member.

Mr. Terlezki: There are apparatchiks and apologists for the Soviet Union, who would dearly like the Government to disarm the Army, sink the Navy, ditch the Air Force, and the utopian state would be complete. That will not happen. The vast majority of the British people are too resilient to fall for that. Of course we must negotiate with the Soviets. Let us compromise if need be, but only when the compromise is on equal and realistic terms, without cheating.

The Pope speaks for peace, about multilateral, not unilateral, disarmament and about a reduction of nuclear and conventional weapons. Where are the Christians in the CND? Why do they not listen and follow their leader? I do. They are misleading the public, especially the young generation who grew up in peace, protected by military strength. Let us negotiate for the zero option. Let the Soviets make ploughs and tractors out of their military hardware, so that they can plough the fields, seed the corn and reap the harvest to feed their people.

Mr Andropov said that when it comes to unilateral disarmament the Soviet people are not naive. I say to Mr. Andropov that nor are the British. The British spirit of freedom is too strong and too resilient to be crushed by the tanks of tyrants. My regret is that some of the British who were born here take democracy for granted and play directly into the hands of our potential enemies.

I am proud to be British and free to speak without fear, to worship God in my own way, to stand up for what I believe to be right and to oppose what I believe to be wrong and to choose who shall govern my country. I pledge to uphold this heritage of freedom for me, Britain, the oppressed nations and all mankind.

Reactions of other Members of Parliament to S. Terlezki's maiden speech.

7.18 pm.

Mr J. Enoch Powell (Down, South): The hon. Member for Cardiff, West (Mr. Terlezki) had a more vivid experience than most who make their maiden speeches of what awaits him when he seeks to address the House in subsequent debates, for he was kept waiting for considerably longer than is usually the lot of maiden speakers.

I do not wish to stand unnecessarily between the House and other hon. Members who wish to take part in the debate, but they will not begrudge me a moment, as one who in his former constituency had numerous and valuable Ukrainian constituents, to say to the hon. Member that we are interested to see in a new incarnation the constituency which ws represented by our Speaker, and hope that he will achieve his ambitions in the place which he has travelled so far to arrive.

7.32 p.m.

Sir Fredick Bennett (Torbay): I wish at the outset to congratulate my hon. Friend the Member for Cardiff, West (Mr. Terlezki) on his maiden speech. It was controversial and aroused some ire on the Opposition Benches, although it drew virtually unanimous applause from the Conservative Benches. I warn him that in future he will have to put up with a less conciliatory reaction than he enjoyed today as I have often had to do, from Labour Members.

He mentioned his joint Ukrainian ancestry to me a few evenings ago. I was not surprised by what he told me because I have been concerned with the Free Ukrainian movement since the last war. He is just the type of person we need in our midst, a man who knows from actual suffering exactly what living under the Soviet system implies. There is no need for him to read books or for us to advise him to read books on that subject. Our numbers have been strengthened by having with us someone who, it cannot be denied, has personal knowledge of the sort he described in his speech and which he mentioned to me in greater detail the other evening. I wish him luck in his various national garbs and loyalties.

8.23 p.m.

Mr. Peter Temple-Morris (Leominster): We have heard tonight two different but in their own way, equally outstanding and impressive maiden speeches. My hon. Friend the Member for Newport, West (Mr. Robinson) made an excellent speech. He has now left the Chamber for a much needed succour and relief but I hope that he will soon be back at his place and I should like him to see my comments on the record, as I would my hon. Friend the Member for Cardiff, West (Mr. Terlezki). I was an unsuccessful candidate for Newport which I fought there at a tender age in 1964 and 1966 without the aid of the boundary commissioners. Hon. Members with knowledge of the area will know what I am talking about. I like to think that I fell along the wayside, gallantly holding my party's flag high, in order that my hon. Friend the Member for Newport, West should come here and make such splendid speech. I am sure that the late Sir Ronald Bell, who, briefly in 1945, was the last Conservative Member for Newport, would have been proud to see my hon. Friend in his place.

Cardiff happens, coincidentally, to be my home town, which my father represented in the House. It is with great pride that I see my hon. Friend the Member for Cardiff, West here. He is a colourful tribute to the city — if I may put it like that sr— and I am sure that he will be an equally colourful tribute to the House.

9.22 p.m.

Mr George Robertson (Hamilton): I congratulate the two maiden speakers. The hon. Member for Newport, West (Mr. Robinson) showed authority, eloquence and great prescience in choosing this debate in which to make his maiden speech. His background and experience will obviously lead him to make many more such contributions.

The hon. Member for Cardiff, West (Mr Terlezki) spoke with conviction and vigour and with experience which few in this House can match. Although many of us will not agree with his analysis of foreign affairs, he has every right to make such an analysis in this House.

9.42 p.m.

The Minister for Overseas Development (Mr. Timothy Raison): My hon. Friend the Member for Cardiff, West told us that he spoke with an Anglo-Ukrainian-Welsh accent. He spoke proudly of the model relationship between the different groups in Cardiff, and said that both he and they were proud to be British. He succeeded the noble Lord Tonypandy — George Thomas — whom we all know so well, and he said rightly, that he was a great man. We are in full agreement with that. We were all deeply moved by what my hon. Friend had to say about freedom. He has cause to know what he is talking about.

Yarema Gregory KELEBAY

TOWARDS A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF DMYTRO DONZOW

Ι

At the end of the First World War, and the revolutionary developments in Easitern Europe, the Ukrainian nation found itself in a tragic situation. The independent Ukrainian state had fallen, and Ukraine was divided. Eastern Ukraine was taken over by Soviet Russia and most of Western Ukraine joined to the new Polish state. In resistance to this tragic predicament, the Ukrainian nation attempted to "find itself" in order to point its politics toward its historic goal.

In a paper delivered at Harvard University in 1976, Roman Olynyk-Rakhmanny argued that the publisher and editor of the *Vistnyk* (Herald) in Lviv, Dr. Dmytro Donzow (1883-1973) played a central role in this process of Ukrainian self-examination.¹ Many Ukrainian thinkers became involved in this debate; Eastern Ukrainians in Soviet Ukraine, Western Ukrainians in Poland, and expatriate Ukrainian intellectuals in Prague, Berlin, Paris, Canada and the United States. But none played as decisive a role in this examination as Donzow and a group of writers from Lviv, Prague and Warsaw who gathered around him because they accepted his thesis. Donzow's thesis was that it was imperative to remake the "passive Ukrainian" into an activist on the Western European model, and that a dynamic Ukrainian literature would help to achieve this end.

Given the advantage of historical distance and the issues of our era it is not untimely to make an attempt at a better understanding of Donzow. Let us try to locate Donzow not only in the narrow context of the 1920's and 1930's, but within the framework of this century.

In the course of his life Dmytro Donzow's articles appeared in over 55 different newspapers and journals. He had more than 40 books and pamphlets published, and wrote more than 1000 essays, artiles and reviews.² Yet, a recent reference book, *Ukraine: selected References in the English Language* (Chicago, 1974) lists only four titles by Donzow, all written between 1955 and 1966, toward the twilight of his career.³ This is hardly representative of a man who spent his whole life thinking and writing about international relations, Ukrainian politics, and literary matters.

The prospect of summarizing the thought of a man who did most of this work in the first half or our turbulent 20th centuary, can be intimidating. The intellectual history of any historical person is a difficult task, particularly when dealing with a prolific thinker such as Donzow.

However, this challenge has been accepted on various occasions by a number of scholars, among them Roman Olynyk-Rakhmanny, John Armstrong, Michael

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Sosnowsky and Anathole Bedriy. The most elaborate treatment of Donzow to date, is by Michael Sosnowsky, entitled *Dmytro Donzow: A Political Portrait* published in 1974. (In Ukrainian).⁴

Sosnowsky argued that in the course of his intellectual development, Donzow moved from far "left" to far "right" along the ideological spectrum, and in the course of that movement was reputed to have strongly influenced the thought and opinion of Ukrainian nationalists, and in the 1930's to have had a pronounced effect on the ideology of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists after it was founded in 1929.

Since the O.U.N. became the first political formation in Europe to fight both Stalin and Hitler during the Second World War; that is, to fight both modern totalitarianisms on "two fronts", one of the major ideological mentors of the O.U.N. should be of no small interest to us.⁵

Π

Dmytro Donzow's ancestors were Cossacks from "Slobidska Ukraina", or what was called the Eastern Ukrainian "frontier".⁶ Some time in the 19th century they moved south, like many other Ukrainians after the Crimean War. The Ukrainian writer Honchar described this southern region as "known for its dark storms and beautiful mirages" its Cossack "customs and ways", and its "Mediterranean atmosphere".⁷

Dmytro Donzow was born on June 17, 1883 in the town of Melitopol near the Sea of Azov.⁸ His father was a salesman of agricultural machinery and a good provider for his family who had a "fine home" with a library full of Russian, Ukrainian and Western European books. Donzow was one of five children; he had two brothers and two sisters.

Donzow's father died in 1894 at the age of fifty-four and his mother passed away a year later at the age of thirty-nine leaving Donzow an orphan at the age of eleven. His grandfather continued to bring up Dmytro and supervised his early "technical studies".

In 1900, when Donzow was seventeen years old, he moved to Tsarsoye Selo where for the next seven years he studied at St. Petersburg University, reading avidly about the Kyivan past, Konysky and Lesia Ukrainka. In 1905 he was arrested by the Tsarist police for possession of underground literature and "nationalist convictions". After receiving an amnesty he joined the Ukrainian Social Democratic Workers Party, entertained some "socialist ideas" and co-operated with Russian and Jewish socialists in St. Petersburg. Some people viewed him as an "Orthodox Marxist" at this time, but in his circles it was also said that "among Ukrainian Social Democrats, the Bolsheviks enjoyed more sympathy, and the works of Lenin were particularly popular".⁹

However, in spite of his socialist sentiments, Donzow remained interested in the "national aspect" in the socialist movement because of Michnowsky's book *Independent Ukraine*, (1900) which made what he called an "ineradicable impression" on him.¹⁰ At the time, Donzow belonged to the St. Petersburg *Hromada's*

"national fraction" which was critical of the Union of All-Russian Social democracy.¹¹

In 1907 the tsarist police arrested Donzow again and this time imprisoned him for eight months. After his release in April 1908, he went to Lviv, Galicia where he met the Polish philosopher Brzozowky, a prominent member of "Young Poland". Some Donzow scholars say Donzow's conversion from "Marxism" to "nationalism" began with this meeting.¹² Between the years 1908-1914 Donzow lived in Lviv except for a brief stay in Vienna, where in 1912 he married Maria Bachynska.

Sosnowsky says that during the years 1911-1914 Donzow underwent a conversion from social democracy to nationalism. Sosnowsky bases this claim on the fact that in 1913 some of Donzow's social democratic friends accused him of "chauvinism". Their reason for this charge was that while the Ukrainian Social Democratic Workers' Party looked to Oles, Vynnychenko, and Drahomanov, and regarded the Russian social democrats as allies, Donzow admired Konysky, Mazepa and Lesia Ukrainka and considered Russian social demacrats as Ukraine's enemies.¹³

At the outbreak of the First World War Donzow was in Lviv, Galicia where on August 4, 1914 he helped to establish *Soyuz Vyzvolennia Ukrainy* (The Union for the liberation of Ukraine) of which he became the first President. Shortly after SVU (or the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine) endorsed the Central Powers because SVU wanted an "independent Ukraine" and was for the break-up of the Russian Empire.¹⁴

With the evacuation of Lviv in 1914, Donzow went to Vienna and shortly after resigned from SVU because, he said, in SVU there were "some people who wanted to make it into an Austro-German agency".¹⁵ After resigning from SVU, Donzow went to Berlin to work in the Ukrainian Information Bureau and to publish the journal *Korespondenz*. In 1916 he moved to Bern, Switzerland and published the *Korrespondenz Der Nationalitaeten Russlands*. In 1917, Donzow returned to Lviv where he recieved his Ph.D. in jurisprudence from the University of Lviv.

With the outbreak of the Russian Revolution in 1917, Donzow unsuccessfully attempted to get to Kyiv. But with the signing of the treaty of Brest-Litovsk between Ukraine and the Central Powers, Donzow received permission to go to Kyiv, in March 1918. In Kyiv, he joined the Peasants–Democratic Party and then was appointed Director of the Press Bureau in Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky's government, a position he held from April to November 1918.

Donzow was attracted to the Peasants-Democratic Party because it was supported by the upper peasantry which was "conservative, hostile to socialism and the Central Rada, and sovereignist".¹⁶ In Hetman Skoropadsky Donzow saw a Ukrainian "Napoleon" (or "Bonaparte") who would base Ukrainian politics on the well-to-do "peasantry" and the "province".¹⁷ However, when Hetman Skoropadsky stunned Donzow with his policy of "federation with Russia", Donzow broke with the regime. In January of 1919, with the help of Konovalets and Petliura he left Kyiv for Vienna. A year later, Donzow went to Bern, Switzerland where he wrote his first major book, *Basis of Our Politics*, (1921) (Pidstavy nashoi polityky). Then, in February 1921 Donzow returned to Vienna to assume the position of Director of Press Information for the Ukrainian Mission that was stationed there.

After the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, Donzow returned to Lviv in January, 1922, and lived there until the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939. In Lviv he worked as a writer and editor. Between 1922-1932 he was the editor of the *Literary Vistnyk* which was renamed *Vistnyk* (The Herald) in 1933, and Donzow continued to edit that journal until 1939. While serving as editor of *Vistnyk*, Donzow published what is considered perhaps his most important book *Nationalism*. (1926).

On September 2, 1939, Donzow was arrested by the Polish police and incarcerated in the Polish concentration camp Bereza Kartuzka until Poland was invaded and partitioned by Hitler and Stalin. Before the Red Army entered Lviv, Donzow moved to Bucharest, Romania, where he edited *Batava* between 1939-1941.

During the period between the start of the Russian-German War in 1941 and the defeat of Germany, Donzow lived in various cities such as Berlin, Prague and Lviv. When Germany surrendered in 1945, Donzow was in Prague.

After the war, Donzow arrived in Paris to learn that the Soviets had placed him on their list of "war criminals".¹⁸ From Paris he wrote to the Ukrainian American Committee to help him emigrate to the United States but was refused because of his so-called "fascist past"¹⁹

In 1946 Donzow went to London, and from there he eventually emigrated to Montreal, Quebec. Between 1949-1952 he lectured on Ukrainian literature at the University of Montreal. While in Montreal, he continued his writing and then eventually retired to the small northern Laurentian town of St. Faustin, where he died on March 30, 1973. He is buried at the Ukrainian cemetery in Bound Brook, New Jersey in the United States of America.

Ш

In his study of Donzow, Michael Sosnowsky divided Donzow's career into four periods.²⁰ The first is before 1914 when Donzow was active in the Ukrainian Social Democratic Workers' Party, and allegedly an "orthodox Marxist". The second is between 1914-1918 when Donzow served in the Skoropadsky government. The third is the "*Vistnyk* period" between 1921-1939, and the fourth is after 1939, and in exile.

Sosnowsky argues that ay examining Donzow's major works of each period, we can grasp the shape and evolution of his political thought.

Sosnowsky considers three Donzow essays to be noteworthy from the pre-1914 period: "School and Religion" (1909), "The Present Political Situation of the Nation and Our Programme" (1913), and "Modern Moscowphilism" (1913). From the 1914-1918 period Donzow's most significant essay is considered to be "Engels, Marx and Lasalle on 'Unhistoric Nations'" (1914). During the "Vistnyk-period" (1922-1939) his most significant works were the Basis of Our Politics

(1921), Nationalism (1926), and The Intoxicant of Socialism (1936). And finally, after, 1939 Donzow's most significant books are considered to be The Spirit of Our Past (1944), From Mysticism to Politics (1957) and The Invisible Tablets of Taras Shevchenko (1961).

In "School and Religion" (1909) Donzow questioned the compatibility of religion with science, and condemned the ethic of the Catholic and Orthodox churches.²¹ In "The Present Political Situation of the Nation and Our Programme" (1913) he argued for Ukraine's "separation from Russia" but not for outright "independence".²² In "Modern Moscowphilism" (1913) Donzow accused both the Ukrainian bourgeoisie and the Ukrainian Social Democrats of "Moscowphilism", and argued that Ukrainians should separate themselves from "the influence of Russian culture and political ideas".²³

In the essay on "Engels, Marx, and Lasalle on 'Unhisoric Nations'" (1914) Sosnowsky finds Donzow's first intellectual disagreement with the Russian Social Democrats' interpretation of Marxism, and considers this essay as Donzow's last piece from a socialist or Marxist viewpoint.²⁴ In it, Donzow challenged the notion that the coming revolution could only be carried out by "historical nations".²⁵ He challenged Engels' thesis that "Slavs have no future and, cited Bakunin, Kautsky, Bauer, and Merring who accused the Social Democrats of being "old fashioned learned parrots who forgot the methodology of Marx and Engels".²⁶ Donzow said that one could not simply declare nations to be "historic" or "unhistoric". One had to submit all nations to the test of three questions: 1) Does a national movement serve civilization?, 2) Do its aims enhance progress? 3) And does a national movement serve the interests of general human advancement?²⁷ Only then could the historical status of any nation be assessed.

In 1924 the historian Ravich-Cherkawsky wrote that Donzow's essays incited Lenin to pay more attention to the "nationalities question" and forced Lenin to "show his hand".²⁸ But at the time, Lenin accused Donzow of being a "national socialist" and this charge instigated the hostility toward Donzow which later grew among both Russian and Ukrainian Social Democrats.²⁹

Having turned against Social Democracy and the Russian revolutionary agenda, Donzow's thought and ideology became crystalized in the "Vistnyk period" (1922-1939). In this period Donzow's thought acquired certain features which eventually had a significant impact on Ukrainians, the formation of Ukrainian nationalism, and the ideology of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists which was founded in 1929.

This ideology was articulated by Donzow in the 1920's in what are perhaps his two greatest works: *Basis of Our Politics* (1921) and *Nationalism* (1926).

IV

Donzow's *Basis of Our Politics* (1921) was written in the climate of catastrophe and revisionism among the Ukrainian intelligentsia, many of whom became resigned to the apparent success of the Russian Revolution. Due to the atmosphere, Donzow addressed himself to what he thought were the five major issues of his time: the nature of the world conflict, the reasons for the conflict, Ukrainian foreign and domestic policy, the reasons for the failure of the Ukrainian Revolution, and the basis for future Ukrainian politics.³⁰

Having examined the Russian revolution, Donzow became convinced that mankind was confronted with an unprecedented historical conflict. This conflict was not between social classes, but between civilizations, or two cultural-religious ideals. Put another way, it was a conflict between two worlds; on one side Russia, and on the other Europe; between "Orient" and "Occident"; or East versus West. (Donzow, of course, was not first to hold this view. It was previously expressed by De Custine (1839), Karl Marx in his essay on the "Eastern Question" (1853), Urquart (1853) and the French historian Michelet (1871).)

Donzow's conviction was that the Russian revolution of 1917 was not a break (or "discontinuity") with the Russian past but a continuation of it. In the past Moscow considered itself the "Third Rome" and now it considered itself the centre of the "Third Internationale". In spite of the social and economic content of the revolutionary agenda, the conflict was in fact national and cultural. This conflict was "irreconcilable" because it was between what he called Russian "chaos" which naturally led to "absolutism", and European "order" which was the necessary precondition for "democracy". Most Russians (with the exception of the Westernizing minority) were "Slavophiles" who were fundamentally "hostile to the European principle" of democracy.

Ukraine had a special relationship to this confict because it was the "first step on the road to Europe, the Mediterranean, the Middle East and Africa". Russia was inherently hostile to "European imperialism", "German philosophy", the "French bourgeoisie" and "English professionalism". Hence Ukrainian foreign and domestic policies must be based on this knowledge.

Therefore Donzow submitted two principles as a basis for Ukrainian politics. Foreign policy must be based on "separation from Russia", and domestic policy on "the cultivation of Western culture".

Like the German historian Ranke, Donzow argued for the "primacy of foreign policy" over domestic policy. Since the prime goal of any nation was to gain or maintain its independence, therefore domestic policy had to be a handmaiden to foreign policy in order to keep the nation fit for the "war" that naturally reigned in international relations. On the other hand, no nation remained independent only through its own efforts, therefore Ukraine must "link" its interests to the interests of other nations. Ukraine ought to seek support from "every source interested in dividing Russia". Any other policy would be "reactionary" or an example of "Don Quixotism".

Ukraine's foreign policy should be based on "national interests" and "realism", and stand on guard against all temptations toward "cosmopolitanism, pacifism, federalism or socialism". It must be allied to the European "imperial idea" which has been the source of most human "advancement". Before World War I, this meant linking Ukrainian foreign policy to Austria, now after the War, it meant linking Ukraine's foreign policy to "France and England" and the Atlantic world.

The linkage of Ukrainian foreign policy to that of other nations interested in dividing Russia implied the immediate resolution of "small problems with neigh-

bouring countries". For example, the Ukrainian conflict with Poland was merely "local". It involved only "part of the (Ukrainian) nation". Therefore, Ukrainians should enter into a Ukrainian-Polish alliance as a first step towards building a larger bloc of allies (including Romania and Hungary) joined in an "anti-Russian European Union" of nations.

The aim of Ukrainian domestic policy should be a "cultured and politically independent nation". This aim could be achieved by implementing two programmes: "Westernization" and "traditionalism". Ukraine should decisively "turn to the West" where it would find "Western Christendom", the achievements of the "work ethic", and the "victories of the bourgeois revolution", "individual freedom", the separation of church and state", "democracy" and a free "peasantry".

Donzow reached these conclusions as a result of his analysis of the "catastrophe of 1917-1920", that is, the failure of the Ukrainian Revolution. His analysis of the Ukrainian Revolution focused on three aspects: the peasantry the intelligentsia and what he called the "Ukrainian Ulster" comprised of the Russian, Polish and Jewish minorities in Ukraine.

He assessed that the Ukrainian peasantry has proved itself to be "beautiful material" for revolution and national independence; hence no fault with them. But he found the Ukrainian intelligentsia wanting. During the Revolution the Ukrainian intelligentsia proved to be "spiritually crippled" largely because it was "russified" and "provincialized".

Donzow's analysis of the "Ukrainian Ulster" was ambiguous. On the whole, Donzow thought the Russian, Polish, and Jewish minorities of Ukraine had been a negative factor in the Ukrainian Revolution, but not so of necessity. The "Ukrainian Ulster" became a negative factor because of the flaws in the Ukrainian intelligentsia. The intelligentsia was caught unprepared and failed to provide a constructive vision or a "clear idea". Had the Ukrainian intelligentsia provided a clear programme, the "Ukrainian Ulster" could have become a positive factor in the Revolution and in the independent Ukrainian state.

Donzow argued that the Ukrainian "peasant-bourgeois" revolution of 1917 for "land and freedom" failed because the Ukrainian intelligentsia failed to provide intellectual leadership, and did not reflect the aspirations of the Ukrainian peasantry. Ukraine's future was with its peasantry and the Ukrainian intelligentsia's ability to articulate and intellectually mirror its aspirations. (*To be continued*)

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- 6. Sosnowsky, p.63.
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- 40. Roman Olynyk, p. 47.

CORRECTION: In Ukrainian Review No. 2, 1983 pp. 94-96 under the book review entitled An Etymological Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language: Vol. II By J.B. Rudnyc'kyj, the name of the Reviewer, Mr. Stephen P. Hallick, Jr. has been ommited. We apologise to Mr. S. Hallick for this unfortunate oversight. Eds.

Wolodymyr T. ZYLA

THE RISE OF EXILE LITERATURE: A Survey of Modern Ukrainian Poetry

By the end of 1948, there began a great exodus of Ukrainians to the United States and Canada.* When most Ukrainian writers in the early fifties left Germany and Austria, MUR ceased its activity (1954) as well as did its associated journals. The Ukrainian authors were then scattered among six countries — United States, Canada, Germany, Argentina, Brazil, and Australia.

Ukrainian writers arriving in the United States and Canada found some successful traditions set by their predecessors, previous Ukrainian immigrants. There had already been two waves of Ukrainian immigration to the New World, pioneer immigration, and that after the First World War. This was the third wave, after the Second World War. The literary production of the first and the second waves of immigration were quite extensive. Watson Kirkconnell has written about poetry of that period:

> At least ten thousand Ukrainian poems lie mouldering in the back files of the Ukrainian Canadian papers. Of the hundred or so Ukrainians publishing poetry today in Ukrainian, the majority turn out the simplest kind of ballad measure, with thought and expression ranging all the way from flabby doggerel up to genuine human power.⁴⁴

The most talented Ukrainian poet in Canada of the early pioneering period was Sava Chernetsky, who in his poetry distinctly pictured the hard life of Ukrainian settlers. The poetry of Semen Kovbel, another immigrant, was even more promising. I. Zbura, M. Gowda, S. Chernetskyj, T. Fedyk, and others began Ukrainian literature in Canada.⁴⁵ A similar situation developed in the United States. The first literary output was rather ethnographic in character; the poetry had folkloristic overtones and was highly reminiscent of the native land.⁴⁶ The first truly talented poet was Dmytro Zakharchuk. A significant place in early Ukrainian poetry in the United States also belongs to the late Matvij Kostyshyn, who wrote poetry primarily for his own personal satisfaction.

The most talented representatives of Ukrainian poets in Canada and America directly before the coming of the new authors from Europe were Honoré Ewach, Mykyta I. Mandryka, and Oleksander Nepryc'kyj-Granovs'kyj.⁴⁷ Ewach (1900-1964) began writing poetry in 1917 and published it at first in Ukrainian newspap-

^{*}Continuation from Ukrainian Review №2, 1983

ers. In 1931 he published his collection *Bojava surma Ukrajiny* (Battle Trumpet of Ukraine) and the narrative about Hryhorij Skovoroda, and eighteenth-century Ukrainian philospher. As a lyricist, Ewach is a poet of love and of the heroic struggle of Ukraine for freedom which he describes passionately and with deep understanding.⁴⁸ Nepryc'kyj-Granovs'kyj (1887-1976) is known for four fine collections of poetry *Iskry viry* (1953, Sparks of the Faith), *Osinni uzory* (1957, Autumnal Patterns), *Hymny sonstju* (1958, Anthems to the Sun), and *Sny zrujnovanoho zamku* (1964, The Dreams of the Ruined Castle). His poetry is rich in refined expression, aesthetic simplicity, and melodiousness. He learned much from the literary genius of Maksym Ryl's'kyj.

Mandryka (1886-1979) is probably the most representative of the group because his works encompass a greater variety of moods ranging from sensuous eroticism to philosophic meditations. His first important collection of poetry, *Pisni pro Anemonu* (1918, Songs About Anemone), appeared in Kyiv. As a passionate tribute to his youth, this collection exhibits a wide and changeable scope of feelings. In 1941, a quarter of a century later, he published his first collection of poetry in exile — *Mij sad*(My Orchard). It shows Mandryka as a more mature poet, free of the sentimentality and youthful passions that were so characteristic of his first collection. Then at the age of 71, came a new burst of creativity which opened with the collection *Zolota osin'* (1958, The Golden Autumn). This collection contains recent poetry and some which dates back to 1918, Because it is a collected edition, the impression that it produces is varied and is accompanied by an unevenness in style. It is, however, wide in depiction of human emotions with trubutes to Ukraine and to Canada, the land of the poet's adoption:

> Thou, like Mother Ukrayina, Has received us to thy breast; Thou from suffering's arena Has redeemed us in thy West.⁴⁹

The following years brought new collections of Mandryka's poetry: Radist' (1959, Happiness), Symfonija vikiv (1961, Symphony of Centuries), Sontsetsvit (1965, Helianthus), Vyno zhyttja (1970, Vine of Life), Zavershennja lita (1975, The Completion of Summer). In the meantime he also wrote narrative poems such as Kanada (1961, Canada), Mazepa (1960), Vik Petljury (1966, The Age of Petljura), and others. Despite his advanced age, Mandryka constantly grows artistically. His muse appears "as youthful as it has ever been, and continues to inspire him to ever greater heights of poetic endeavour."⁵⁰ In the poem Kanada. Mandryka presents a new approach to the Canadian cultural mosaic; he reveals the harmony of Canadian life and the honest struggle for order through effort. The poem leaves with a sense of quiet strength, steadfastness, and purpose. However, Mandryka reached his true poetic height with his Mazepa. The epic poem is the answer to Pushkin's *Poltava* and as such reminds us sometimes of its structure and stylistic elaboration. This poem represents the best Mandryka has written and places him in the top rank of Ukrainian-Canadian poets. It is a significant contribution not only to the interests of Ukraine, but of Canada and other nations,

and, as such, deserves an English translation and recognition in Canadian literature.

Another poet who belongs to the third wave of immigration and who, in 1949. came to the United States and, in 1960, moved to Canada is Yar Slavutych. Before the war, while he was still in Ukraine, he published only a few poems. When he went into exile, his poetical creativity grew and matured. In 1959 his Englishlanguage Oasis was published in New York; it is a collection of selected poems translated from the Ukrainian by Morse Manly in co-operation with the author. This book presents skilfully selected poems from the previously published works as well as unpublished ones. It indicates talent, freshness, and a profound understanding of poetry. Slavutych's verse is melodious and is "a happy synthesis of heart, spirit, and mind, enlightened by learning, experience and forceful inspiration."⁵¹ Slavutych published another Oaza (Oasis) in Ukrainian in 1960. In it, he reveals that Ukraine is his only oasis in the world. It was followed in 1962 by Majestat (Majesty), meditations on historiosophy of Ukraine. Both of these collections blend the impulses of life and of literary creation quite closely together. Slavutych's confident lyrical excitement is expressed by powerful verse, especially in his Petrarchan sonnets dealing with majestic art of Florence. Trofeji (1963, Trophies), his collected works, represent his poetic output between 1938 and 1963. In this book, he appears as a sensitive artist with profound poetical feelings; the work exhibits the heights and depths of his musings. His cycle "Northern Lights" pays a tribute to the far north of Canada. The last two collections Zavojovnyky prerij (1968, The Conquerors of the Praires; 1974 second edition, with an English translation) and Mudroshchi Mandriv (1972, The Wisdom of Travelling) occupy a very special place in the poet's creativity. The Conquerors of the Prairies portrays the modern conquerors who have brought the wilderness of the Canadian West in touch with civilization, who have turned the forests into wide fields and laid the foundations for a new life. The chief virtues of this book are sincerity, depth, and stylistic brevity. Exemplary are these verses from the cycle, "Northern Lights":

> I hear, polar world, your stillness And death's silence there; I am a heart lulled by chillness, And warmed by despair.

Like tundra from happiness weeping In spun silver strand, Singer of solitude's keeping, Paint my soul's own land.⁵²

His last collection, *The Wisdom of Travelling*, written during the sixties while on trips to Europe, Asia and around the world, is loaded with meaningful observations couched in an effective poetic resonance. *Zibrani tvory*, *1938-1978* (1978, Collected Works [jubilee ed.]) includes Slavutych's collected poems written in Ukraine, Western Europe, the United States, and Canada between 1938 and 1978. The book also includes his recently written poem *Moja doba* (My Epoch), a long epic consisting of 625 octaves. The title 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. Thus what we get in the 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.⁵³ His use of epithets is colouful, and his nouns and verbs, including neologisms, are properly chosen to make his images expressive. Slavutych's poetry is imaginative, constructive, traditional and innovative at the same time. Its intrinsic value lies in the fact that it presents a concise record of the emotional and social aspects of life.⁵⁴

Slavutych's poetic achievements found deserved recognition in December of 1982, when he was awarded a first literary prize by the Ukrainian literary fund named after Ivan Franko for his *Zibrane tvory*, 1938-1978. In the same year he was also awarded a title of poet laureate of the Academia Scientiarum Mohylo-Mazepiana Ukrainensis. In 1981 he received recognition by the Ukrainian Musical Association of America for his libretto for the cantata "The Conquerors of the Prairies."

Another poet of the older generation who settled in Canada after the war is Levko Romen (1881-1981). He is the author of several poetical collections — *Peredhrimja* (1953, Before the Storm), *Poemy* (1956, Poems), and *Dub-nelyn* (1969, The Live Oak). As a poet Romen likes to hunt for rarely used and little-known words which he skilfully applies to his work. He considers that the true poet should care for language by preserving it and by cultivating it. The last collection contains some poetry written on Canadian motifs *Vodospad Niogary* (Niagara Falls) and others.

The poetess Larysa Murovych (born 1917) began to write in Ukraine. In 1969 she published her third collection of poetry *Pionery svjatoje zemli* (The Pioneers of the Holy Land) which was followed by *Zhar-ptakha* (1971, Thunderbird) and *Jev-shan* (1971, Herb). Her poetry is rich in philosophical and old Ukrainian mythological elements and is presented in the heroic style. She understands the requirments for the beauty of words and uses them skilfully. Her work is original and interesting. She is also known as a successful translator of the American poet Emily Dickinson.

The Ukrainian poet V. Skorups'kyj (born 1912) also lives in Canada. He has written two collections of poetry published in Austria and four which appeared in Canada.⁵⁶ His *Iz dzherel* (1961, From the Founts) and the sonnets *Nad mohyloju* (1963, At the Grave) represent quiet, restrainted but thoughtful poetry, not linguistically elaborate. Skorups'kyj does not always strive for poetic refinement but rather for the concentration of thought that dominates this and others of his books.⁵⁷

Zhal' i hniv (1966, Distress and Anger) and Skryzhali tuhy (1973, Tablets of Sorrow) are collections of Dan Mur (died 1978) of Edmonton. The first one is made of three parts of which "Prolisky" (Glades) is the most lyrical and the most promising for the poet. Mur's poetry is melodious and flowing, and some has been set to music. A work that is exceptionally good is his "Sl'ozy sertsja" (Tears of the Heart), in which the personal motives are deeply interwoven with the description of Ukraine

under the Soviets. A significant poetic talent is shown in the poem "Canada" which conveys a profound feeling for the adopted country.

Among Ukrainian modernistic poets in Canada we should also mention Danylo Struk (born 1940) who published an interesting collection *Gamma Sigma* (1963), Boris Oleksandriv (1921-1979) in his collection *Tuha za sontsem* (1967, Longing For the Sun) proved to be a fine lyricist. Along the same lines he wrote his *Kaminnyj bereh* (1975, The Stony Waterside), a poetry about love, life, and death. Oleksandriv's *Povorot po slidu* (1980, The Return on the Footprint) is a posthumous collection of his selected poetry. Here entered his best works representing his lyrical propensities, his style and mood. Vira Vorsklo and collection of lyrics *Lysty bez adresy* (1967, Letters Without Address), and Teodor Matvijenko and his neoclassical *Sonety* (1961, Sonnets) should also be mentioned.

Je. Malanjuk lived in the United States until his death in 1968. After leaving Germany he published three collections of poetry⁵⁸ and the poem "P'jata symfonija" (1953, The Fifth Symphony). His *Serpen* (1964, August) was the ninth and the last volume of his poetry. In this collection we find the fruits of his creative spirit over the years. The title has a symbolic meaning because August is the last month of the summer, the month in which man assembles the achievements of his work. For Malanjuk it is the zenith of his creative life and the symbol of his maturity. He looks quietly at his past and sums up its results. Here the poet sees also the complexity of life, and he becomes convinced that no discovery, however important it may be, will help man to understand the sense of existence.

In New York Vasyl Barka's Okean (The Ocean) appeared in 1959. Critics consider this publication a major event in the development of Ukrainian poetry. For example, Lawrynenko says: "Barka's Okean shows that after thirty years of downfall Ukrainian poetry begins by a miracle to rise up."⁵⁹ Bohdan Rubchak⁶⁰ compares Barka's Okean to the real ocean because at the first look they have much in common especially the fast, uniform surface. However, a closer look at the poem shows clearly how its aesthetic surface changes in its own rhythm. Deserving of special mention is the poem's complex symbolism which Rubchak discusses completely. Barka's Okean is the first oceanic theme in Ukrainian literature. It is written in neo-baroque, a style that had been created the Ukrainian literary renaissance (1917-1930) but was later destroyed by the Bolsheviks.⁶¹ The first part of Barka's Okean appeared as Trojanden-Roman in a German translation (with Ukrainian on facing pages) by E.Kottmeier in 1956 and was well received by German criticism. Barka, a modernist (author of five collections of poetry)⁶² has something in common with the Spanish lyricist Garcia Lorca. Barka himself lives entirely in the world of poetry and creates poetry for poetry. He considers the Bible the foremost poetical work of world poetry. His most recent work Svidok dlja sonstja shestykrylykh (1981, The Witness for the Sun of the Six-Winged) is his highest poetical achievement because it is truly independent and truly extraordinary.⁶³ It is a novel in verse and a summary of the poet's life that concerns its material and spiritual aspects as well as his testimony before man and God. The work invents at once a new poetry and is crucial in defining the relationship between historical circumstances and the poetic imagination — out of materials

that were actually present in the poet's life. Finally, it attests to the fact that Barka probably has a greater sense for experimentation and innovation in poetry than any other major Ukrainian poet. His work has been praised for its melodiousness of language, richness of metaphors, and new creative formation of words. For this reason Barka became the first laureate of the literary prize funded by Omeljan and Tetjana Antonovych for 1981.

Another Ukrainian poet in America is Leonid Lyman (born 1922) who has no published book but has written some 50 poems that have appeared in literary magazines. He has a great knowledge of artistic words as well as of life. A poet who successfully continues the traditions of the Ukrainian tragic lyric is Oleksa Veretenchenko (born 1918). His *Dym vichnosty* (1951, The Smoke of Eternity) is characterized by a masterful rhythm, accurate rhymes, plasticity of imagery and profound internal melodiousness. His *Chorna dolyna* (1953, The Black Valley) depicts the tragedy of the freeing and destruction of Ukrainian prisoners, who accepted Tartar ways of life, by Sich Otaman Ivan Sirko. This poem reveals Veretenchenko as a lyrical-epic poet who is capable of handling tragic events and of resenting them in a skilful and elaborate way. This poetic inclination helped him in his translation of Byron's *Mazepa*. Recently he published a fine collection of poetry *Zamors'ki vyna* (1980, Oversea Vines) in which poetical form and profound content play a crucial role and reveal his concern for good pictorial and lyric verse, one directly linked with his nature and creation.⁶⁴

Bohdan Krawciw (1904-1975), noted as a translator of R.H. Rilke, published his first collection of poetry *Doroha* (The Road) as early as 1929. His largest collection of verse Sonety i strofy (1933, Sonnets and Strophes) is probably his finest poetry. It was written in the Polish prison where the author was detained for his Ukrainian nationalistic activity. The mood of those sonnets is appropriate to prison conditioning, for it reflects a sinking to despair and rising to sunny crests of optimism. It is neo-classical in style, highly refined in expression, and dressed in chiselled poetic form; it depicts life when one's physical movements are restricted. In 1940 Krawciw published Ostannja osin (The Last Autumn), in 1941 Pid chuzhymy zorjamy (Under the Alien Stars), and in 1974 Hlosarij (Glossary). As the author says this latest publication is "a dictionary of secret, forgotten and not always understood words." It consists exclusively of sonnets which entered this collection in an alphabetical order. Each sonnet carries a motto derived from old ritual, demonological, historical, and even literary works. The title of the verse and its motto form the theme for each sonnet. The sonnets convey how the old Ukrainian symbolism may be important to modern man, and the poet investigates modern man's ability to comprehend old and forgotten ideas. The themes of the collection deal with the fate of man and the fate of society. The poet tries to explain the past and even penetrates into the future. Krawciw's sonnets are interesting because of their themes and their form. He gives them a plastic perfection, makes them organic and far from being too intellectual, too experimental. Although these sonnets were written in 1949, they are fresh and speak directly to our generation.65

The poet Wadym Lesytch (1909-1982; real name Volodymyr Kirshak) has

several collections of verse, *Lirychnyj zoshyt* (1953, Lyrical Notebook), *Poemy* (1954, Poems), *Rozmova z baťkom* (1957, A Talk With Father), *Krejdjane kolo* (1960, A Chalk Circle), and *Predmetnist nezvidkil* (1972, Subjectivity from Nowhere). These books are the continuation of his literary achievements from the thirties, when he established himself as a poet. His poetry is passionate, musical, and highly picturesque. He likes to contemplate the state of humanity, and he frequently depends upon his own knowledge of Christianity. In addition to his poetry collections, Lesytch's works appeared in various Ukrainian literary magazines. He also had his poetry translated into English and German. Lesytch was the Vice President of the American Branch of the International P.E.N. Club.

Svjatoslav Hordyns'kyj (born 1906) also lives in the United States. He continues to pursue his talent as a poet in addition to being a critic and a painter. He has four poetic collections⁶⁶ that testify to his experimentations with muses. He toils at the perfection of phraseology, uses classical forms of expressions, but remains a Romantic. He translates works of various European poets and of such Americans as Poe and Whitman.

Ostap Tarnawsky (born 1917) is noted for his lyricism and philosophical approach to life. His thoughts are moving continuously between the present and the past, so that actual experiences merge with previous incidents in his drive for beauty and depth of thought. The detachment necessary for Tarnawsky to see beauty and order in life experiences is often afforded by the moments of vision in which the present is temporarily displaced by memories of the past. But above all he is in a constant search for good and humane qualities in which the actual work of art thus merges into a goal of his life. There is nothing obscure in his poetry for it is illuminated by moments of vision. Thus what he has to say in his poetry is interesting and deserves more scrutiny than the usual brief citation of admiration for good and profound verse. He is the author of four poetry collections *Slova i mriji* (1948, Words and Dreams), *Zhyttja* (1952, Life), *Mosty* (1956, Bridges), and *Samotnje derevo* (1960, The Solitary Tree). He is also known as a translator from German, English, American, and Polish. His translations are noted for lofty imagination, deep scholarship, and a good mastery of verse forms.⁶⁷

Mykhajlo Katchaluba, by profession a medical doctor, sees poetry differently from the other poets. He is laconic in his expression and probes below the surface of life, laying bare the motives of his verses. He often concentrates on apparent trivialities that form for him a necessary poetic background for the creation of a lyrical atmosphere. He strictly perceives the inextricability between living and dying, while keeping his own mind alert and aspiring. He is the author of four poetry collections: *Pol'ovi dzvinochky* (1966, Bluebells of the Field), *Bul'varamy sertsja* (1971, Along the Boulevards of the Heart), *Vil'nym krylom* (1972, By a Free Wing), and *Vidlunnja dushi mojeji* (1980, The Echo of my Soul).⁶⁸

A very gifted poet of irony and self-scrutiny capable of expressing profound verities and philosophical thoughts is Babaj (Bohdan Nyzhankivs'kyj; born 1909). In 1976 he published *Karuselja virshiv* (A Merry-Go-Round of Various Pieces of Poetry) consisting of lyrics, satire, verse of the grotesque, etc. The theme of the city L'viv dominates this work with all the intricately interesting remi-

niscences of that unforgettable past. The poet sometimes skilfully plays with individual words or with their variants in order to display his sparkling wit and occasionally to create astonishment. However, the overall deep sorrow of the collection can be easily characterized and summarized by one of his verses from "Oda do tuhy" (An Ode on Sorrow):

> Disconsolate Sorrow, lamentable necessity, So blue for me. Heaven of my homeland. And never grow dark in the foreign land.⁶⁹

(To be continued)

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A NEW BOOK ON UKRAINIAN LITERATURE "SYMONENKO_A STUDY IN SEMANTICS" by Igor Shankovsky is a newly published book in English about Vasvl Symonenko, one of the most famous Ukrainian poets of the 1960's, and his literary works which started a new renaissance of Ukrainian literature under the Soviet regime. The book, in hard covers, has 212 pages and includes a comprehensive bibliography, an index and an appendix with several poems and extracts from Symonenko's "Diary". Price: United Kingdom £3.00USA & Canada \$8.00 Other countries equivalent of US dollars. Trade discounts are available for orders of 5 or more copies. Orders for this book to be sent to: Ukrainian Publishers Ltd. 200, Liverpool Rd., London, N1 1LF, Great Britain.

Ivan MIRTSCHUK

HISTORY OF UKRAINIAN CULTURE (Part 8)

Literature

The literature of every nation must be regarded as a direct expression of its creative power on the one hand and the end product of the effect of foreign influences from abroad. The individual strength and the proper character of a national organism are demonstrated by the way it absorbs incoming elements without difficulty but at the same time processes and transforms them to suit its own nature. In time, out of the conflict of different currents a uniform structure develops which predominantly reflects the spiritual characteristics of a people and also the external circumstances under which it must live.

The Ukrainian nation after a short, though glorious period of independent statehood in the Middle Ages, lost its independence and for many centuries had to bear the yoke of foreign rule. There arose among the representatives of Ukrainian literature a heightened feling of love for their people and homeland and at the same time the desire to fight for their liberation. This national tone powerfully echoed by Ukrainian literature is equally anchored in the spiritual disposition and historical fate of Ukrainians. Ukrainian literature of the oldest period, the Kyiv period, was mostly linked with Christianity. We can assume with full justification that both Greek Culture as a result of the trade links between Kyiy and Byzantium and also Latin Literature and the language albeit through the mediation of the Norman Vikings, has been known to the ancestors of present day Ukrainians before Christianity. We may also presume that contact with these spiritual values stimulated the creative talents of the native population; therefore we can date the first literary endeavours from that period. Only the vital relics are missing which would prove our hypotheses. We are therefore compelled to locate the beginning of Ukrainian Literature in the period after the conversion to Christianity in 988 since it was at this time that Greek and Church Slavonic Literature in its full compass and wealth on its way across Bulgaria began to penetrate Ukrainian territory and thereby prepared the ground for the later work of native writers.

THE OLD PERIOD (11th - 12th Century).

Almost the entire literary output of the early period originated from the spiritual bosom of the monasteries, the Christian cultural centres at that time. It is therefore not surprising that the literature was entirely religious and therefore seemed quite inaccessible to the masses who, though they were externally won over to the new faith, internally remained loyal to the traditions of the old heathen religion. Church Slavonic became the official language and means of communication. Consequently, it became the first literary language in the Kyiv State. It was gradually permeated by popular idioms and became more comprehensible to wider circles or the people. As in the case of the language, under the influence of the life which pulsated round the centres of spiritual learning a change of theme occurred: the originally almost exclusively ecclesiastical orientation of literature became more worldly. In some cases church and secular themes developed on parallel lines. Other subjects such as history, geography, cosmography and even physiology became literary topics. In due course the theologians lost their dominance, even representatives of the knightly order began to write. The compilations of the Chronicles which had formerly been in the sole hands of the monks began to show secular themes. In the 12th century the culture of the Kyiv State reached its peak and subsequently went into decline as a result of the nomadic invasions mainly in the 13th century.

In addition to the copious translations of church-religious works and the main European works the following are examples of original Ukrainian culture: "Rus'ka Pravda" (Law of Rus-Ukraine), the Kyivan equivalent of the "Sachsenspiegel" an important monument of Ukrainian legal terminology. As regards the Chronicles, the archives of Ukrainian historical research the first of which appeared in 1039, one should mention firstly Nestor's Chronicle (beginning of the 12th century), the Kyiv Chronicle (beginning of the 12th century - 1201), and the Chernyhiv and Pereyaslav Chronicles. The Galician-Volhynian Chronicle (1201-92) belonging to a later period was distinguished by a much wider scope of interest, a plastic and masterly representation indicating a high level of development, a chivalrous spirit and a certain penchant for battle descriptions. Old-Ukrainian Hagiography developed in close relation with the Chronicles. The theological literature of the period with a moralistic-didactic character had eminent representatives in Ilarion (1051) the first native Ukrainian Metropolitan of Kyiv, a champion of the emancipation of the Old-Ukrainian Church from the tutelage of Constantinople; Metropolitan Klementiy Smoljatyč (1147-1155), a man of extensive knowledge and advocate of education controlled by the clergy; and Bishop Cyril Turivskyj, a master of rhetoric. In addition to the philosophy oriented school there arose a group of writers who wrote in the spirit of Christian morality. The same moral character was a feature of the testament of the Kyiv Prince Volodymyr Monomakh (1055-1125) "Pouchennja ditjam" as evidenced by the interesting explanations of the religious and social duties of a ruler. In the Chronicles we find fragments of poetic works on historical personalities such as Olha, Volodymyr and Rohnida, on sea battles, besieged cities, the Golden Gates of Kyiv, including the names of famous bards such as Bojan and Mytusa who probably played a similar role to the medieval Minnensanger though their themes differed in composition. These are the remnants of a very rich secular literature whose monuments, however, have been mostly lost. We can gain an approximate idea of the high quality of this literature from a preserved masterpiece "Slovo o polku Ihorevim" in which the anonymous author sings of the ill-fated campaign of Prince Ihor, Vsevolod, Svjatoslav and Volodymyr against the Polovtsi. A heroic

song, it dates from before 1187 and consists of a series of short but vivid impressionistic pictures each with its own colour, rhythm and mood. It does not imitate Homer, the Nordic Sagas or Hildebrand's Song but is a completely original Ukrainian poem which nevertheless has distinct Nordic overtones.

So much for a generally outlined approximate picture of the development of Ukrainian literature in the early period. It is not possible to have an exhaustive account since most of the literary evidence of the period was lost during the centuries of nomadic invasions and the ensuing destruction of the monasteries and their libraries. When we look back almost a millenium and bear in mind that the works were only available in a limited number and that creative work was limited to the narrow circles of the upper strata, these literary relics alone which need not necessarily be regarded as the foremost products of the period, are sufficient evidence for us to conclude that the Kyiv period can be generally regarded as the "Golden Age" both for Ukrainian Literature and Ukrainian Culture.

In the second half of the 14th century the territory of the former Kyiv State was annexed by Lithuania while the western region after the death of the ruling dynasty came under Poland. The Lithuanian rulers adopted Ukrainian culture with its Byzantine and Western European elements, gave it stately prestige and thus contributed to its resurgence. An interesting relic of the period, the "Lithuanian Statute" is based on old-Ukrainian law. It stipulated amongst other things that all official documents had to be written in the Ruthenian language. Ruthenian was the language for diplomatic dealings with Moscow, Moldavia, and the Tartars. At the time of the Jagellonian dynasty in Poland who were of Lithuanian descent, old-Ukrainian literature and even the Orthodox faith were highly regarded. Polish culture by comparison did not achieve particular heights until almost half way through the 16th century. Thus the influence of the spiritual currents from Eastern Europe stretched as far as Poland.

The literature of the 14th and 15th centuries has been less researched. What work has been done in this field suggests that it was only a reflection of the heights reached in the early period. Its general features bear the stamp of a transitory phase. However, we note that Western European influences are stronger than before.

RENAISSANCE, REFORMATION & BAROQUE

The Reformation during the 16th century penetrated Ukrainian territory only gradually while Protestantism which was unable to meet the needs of the Slavic spirit only achieved transient success on Ukrainian territory. Literature in the Ukrainian vernacular developed at first independently of the Reformation. The first translation of the Bible permeated by elements of the vernacular was begun in 1515 by the Byelorussian Franz Skoryna, a graduate of the Universities of Cracow and Padua. The aim was to give the masses a general understanding of the Holy Writ. There was a need for spiritual education and an improvement in the situation of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church which had been disrupted, resulted in a

rebirth of spiritual life in Ukraine. This led to the foundation of the first printing works in Zabludiv (1567) by Ivan Fedorovyč the pioneer of the art of printing who had been expelled from Moscow. However, the first Ukrainian books appeared in Cracow at the printing works of the German Schweipold Fiol in 1491-93 and were funded by Prince Konstantyn Ostrožšky whose son Konstantyn Konstantynovych organised the first Ukrainian high school the Academy of Ostrih. Despite its short existence (1580-1608) it produced a whole series of eminent scholars. The Academy was established on church and religious grounds. The plan to publish a critical version of the Bible meant that in order to collaborate scholars had to work at a single location.

Cultural work was largely in the hands of the so-called Brotherhoods (fraterntates) in the larger Ukrainian cities of Lviv (1463), Lučk (1483), Brest (1591), Peremyšl (1592) and finally Kyiv (1615) which were modelled on the guilds and apart from their own interests also turned their attention to the needs of the Church and literature. They established schools (schola pro tractandis liberalibus artibus) on scholastic lines and printing works published textbooks and liturgical works. The scholars grouped round these organisations and the Ostrih Academy and actively participated in the newly kindled campaign for and against the movement for Union with Rome within the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. The direct result of this was a sharp rise in polemical literature which gave birth to many important works.

Encouraged by Prince Ostrožskyj, Chrystophorus Philalet (Bronskyj) a Protestant, wrote in 1598 a work entitled "Apokrisis" in answer to the book written by the Polish Jesuit Piotr Skarga "On the Unity of God's Church". Herasym Smotryckyj one of the publishers of the Ostrih Bible in his main work "The Key to Heaven" gave in the Ukrainian vernacular an apology of the Julian Calendar (1587). His son Meletius Smotryckyj (1587-1633), Archbishop of Polock, published in 1610 the writ "Threnos" on the denationalisation and desertion by the old-Ukrainian nobility of the Orthodox Church. Smotryckyj who later went over to the Uniate movement and defended it passionately in "Apology" (1628) published in 1618 a "Grammar of Church Slavonic" which formed the basis for all subsequent linguistic works until the 19th century. Basilius Surasskyj also a graduate of the Ostrih Academy published in 1588 his "Treatise on the Only and True Orthodox Faith" which contains systematically organised material in defence of the Eastern Church against the ideas of Catholicism. Scholarly circles in Lviv produced a Greek language grammar necessary for the higher Orthodox clergy, "Adelphotes" (1592). A polemic treatise "Perestoroha" (Warning) was subsequently published in 1605-6 by Jurij Rohatynec pointing to the lack of education as the reason for cultural decline and ending with a polemic against the Papacy. The most eminent writer and most important polemicist of the time was a monk on Athos, Ivan Vyšenskyj born in Halychyna in the mid-sixteenth century and died probably in 1625. His works passed from hand to hand expressed strict conservative views and therefore from the outset rejected any idea of Union with Rome.

The supporters of the Union were much less in number than the defenders of Orthodoxy. The Union was supported by such personalities as Metropolitan

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Hipatius Potij (1541-1613); he was a political campaigner and brilliant organiser, eminent polemicist, preacher and historian all in one. His campaign methods were ruthless. He published numerous political works in which not only scientific evidence and argument but no less, incidents from the private lives of opponents figure prominently. Veljamin Rutskyj (1574-1637) was another patron of the Union. He was a metropolitan and reformer of the Order of the Basilian Fathers. In a memorandum sent to Rome he defended the whole Ukrainian nation and protested against the infringements of the Polish nobility.

The most important cultural centre on Ukrainian territory which in the future was to be a decisive influence for both Ukraine and all Eastern Europe, the Kyiv Academy, first a Brotherhood school, was later organised by Petro Mohyla (1596-1647) into an academy. Standards of education there were unusually high for the Eastern Europe of that day. This is demonstrated by the fact that a considerable number of its pupils were foreigners. During its 200 years of activity (1615-1810) it produced a series of scholars and eminent church dignitaries who apart from their work in their homeland organised the Muscovite Church and promoted spiritual life in Russia and the north. Zacharias Kopystenskyi (died 1627) was the author of the monumental "Palynodia" (1622) in which points of contention between the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Church are juxtaposed very skilfully. Kassian Sakovyč (1578-1674) was an ardent polemicist against the Union and Orthodoxy. Pamva Berynda (died 1623) published in Kyiv a Church Slavonic Ukrainian Dictionary. Petro Mohyla himself published among others the "Confessio orthodoxa" fundamental to the Orthodox Faith and "Rituals" (1645). Innokentij Giesel a Ukrainian historian of German descent wrote a history textbook "Synopsis" (1674) which survived 30 editions. Stephan Javorskyj (1658-1722) later President of the Holy Synod in Moscow was the author of "The Rock of the Faith". Teophan Prokopovyč (1681-1722) studied in Germany and at the Jesuit College in Rome was the next Councillor of Peter the Great, Archbishop of Novhorod, Vice-President of the Holy Synod in Moscow and the author of the tragic comedy "Vladimir" and a textbook on poetry and rhetoric written during his teim at the Kyiv Academy. Hryhorij Skovoroda (1722-1794) was one of the later pupils of the Academy. Son of a simple kozak family from the Province of Poltava, he became the most outstanding philosopher in 18th century Eastern Europe. His importance is now being appreciated more and more, hence the ever growing literature about him.

The cultural rebirth in Ukraine instigated by the Brotherhoods and the Kyiv Academy also caused a resurgence in other branches of culture. In drama much work was done by Jakiv Gavatovyč (1598-1697); Dmytro Tuptalo-Rostovskyj (1651-1709); Mytrofan Dovhalevskyj (18th century); in history by Samijlo Velyčko, Hryhoryj Hrabjanka (died 1737) and Hryhorij Poletyka (died 1784); while the plastic arts flourished during Mazepa's hetmanate in Left Bank Ukraine. Ukrainian youth discontent with education at home had been going abroad for a long time especially to German universities. Hetman Rozumovskyj's (1728-1803) intention of founding a Ukrainian university in Baturyn was no longer realisable because of ever increasing oppression by the Russian government. Ukraine's declining importance as a political factor also had an unwholesome effect on literature. The Ukrainian language was banned from schools by the Russian government. The higher strata of Ukrainian society normally the spiritual leaders went over to the Russian side. Many writers changed to using Russian all the more so since the Ukrainian literary language based on Church Slavonic elements went into decline as a result of gradual abandonment.

REBIRTH & ROMANTICISM

At the time of greatest distress a rebirth began, slow and hardly noticeable at first. In 1798 Ivan Kotlarevskyj's (1769-1838) "Eneida" was published. A travesty set in Kotlarevskyj's Ukraine it was written in the Ukrainian vernacular and widely disseminated. It enjoyed great popularity (it is said the Napoleon had a copy in his travel bag) established itself among readers and became the foundation for the further development of Ukrainian literature and culture. A few important writers followed Kotlarevskyj's example. They deserve mention since by using the literary language which stemmed from the vernacular they began to revive the national consciousness both of the masses and the already heavily russified nobility. The striving for cultural independence based on historical and ethnographic studies also took root in the Western Ukrainian territories under Austrian rule where in 1837 the poet Markjan Šaškevyč published the collection of songs "Rusalka Dnistrova" also in the Ukrainian vernacular. Thus the first steps were taken in the rebirth of Ukrainian literature.

The situation of Ukrainians inside the Russian Empire which completely denied the existence of the Ukrainian nation seemed almost hopeless. The position was made worse by the fact that the entire nation consisted mostly of peasant farmers who completely devoid of rights lived in serfdom. However, it was just these supressed masses who gave the nation a genius, the greatest Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861). It was he who with truly prophetic intuition perceived the future course of development of Ukrainian literature and engaged his creative power in that direction. The collection of his poems "Kobzar" (the folk singer) became the gospel of every nationally conscious Ukrainian. Exiled by the Russian government to Kazakhstan because of his convictions the poet suffered great tribulations which contributed to his premature death. Shevchenko's works brought to a brilliant conclusion the previous development of Ukrainian literature. But it was at the same time the starting point of its later flourishing and the source which has been the driving force of further spiritual life in Ukraine until the present day. Pantelejmon Kuliš (1819-1897) the highly creative and versatile writer belonged to Shevchenko's circle. He distinguished himself as an ethnographer, historian, critic and translator.

The 1830's saw the work of the father of the Ukrainian short story and a devout adherent of Ukrainian Romanticism, Hryhorij Kvitka-Osnovjanenko (1778-1843) whose short stories contained major European themes. Marko Vovčok (1843)

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1907) produced some masterly stories on the life of the peasant farmers. Her works have often been translated into foreign languages. Her novel "Marussja" written originally in French became widely popular and was in due course translated into English.

Indeed, Romanticism in Ukrainian literature was represented by many writers. Its ideas referred to the simple folk and their creative powers and must have aroused the particular interest of Ukrainians. In Bukovyna Ukrainian culture was in close touch with members of the German gentry who lived there and found favourable opportunities to develop. Osyp Fedjkovyč (1843-1888) the poet began his literary career here. His lyrical poems show the undoubted influence of Shevchenko while his stories on the life of the *Hutsuly*¹ were influenced by Kvitka and Marko Vovčok.

REALISM & MODERNISM

The Ukrainian character, so receptive to outside influences, naturally could not be cut off from ideas coming from Western Europe also. In the second half of the 19th century Mykhailo Drahomaniv (1841-1895) worked under the spell of these new ideas. He was a professor at the University of Kyiv and then Sofia and an advocate of socialist quasi-internationalist ideas. Drahomaniv influenced Ivan Franko (1856-1916), the poet scholar and politician, next to Shevchenko the most important personality in modern Ukraine. Fran!:o worked in the part of Ukraine ruled by Austria. His poems are a blend of romantic nostalgia about the vanished past of his people, their heroic struggle for a better future and a strain of Drahomaniv-style realism. There are traits of realism in Ivan Nečuj-Levyckyj (1873-1918) whose novels "Clouds" and "On the Black Lake" concentrate on social questions, show a desire to be free from Russia in the cultural sense and have closer ties with the West. Panas Myrnyj (1894-1920) a skilled writer produced stories which are impressive by European standards.

At the turn of the century the number of Ukrainian writers increased. Without doubt Lesja Ukrainka (1872-1913) was one of the most important. She wrote dramatic poems which combine original themes, expressive language and a stark almost masculine characterisation, in a harmonious whole. Her fairy tale play "Lisova Pisnja" technically reminiscent of Gerhart Hauptmann's "Versunkene Glocke", though original in theme, treats the cultural-philosophical theme of man's relation to mature. Her play "Kaminnyj Hospodar" treats the figure of Don Juan in an original way. Lesja Ukrainka belongs to the Ukrainian poets whose works are devoted not only to restricted national themes but also to eternal human questions. Mychajlo Kociubynskyj (1846-1913) died in the same year as Lesja Ukrainka. A master of the short story he expressed his externally perhaps insignificant experiences in powerful, delicately toned water colours. One could scarcely find in other world literature an equivalent *sui generis* of Vasyl Stefanyk

¹ Inhabitants of the Carpathians - trans. note.

(1871-1931). He was a master of the short story who in his short, psychologically vivid sketches depicts the largely tragic life of the Ukrainian peasants. A friend of Stefanyk and also a novelle writer Les Martovyč (1871-1916) was a keen observer both of peasant life and the petty bourgeois Ukrainian intelligentsia. His story "Death of a Peasant" planned as a trilogy was to depict three generations of Ukrainian peasant farmers: serfs, proletarian smallholders and educated freeholders of modern times. He only completed the first. Marko Čeremšyna (1874-1927) also belongs to this group of writers. He wrote impressionistic stories about the lives of the Hutsuly. The neo-romanticist and considerably talented Stepan Vasylčenko, influenced by Hohol and E.T.A. Hoffmann, wrote stories with a symbolic-psychological hue. Volodymyr Vynnyčenko, (1880-1951), a representative of Ukrainian decadence exerted a considerable influence on the Ukrainian public by his not uninteresting plays and novels though only before the Revolution and during the 1920's. His novelle depict social contrasts, contain vivid characters and are elementally direct.

THE MODERN PERIOD & SOVIET UKRAINE

The following members of the modern period deserve particular mention: the impressionist Hryhoryj Čuprynka (1879-1919, shot by the Bolsheviks), the creator of sweet and melodious verse; O. Oles (1878-1944) who died abroad, sang the beauty of the Ukrainian countryside and is known in particular for his collection "The Close Embrace of Joy and Sorrow"; the delicate and exotically charming lyricist Petro Karmanskyi (b. 1878); Bohdan Lepkyi (1872-1941) the historical novelist whose poems echo quiet dreaminess, autumn moods and gentle hopelessness; and finally the undoubtedly gifted symbolist Mychailo Jackiv (b. 1873) who in his search for originality and modern themes did violence to his true nature and spoiled his talent. The writers named above belonged to the group "The Young Muse" which at the turn of the century were influenced by the general mood in Europe and introduced modernism to Ukrainian literature. The Bukovynian writer Olha Kobylanska (1865-1942) was a sympathiser. In her youth under the influence of Nietzsche she created spiritual supermen who nevertheless did not have the strength to break away from their petit bourgeois milieu. Kobylanska excells in descriptions of nature which confronts man as a living entity better than him ("The Battle").

It was the great Ukrainian revolution in Kyiv which first gave a new starting point for the further development of literature and the initial struggles for new means of literary expression.

The declaration of the political independence of Ukraine on 22nd January 1918 and the initial successes in the building of a state formed a firm foundation for the rebirth of Ukrainian culture in general and Ukrainian literature in particular. The young poets took over the leadership and sought to be worthy representatives of movements prevalent in the West: symbolism, classicism, neo-classicism, impressionism, expressionism and futurism. They achieved considerable success compared with the other nations of Eastern Europe. Even when the young Ukrainian state was not able to withstand the onslaught of imperialist neighbours and most of its territory was occupied by Bolshevik Russia, they still managed to maintain the same high standards in Ukrainian literature for a long time after.

The most important harbinger of this new direction was the poet Pavlo Tyčyna (1891-1967). Today in Soviet Ukraine he is celebrated as a staunch representative of the working class. In its early days Tyčyna's poetry bore national slogans which on the fall of the Czarist Empire resounded powerfully in the collection *Sonjashni Kljarnety* and promised with optimism and *joie de vivre* that Ukraine would be freed from foreign oppression. Already with his first collection of poems Tyčyna had achieved major importance by virtue of his optimistic world view and exceptional command of language. His subsequent collections "The Plough" and "Wind from Ukraine" mark a transition to new tasks which reality confronted him with, the creation of a programmed proletarian poetry.

The second great contemporary figure on the Ukrainian horizon was the neoclassicist Maksym Rylskyj (1895-1964) the most eminent Ukrainian epic poet who wrote on a wide range of themes. Minstrel of an Eastern world which had already disappeared, he at first could not relate to the reality which had arisen in the fire of the Revolution. He therefore preferred ancient and medieval themes even their outer framework and their phraseology. Unaffected by the new social order, he dreamt of solitude in which he might live out his days true to his convictions. However, life was stronger than the poet's wish. Eventually he would write finely couched and polished panegyric verse in honour of the leader of the Soviet Union, Stalin. Other neo-classicists gathered round Rylskyj such as Pavlo Fylypovyč (b. 1891), poet and philosopher, singer of strength ruled by the will; Mykola Zerov (b. 1890), excellent translator (Anthology of Latin Poetry); Jurij Klen (Oswald Burghardt) a balanced, mature poet and critic. Oswald Burghardt (1891-1947) known in Ukrainian Letters under the pseudonym Jurij Klen, was able as a German subject to leave Soviet Ukraine in 1930 to resume his work abroad as a poet and scholar in Germany. He embodied the symbol of the organic correlation between the traditions of the complete forms of Kyivan Classicism and the romantic-voluntaristic weltanschaung of the Western Ukrainian and emigré poets. He wrote the poem "The Cursed Years" directed against Soviet totalitarianism, and the collection of artistically complete lyric poems "Karavelly". His historical epic "Ashes of the Empire", which did not appear in its entirety, describes the tragic fate of Ukraine against the background of the series of catastrophes which afflicted Europe in the period 1914-1945.

The majority of Soviet Ukrainian writers strove to comprehend the phenomena and processes of the new Communist reality and devoted all their energies to this. This led to the formation in Kyiv and Kharkiv, the focal points of spiritual life, of various groups and organisations. Competing with each other they struck more and more radical slogans on their banners and of course demanded monopoly. Thus in 1922 the "All-Ukrainian Federation of Proletarian Writers and Artists" was formed, then the rurally oriented group *Pluh* in contrast and the stateproletariat oriented organisation *Hart*. The Futurists split into a circle of writers known as *Oktober* and into a second group which later combined with *Pluh*, *Hart* and *Komunkult* to form *VAPLITE* (Free Academy of Proletarian Literature). The process of metamorphosis and change of name ended with the founding at Moscow's recommendation of *The Soviet Writers Union* (1933). In the final analysis this was only a cosmetic change since the general line directed from above still had to be followed. Therefore, without going into details or the differences between the various formations, let us acquaint ourselves nevertheless with some of the outstanding personalities in the proletarian literature of Ukraine.

The tragic figure of Mykola Chvylovyj (1893-1933) occurs to us immediately, a poet and writer of substance who began as a lyricist and then changed to the short story and novel. He wished to introduce in the framework of Ukrainian culture an orientation to Western European values and not the Muscovite North. However, under pressure from the official party line he was forced to change his standpoint. He subsequently committed suicide. The short story writer Hryhorij Kosynka (1899-1934) died in equally tragic circumstances. He depicted in a masterly way the economic destruction of the village, its revolutionary dynamics and the bond beween the Ukrainian peasants and the earth. There is hardly any evidence of proletarian ldeology in his works which was probably the reason for his personal tragedy. The short story and the novel were further developed by Valerian Pidmohylnyj (b. 1901); Jurij Janovskyj (1902-1954) famous for his novels "Four Swords" and "The Horsemen"; Mychailo Ivčenko (b. 1890) among a host of others whose works cannot be looked into because of the lack of space. A special place in Ukrainian prose is reserved for the satyrist Ostap Vysnia (b. 1889). He is renowned for his humorous sketches based not on the portrayal of comically effective scenes but on the play of words using the new post-revolutionary jargon. Apart from the above mentioned writers, literature in Soviet Ukraine produced a number of other gifted talents: the miner Volodymyr Sosiura (b. 1897), who wrote in vers libre. Also worthy of mention are: due to the manifold rhythms of his verse and his high level of erudition and considerable depth, Evhen Plužnyk (b. 1898), an original representative of the impressionist movement; the Bukovynian Dmytro Zahul (b. 1890) with his typical pessimistic attitude to life; the expressionist Mykola Bažan (b. 1904) who during and after the Second World War became an official bard of the Party; the gifted, subtle lyricist Vasyl Čumak (1900-1919) who showed great promise but was shot by Denikin's soldiers; and Vasyl Ellan (1893-1925) who died young.

The major dramatists of the period were Mykola Kuliš (b. 1892), Myroslav Irčan (b. 1896), I. Kočerha and in particular Olexander Kornijčuk (b. 1910) who wrote the play "Bohdan Khmelnyčkyj". Kornjčuk has now sold himself body and soul to the Soviet regime whose orders he obeys blindly. His comedy "Mr Perkin's mission in Bolshevik country" is a caricature of the Americans superabounding with cheap effects. His later works also show the same weaknesses.

We cannot leave unmentioned the fact that at the beginning of the 1930's a war of extermination was waged by Russian Communism and the Soviet regime against the prominent leaders of the Ukrainian renaissance. Hundreds of writers and poets perished. Only the majority of those who agreed to exchange their national consciousness for hack-writing in the name of the Party and its cheap propaganda, were able to rescue themselves. During the Second World War and the immediate post-war years repression seemed to slacken. However, it was not long before the old policy towards other nationalities² was resumed. The writings of Nathan Rybak are singularly characteristic of this change of mood in official Soviet circles. The first part of his historical novel about Khmelnyckyj "And So Rose the Sun" (published 1941) is historically accurate in describing the power of the Ukrainian State in the 17th century, its foreign policy and economic development. The second part which appeared in 1949 centres on the Treaty of Perejaslav misrepresenting it according to the Bolshevik interpretation. The young writer Oleksander Hončar (b. 1918) enjoys considerable popularity. His trilogy "The Standard-Bearers"³ describes the successes of the Red Army in the last war and juxtaposes the idea of Bolshevik Messianism and the "corrupt West" placing the former in the foreground in the same way as the Slavophiles.

As regards the poets of the war and postwar years the most successful was L. Pervomajskyj (b. 1908) whose "Slavonic Ballads" are the best examples of this literary genre in Ukrainian translation. We should also mention A. Malyško who in his collection of poems "Beyond the Blue Ocean" (1950) woos the favour of the powers that reside in the Kremlin.

Childrens' literature is progressing rapidly in Soviet Ukraine aided by both famous poets like Tyčyna and Rylskyj and younger writers like Ivanenko and Dančenko. Numerous novels have been written about the fate of the youth in the 20th century: Smolyč's trilogy "Childhood", "Our Secrets" and the "Eighteen year olds". There is a pedagogical slant in biographical novels on the lives of such major personalities in Ukrainian literature as Shevchenko and Kocjubynskyj and in world literature Honoré Balzac. There is no need to add that a special place has been cleared for the greats of Bolshevik reality, Lenin, Stalin and Kirov.

WESTERN UKRAINE AND ABROAD

The developement of Ukrainian literature after the First World War in the western regions mainly in Poland and abroad followed different directions and was completely independent of the revolution in the East. The political moods of the West were prevalent. For educational reasons the historical novel was particularly cultivated mostly by the older writers. National slogans took the fore in contrast to international uniformity advocated in Eastern Ukraine, in both poetry and prose. War themes played an important role. To mention but a few poets: U. Samčuk wrote an original peasant novel "Volhyn"; E. Malaniuk (1897-1968) a man of great influence on his generation; J. Lypa (1900-1944), a manifold talent and herald of Ukrainian messianism in its newest form; L. Mosendz (1897-1948) a former freedom fighter in Ukraine treats the theme of the "unknown sol-

² Presumably non-Russians - trans. note.

³ See also his novel "Sobor" (The Cathedral) published in 1967 --- trans' note.

dier" in a thousand ways; the Ukrainian Joan of Arc, O. Teliha (1907-1942); the multi-talented O. Laturynska (b. 1902), an expansive, voluntaristic nature; O. Olžyč (1909-1944), a worthy representive of exalted spirituality; J. Daragan (1894-1926); and finally B.I. Antonyč (1909-1937), in spite of his youth a mature artist with a philosophical bent. As always in Ukrainian literature the historical novel is the most popular genre. However, there is a lack of such outstanding personalities as Stefanyk of Kociubynskyj. Those writers enjoy great popularity who invest their talent and energy in the glorification of the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian nation. (F. Dudko).

After the Second World War when all Ukrainian national territory was occupied by the Bolsheviks, writers working outside the Soviet Union were concentrated mostly in West Germany and Austria until the majority of emigrés left for the USA, Canada and other overseas countries and began to establish there new centres of intellectual life.

It is extremely difficult to give in this short space an exact picture of Ukrainian literature which in the last centuries in numbers alone has developed rapidly. Whole areas which are treated separately as well as many names have had to be overlooked. However, even this short account has demonstrated that two literary genres, the novel and the drama remain insufficiently developed. The highly emotional under currents of the Ukrainian character favours lyrical poetry. The lack of differentiation in Ukrainian society brought about by fate has to a large extent hindered the development of the novel and play. Nevertheless, these difficulties seem now to be overcome and we can already clearly detect noticeable contributions in these genres too.

LITERARY CRITICISM

Finally, we should stress once again that literary criticism followed the development of literature in the 19th century, and boasts such eminent representatives as Mykola Kostomariv, P. Kuliš and M. Drahomaniv. Drahomaniv endeavoured to graft social ideas onto Ukrainian literature in order to bring it to as close as possible an affinity with Western European ideas. He also championed sociological and comparative methods in criticism. Detailed studies by the philologist A. Potebnia on the relationship between language and thought were first applied by literary criticism in the 20th century. Major works were written in this sphere: "Contributions to the History of Ukrainian Literature in the 19th Century" by N. Petrov (1840-1921), in which he attempts without bias to collate the latest information on the work of various writers and provide critical comment. This method was rejected by another literary historian N. Daškevyč (1852-1908), who pointed to the major landmarks in Ukrainian literature, the attempts of the people at selfexpression and the links with Western spiritual life. These two works formed the basis for all subsequent surveys of Ukrainian literature. Textbooks on Ukrainian literary history were written by such scholars as O. Ohonovskyj, a professor at

Lviv University and founder of the biographical and bibliographical school; I. Franko, a disciple of psychological analysis; S. Smal-Stockyj an eminent authority on Shevchenko; A. Kolessa, adherent of the comparative method; and K. Studynskyj. While these textbooks concentrated primarily on the 19th century, M. Sumcov (1854-1922) turned to the literature of the so-called "dead scholastic period of the 16th and 17th centuries. The academician W. Perets, a representative of the so-called philological school, followed Sumcov's initiative though he extended his sphere of interest to the Kyiv period. We owe the excellent, voluminous "History of Ukrainian Literature", though unfortunately only up to the beginning of the 17th century, to the celebrated historian Hruševskyj. Textbooks and contributions on literature have also been written by B. Lepkyj, M. Voznjak (b. 1881), S. Jefremov (b. 1876), J. Hordynskyj (b. 1882) and L. Bryk (b. 1879).

The 1917 Revolution brought a new upturn in all spiritual life in Ukraine and also in literary criticism. As regards the different schools of criticism the sociological method was given too much prominence particularly in Soviet Ukraine and condemned to narrow-mindedness due to strict Marxist interpretation. The most important contemporary critic M. Zerov, a neo-classicist of Rylskyj's circle showed us in his interesting writings how the Marxist approach to a work of art can be combined with psychological analysis, the biographical and comparative method. His example was followed by P. Fylypovyč (b. 1891), B. Jakubovskyj (b. 1889), A. Doroškevyć (b. 1889), author of a good textbook on Ukrainian literature and O. Bilećkyj known for the best Shevchenko edition (1939).

The majority of literary critics in Soviet Ukraine acknowledging the one-sided view that the Marxist approach is the one and only criterion of value had to fore-sake the methods prevalent in the West. M. Skrypnyk (1872-1934) is doubtless the most outstanding member of this group. A personal friend of Lenin, he was repeatedly elected Peoples' Commissar and Chairman of the Soviet Nationalities Council, but nevertheless in 1934 came under official suspicion for nationalist deviation and was driven to suicide.

After the demise of literary criticism in Soviet Ukraine and in Halychyna, in the first few years of the last emigration there was a rebirth in literary criticism. It saw its main tasks as the formation of a new *weltanschaung* and the cultivation of an aesthetic taste. Literary circles responded vigorously to discussion between the "Europeanists" (V. Deržavin) and the "Organic theorists" (J. Serekh) who strove to rediscover the sources of a national style.

Translated by V. Slez.

* * * * * * *

Since this chapter was written there have been many significant developments in Ukrainian literature. Particularly important were developments in Ukraine in the late 1950's and the early 1960's, in the post-Stalin period, when the control of literature and other spheres of cultural activity was loosened albeit for a brief period. The poets and novelists of this time were known as the *Shestydesiatnyky* (the writers of the 60's.

The most notable figure writing then was undoubtedly Vasyl Symonenko (1935-1963). His poetry set the tone of this short-lived literary revival and is also significant in the way he influenced many of those who later became active in the opposition to Russification and protested against the encroachment of Soviet Russian rule in Ukraine. His poetry first and foremost called for respect for human dignity, the cultivation of true individual expression and freedom of thought. His declared love of Ukraine was not expressed just on a sentimental plane but with an eager desire to see his native country on an equal footing with other countries of the world, including the so called superpowers. "Let Americas and Russias remain silent when I speak to her" (i.e. Ukraine). In some ways his poetry is reminiscent of that giant of Ukrainian poetry Taras Shevchenko both in tone and in theme. His work includes such books as Tysha i Hrim (1962) (Silence and thunder), Zemne Tyazhinnya (1964) (The Earth's gravity) Vyno z Troyand (1965), a collection of short stories (Wine from roses), Poeziyi, published posthumously in 1966 (Poetry). In the West a collection of his poetry which also includes his diary, was published under the title Bereh Chekan (1965). Some of his poetry, patriotic and deeply critical of Soviet reality, was banned in the Soviet Union, and until 1981, he was rarely mentioned in official Soviet publications. In 1981, however, a collection of his poetry and prose was published under the title Lebedi Materynstva (The swans of motherhood). But the sensitivity of his work is clearly shown by the fact that this book had been scheduled for publication in 1972!

Another notable poet is *Lina Kostenko* (1930). Her collections of poetry include *Prominnya Zemli* (1957) (The Earth's rays), *Vitryla* (1058) (Sails), *Mandrivky Sertsia* (1961) (The travels of the heart). A further collection of poetry *Zoryannyi Intehral* (The starry integral) did not appear. For many years she remained silent, none of her works were published. Then all of a sudden, in 1977 a collection of her poems *Nad Berehamy Vichnoyi Riky* (On the banks of the eternal river) appeared, which was followed in 1979 by *Marusia Churai*, which is in fact a beautiful narrative poem about a legendary songstress of the 18th century. In 1980 another collection of her poetry appeared entitled *Nepovtornist* (The unrepeated). Lina Lostenko's poetry is also primarily concerned with the reaffirmation of values which had been defaced by Stalin's repressive Bolshevik regime, as well as by his successors. Her search for steadfastness, honesty go hand in hand with a profound love for Ukraine's threatened traditions and culture *expressed* by genuine lyricism.

Other important poets of this period are *Mykola Vinhranovs'kyi* (1935), a poet and a film-maker, *Yevhen Hutsalo* (1937), now mainly a novelist; *Ivan Drach* (1936) a poet with a philosophical bent; *Vitaliy Korotych* (1936). Earlier these poets had shown considerable promise but soon they were placed under political pressure and forced to adapt their work to the requirements of the regime. The same also applies to the gifted literary critic *Ivan Dziuba*, the author of the book *Internationalism of Russification?* once seen as the main spokesman of those who ardently defend Ukrainian culture from Russification.

Other writers who refused to compromise and remained steadfast in the face of persecution included people like *Ihor Kalynets* and his wife *Iryna*, both writers.

Ihor Kalynets (1939) has produced such collections of poetry as Vohon Kupala (1966) (The fire of Kupalo). Pozivi z Ukraviny (1970), (Poems from Ukraine); Koronuvannya Opudala (1972), (The crowning of the scarecrow). Pidsumovuvuchy Movchannya (1971) (Summing up silence), a collection of poems written for Valentyn Moroz; Spohad pro Svit (1973), (A memoir of the world). Most of his work has only appeared in the West, since Kalynets was arrested in 1972 and sentenced to 6 years imprisonment and 3 years in exile. Kalynets does not indulge in rhetoric in his poems but concentrates on images which make his poems condensed in character. Moreover, his poetry is deeply rooted in myth and tradition. though expressed in a fresh and original manner. Vasyl Stus (1938) suffered the same fate as the Kalynets family after his arrest in 1972 (a year incidentally, very black for the members of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in Ukraine, since many of them were repressed in a wave of arrests which swept the country that year). Vasyl Stus is more a meditative poet who uses his own experiences to profound effect. lyrical in expression but as many of his forerunners, principled in his struggle against the unjustices heaped on his colleagues, his beloved country Ukraine, and this the reader of his poetry is able to feel strongly. In the mid-1960's he submitted for publication to Radyans'kyi Pys'mennyk publishers in Kyiv a collection of poems entitled Veselvi Tsvyntar (The happy graveyard) which was rejected after lying at the publishers for 5 years. Two collections of his poetry have been published in the West Zymovi Dereva (1970) (Winter trees) and Svicha v Svichadi (1977) (A candle in a mirror). In July 1976 the authorities in the labour camp where Stus was held destroyed over 600-800 of his works — original poems and translations of Goethe, Rilke and Kipling, an act of supreme barbarism. After being released in 1979 it was not long, 1980, when he was once again arrested and sentenced. He is known to have prepared a further collection of poetry entitled Palimpsesty, which has not appeared in its entirety.

Other poets who showed considerable promise in the 1960's and also later in the 1970's were poets like *Iryna Zhylenko* (1941), *Mykola Vorobyov* (1941) *Vasyl Holoborod'ko* (1942), especially noteworthy was his collection of poems *Letyuche Vikontse* (1965) (The flying window). Needless to say, these highly original poets were either silenced of forced to lower their tone to that prescribed by the regime. Also some older poets for example *Leonid Pervomaiskyi* and *Maksym Ryl's'kyi*, who incidentally welcomed the new burst of youthful talent in Ukraine, showed at this time that they were still capable of producing original works.

The importance of poetry in Ukraine is shown by the fact that most of the leading dissidents — courageous people who fought hard for an independent Ukrainian voice in literature and in other branches of Ukrainian culture, who sacrificed their professional careers for the cause of Ukraine's rights as a nation, for instance people like Ivan Svitlychnyi, Sviatoslav Karavans'kyi, Mykhailo Osadchyi, Iryna Senyk, Valentyn Moroz, Zinovyi Krasivs'kyi, Yevhen Sverstiuk and many others, besides being historians, pedagogues, journalists, scholars, also devoted time to poetry. The reason for this is probably that in poetry alone that one can retain one's individuality in a totalitarian society, though it is also true that Ukrainians have always shown a great love for poetry and song. But at the same time it is always a revival in poetry (or in literature in general) that heralds a political revival, as witnessed by the clearer political message of the 70's and 80's as espoused by groups as the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group whose founder, incidentally, was also a novelist and poet of some standing, Mykola Rudenko. He was a former communist, who in his poetry searched for a faith which would satisfy him and finally turned to Christianity. Rudenko's collection of poetry *Prozrinnya* (The recovery of sight) (1978), *Khrest* (the cross) (1977), *Za Gratamy* (Behind bars), (1980) all were published in the West. The political significance of poetry, even if it is of a very personal nature is altogether very clear in the context of such a repressive society.

Turning to literary criticism, in the 1960's we also find figures of considerable standing and scholarship. Prominent are names like *Ivan Svitlychnyi, Yevhen Sverstiuk*, and names like *Mykhailyna Kotsiubyns'ka, Marhareta Malynovs'ka, Ivan Dziuba, Vasyl Stus*. The historian *Valentyn Moroz* was noted for his powerful and incisive essays, *Vyacheslav Chornovil*, a journalist, put Ukrainian dissent in perspective by his book *Lykho z Rozumu* (Misfortune from intellect) published in the West in 1967. *Mykhailo Osadchyi*, besides his poetry has produced a remarkable memoir of his experiences in the concentration camps *Bil'mo* (1972) (The cataract). All these people have endured repression to some degree, some exchanging a life of freedom (as far as this can apply to a citizen of the Soviet Union) for the very harsh conditions of the Gulag. Many of them remained undaunted and continue to write.

When we turn our attention to prose, it is perhaps fair to say that there are relatively fewer illustrious figures in this field of literature in this period. Oles' Honchar (1918-), a writer of indisputable talent, wrote like many others in the vein of Socialist Realism, his Praporonostsi (the Standard-bearers) is perhaps typical. However, it will probably be true to say that the work by which he will be remembered will be Sobor (The Cathedral) (1967), a novel in which he gave full rein to patriotic sentiment, the Cathedral, built by the Cossacks, having escaped the ravages of war and revolution, now faces the danger of demolition. The connotations this has with Ukrainian tradition and history are clearly depicted here. Yevhen Hutsalo, Valeriy Shevchuk were also noted as short-story writers. Another figure who besides being a novelist, took part in the activities of the Helsinki Monitoring Group, was Oles' Berdnyk (1927-). He is a prodigious author with a mystical bent, unusual for the materialistic Soviet society. He writes either about earliest history or the distant future. Of some of his recent novels we should mention Chasha Amrity (1968) (The chalice of Amrita); Zoryanyi Korsar (1971) (The corsair of the stars); Prometei (1981), (Prometheus). His various books - essays poems and prose number over 30, so that in such a short survey we cannot do proper justice to this writer. It needs hardly saying that since his involvement in Ukrainian patriotic circles and since his expulsion from the Writers Union of Ukraine in 1972, as well as his 9-year sentence of 1979, his chances of being published in Ukraine are very slim indeed. This, in fact, applies to most of the writers in our survey.

Another novelist worthy of a mention in this connection is *Borys Antonenko–Davydovych* (1899-), a novelist already writing in the 1920's but still producing work which is noteworthy of closer attention. His *Za Shyrmoyu* (1963) (Behind the screen) tells of a Ukrainian doctor working in Kazakhstan, but the significance of the plot has a wider meaning, concerning the sensitive subject of Ukrainian-Russian relations. Incidentally this book has been translated into English in Australia and published by Baida Books. Other novelists are *R. Ivanychuk* who wrote *Mal'vy* (1968); *V. Drozd; Ivan Bilyk's Mech Areya* (Arei's sword) was published in 1970 but later it was confiscated from bookshops in Ukraine, and subsequently published in the West. Also *H. Tyutyunnyk'syr* (whirlpool) is worthy of attention.

There was also considerable talent in translating in the 1960's, an important person in this field was *Borys Ten*, (1897-1983), whose great achievement was the translation of Homer's *Odyssey*. Others were: *Mykola Lukash*, *Hryhoriy Kochur*.

In conclusion we should clearly state that this survey is far from complete. We have omitted any mention of those writers who write only in the accepted Socialist Realist fashion, as they are always mentioned in other surveys which emanate from the Soviet Union. These the reader may find elsewhere. But on the other hand, he well not be able to find many of the writers we have looked at, and so deserve our attention, as they have for the most part remained true to themselves and their native country — Ukraine. They speak and write with their own true voice.

J.W.

(to be continued)

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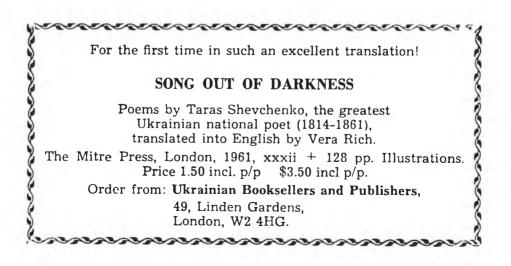
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Documents and Reports

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRIME MINISTER THE RT. HON. MARGARET THATCHER, M.P. 10 DOWNING STREET, LONDON, SW1

Dear Madam Prime Minister,

The USSR since its very inception has been a colonial empire. Its formation on December 30, 1922 was the direct result of the military conquest of non-Russian independent national states such as Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, North-Caucasus, Azerbaidjan, Turkestan, Idel-Ural and others.

On June 15-17, 1940, Soviet Russia invaded and occupied Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. These Republics which enjoyed national independence between World War I and World War II were forcibly incorporated into the Russian Empire.

In 1945, Soviet Russia occupied Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Slovakia, Czechia and East Germany and transformed their formerly independent countries into Russian satellite states. Also in the same year the Russians assisted Tito's partisans to incorporate the Croatian independent state into the Communist Federal State of Yugoslavia.

Since then Soviet Russia has exported its Russian Communist Revolution, including arms and equipment, all over the world, which has resulted in the fact that countries such as Mongolia, North Korea, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, and Cuba were brought under Russian influence and now depend on Russian supply of arms and assistance to maintain their regimes.

In 1979 Soviet Russia openly invaded Afghanistan with the express purpose of extending Russian power and influence into the Middle East.

The continued illegality of Soviet Russian rule since 1917 and the continued attempts of Soviet Russian imperialism at world domination must be brought before the international forum. We ask you to consider putting forward a motion at the United Nations General Assembly for the *Decolonisation of the Russian Empire* and the Disintegration of the artificially created state of Yugoslavia. This would be in keeping with the United Nations Charter and the "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to colonial Countries and Peoples" of December 14, 1960.

This Declaration clearly stated that the subjugation of nations to alien domination and exploitation constituted a denial of fundamental human rights and was contrary to the United Nations Charter, and an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation. In 1965 the United Nations General Assembly laid down three fundamental principles concerning this issue:

First, it affirmed that the continuation of colonial rule is a threat to international peace and security;

Second, it affirmed that this constitutes a crime against humanity;

Third, it recognised the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial people to exercise their right to self-determination and independence.

But this declaration had excluded somehow the largest remaining Empire in the world, the Soviet Russian Empire: in his opening statement at the 1976 session of the Special Committee of 24 on Decolonisation, Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, said that while the United Nations rejoiced at the progress achieved, some 17 million people in various parts of the world remained under alien rule.

The fact, that over 230 million people in the Russian Empire and its satellite countries are still denied their inalienable right to self-determination and independence can leave no room for complacency. Since Great Britain voluntarily decolonised her Empire, the 20th century has become "the age of decolonisation and human rights".

Today, the majority of Member States have to be convinced more than ever that the perpetuation of colonial rule is not only contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, but is an anachronism in the modern world, an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation. The United Nations, pledged as it is to decolonisation and national independence for all nations, cannot ignore this challenge.

Yours respectfully,

The British Chapter of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations London 18.7.83

BUSINESS NEEDS AND HUMAN NEEDS

There is nothing new about the organising of a Defence Committee to defend a persecuted group of people,* or just one isolated individual — as is now the case. *Vyacheslav Chornovil* received a distinguished award from the British Sunday Times in 1975 for "best investigative journalist" of the year. He had already served one prison sentence prior to that date, and this was followed by another, of 6 years labour camp...Why? The official account differs from the version given by Amnesty International, and indeed from every unofficial account; but the reason given officially was "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

A few weeks before he was due for release (remission for good conduct, for political prisioners, is unknown in the Soviet Union) he was again arrested and found guilty on a charge particularly grotesque in the context of the prisoner's cricumstances: attempted rape — sentence 5 years. We ask you into whose hands these words have fallen almost by accident, at least to question these three verdicts which seem certain to ruin the entire life, not only of this courageous Ukrianian journalist, but also that of his wife Atena, and son Taras.

^{*}This statement was issued by the recently formed British Committee for the Defence of Vyacheslav Chornovil, a prominent Ukrainian journalist and author, who since the 1960s has endu red constant repression in the Soviet Union for courageously defending human and national rights in Ukraine. — Eds.

If, because of your trade commitments, or other official scruples(!) you feel reluctant even to mention your concern about this case to your Soviet Colleagues, we ask you very earnestly to bring the facts to the notice of British journalists their own freedom of action and sense of responsibility remains in the balance.

Why should you do this? Why perform an act of solidarity, any act of common humanity? Recently, an national committee of support was formed on behalf of a prominent French banker suspected of serious fraud, so why not a committee to publicize the hounding of a man whose only "crime" was to anger the Soviet authorities by his refusal to bear witness against a colleague in a trial that he (Chornovil) believed was closed and therefore illegal under Soviet law.

The writer of this leaflet remembers in 1975, asking two members of a mixed Trade deligation bound for Moscow, if they would consider two small humane actions:- one was to expedite the despatch of an urgent letter to the wife of an exiled dissident, by posting it quite normally in Moscow; the other was to mention to Soviet Colleagues the name of a (then) unknown Soviet dissident as a subject of concern to British public opinion. The answer to both these requests was an emphatic No..."we will have more important things to discuss than the fate of dissidents."

To this day, I have wondered just what those things could be.

David Markham British Committee for the Defence of Chornovil

V. Chornovil's present address: Defe SSSR YAKUTSKAYA ASSR, Pos. TABAGA, uchr. YAD --- 40/7A, VYACHESLAV CHORNOVIL.

ENOUGH IS ENOUGH

Students set the record straight for Ukrainians in Dachau

During the past summer a group of Ukrainian college students from the U.S.A and Canada travelled through Europe on a study-tour entitled "*Stezhkamy Batkiv po Evropi*" (In the Steps of Our Forefathers through Europe). Since it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, for young Ukrainians to follow the steps of their forefathers in Ukraine, the aim of the study-tour, led by Prof. P. Goy and Sonia Szereg, is to retrace the paths which Ukrainians have earlier made their way in diaspora. On their travels, the students have paid their respects at the graves of fallen leaders and other important figures from Ukrainian history, and have met with other prominent Ukrainian leaders and educators. In addition, they have met with various members of the Ukrainian communities on Paris, Rotterdam, Rome, Lourdes, Geneva, Vienna, and Munich, and have visited churches, monuments and institutions which are significant to the history of Ukrainians in the diaspora.

On August 10, 1983, the road of spiritual kinship which the students were retracing came to an abrupt halt at the site of the Dachau concentration camp, which now houses a grim memorial museum dedicated to the persons who were imprisoned in the camp during World War II. Among its exhibits the museum includes a hall of nations with pillars bearing the names of countries whose people suffered in Dachau, as well as a gallery of the flags of these nations. Close to the end of the museum is a table of statistics which groups the prisoners incrcerated in Dachau according to nationality; the table even cites those who were the sole representatives of their nations — one Chinese, one Iraqi, one Canadian, ten Americans, and so on. Nowhere in the museum is there any mention of Ukraine or Ukrainians, yet so many of the students had heard of or were personally acquainted with Ukrainians who had been prisoners in Dachau. During the last three summers participants of "S.B.E." study-tours had noted the omission in a guest-book and suggestion box in the museum, with no visible results. The historical discrepancy both confused and angered the students of this years's group, and they were determined to do what they could to rectify the situation.

The following week was busy with preparations for action. A student committee was formed to discuss plans of action and contingencies; the committee and group spokesmen, headed by Sonia Szereg, consisted of Boris Dackiw, Ulana Jurkiw, Marusia Drohobycky, and Michael Shwec. Prof. Petro Goy acted as faculty advisor. Natalia Melnyk and Nadia Kozak lent their artistic expertise in the preparation of banners and petitions. At 4.00 p.m. on Wenesday, August 17, eighteen students, two professors, and one priest entered the museum, formed a circle in the hall of nations in which Ukraine is not represented, unfurled a banner proclaiming (in German) "Discrimination against Ukrainians in Dachau", and sat down. The sit-in was opened with a group prayer in Ukrainian, led by Rev. Evhen Harabacz from England, who himself was imprisoned in Dachau from 1942-45. Several students distributed leaflets explaining the purpose of the demonstration, while others petitioned signatures. The museum's visitors were generally quite interested, and in less than an hour, close to one hundred signatures had been collected from visitors from all over the world. As the museum's official closing time was 5.00 p.m., the group quickly attracted the attention of the museum's administration and security staff, and within 15 minutes of the start of the sit-in, spokesmen for the group were meeting with Frau Magee, the Assistant Director of the museum. When the purpose of the sit-in was explained, she admitted she could see no logical reason for the omission of Ukraine from the museum's records. When she asked the group the to leave, however the spokesmen replied that the students were prepared to sit-in and to go on hunger-strike until their demands were met. Frau Magee then contacted Frau Gerda Fraundorfer from the Bavarian Ministry, who arrived with commendable alacrity, even though it was past office hours. She was preceded by reporters from the Süddeutsche Zeitung, a major newspaper in southern West Germany. Again, the purpose of the sit-in was explained, and the historical descrepancies were pointed out; when it became apparent that the group was determined to begin a hunger-strike, the Bavarian minister in turn contacted the Secretary General of the International Dachau Committee in Brussels, Georges Walreave, who acceded to all three of the students demands. This tentative agreement between the group's spokesmen and Frau Fraundorfer was witnessed by Dr. Hans Holzheider of *Süddeutsche Zeitung*: 1) that the museum would add a placard bearing the name of Ukraine to the museum's hall of nations, 2) that the Ukrainian national flag, to be provided by Rev. Harabacz, would be displayed with the other flags of the other nations, 3)that the archives would be searched for records of Ukrainian prisoners in Dachau, and that those Ukrainians would be represented as Ukrainians on the table citing the nembers of each nationality imprisoned in the camp.

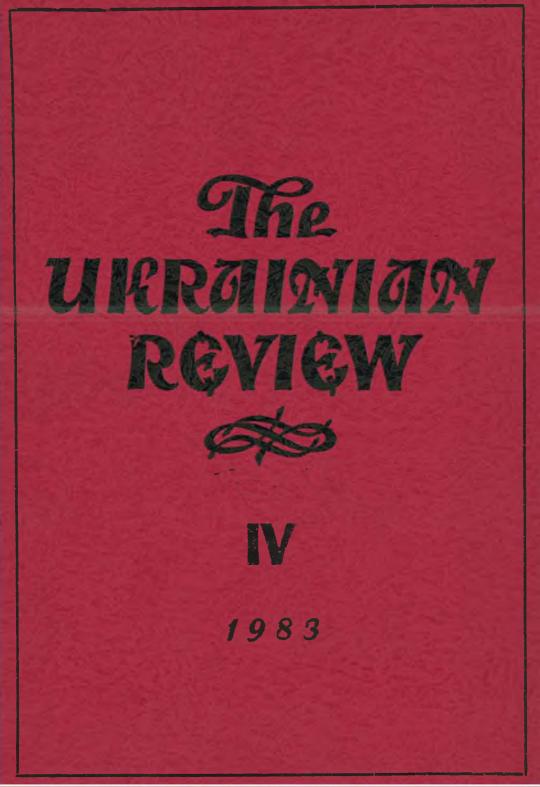
Both sides parted on good terms and the sit-in was closed with a *panakhyda* in a chapel on the grounds of the camp. News of the demonstration was broadcast on German and English-language radio and was reported in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* on August 19.

Dear Ukrainian community! As chairman of the student committee, I speak for my fellow students: we, your Ukrainian youth, believe that results are possible where there is a united front for a common goal. We left the museum two-and-ahalf hours after entering it, as calmly and as peaceably as we came. Most of us met only five weeks ago, and I for one was very proud and moved by the unity, mutual cooperation, and steadfast determination displayed by my fellow students and travellers. We wish to thank Prof. Petro Goy for his benevolent guidance and ever-present support. Special thanks to Rev. Harabacz who was vacationing in Munich and learned of our action only one day earlier; his facility as our German-Ukrainian interpreter, his familiarity with correct German channels of bureaucracy, his paternal support, and his presence as a former prisoner of Dachau all contributed vitally to the success of our action.

That action is not yet completed; we have only, as we hope, set things in motion. Rev. Harabacz has supplied the names of 174 Ukrainian survivors of Dachau. These names will not be listed publicly, but they will be checked against the archives and will be statistically recorded. If you or anyone you know was ever imprisoned or died in Dachau, you can help by sending that person's name, address, approximate dates of imprisonment, and birth date (and death record if no longer living) to the chairman of the student committee:

Sonia Szereg "S.B.E." Acting Dachau Committee 203 Second Avenue New York, N.Y.10003 USA

 "S.B.E." Acting Dachau Committee: Chairman: Sonia Szereg
 Members: Boris Dackiw Natalia Melnyk Marusia Drohobycky Michael Shwec Ulana Jurkiw Prof. P.Goy, Advisor Nadia Kozak



THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

A Quarterly Magazine devoted to the study of Ukraine

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Scenes from the Commemoration of the 40th Anniversary of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations in Hammersmith Town Hall on 19th November, 1983. (Top lefthand corner inset: Mr. John Wilkinson, M.P.; bottom left-hand corner inset: Mr. Stefan Terlezki, M.P.; right-hand corner inset: Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, President of ABN. Top centre shows a view of the stage, the bottom centre — a view of the audience).

Yaroslav STETSKO

THE ORIGINS OF ABN AND THE UKRAINIAN LIBERATION STRUGGLE

As we commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)* in conjunction with the twenty-fifth anniversary of US Public Law 86/90 (1959) on the Captive Nations, it is indeed, noteworthy that the positions of the United States, as formulated in this Resolution and in the subsequent Presidential Proclamations** are congruent with the political tenets of the ABN, particularly insofar as these positions reflect a common goal. US Public Law 86/90 is an excellent vehicle for Western moral and political support for the subjugated nations' cause of liberation, but, unfortunately, it has not yet become a practical guideline for a practical Western policy *vis-à-vis* the USSR.

The ABN originated at a Conference of Subjugated Nations that was held in the forests of Ukraine on November 21-22, 1943 and was attended by the representatives of the national-liberation movements and insurgent units of thirteen subjugated nations. Among others, the following nations were represented at this Conference: Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, North Caucasus, Turkestan and Idel-Ural. It was organized by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).

Under the leadership of the OUN-UPA, Ukraine at this time was waging a determined war of liberation that was fought on two fronts against both Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia, as did Lithuania and other subjugated nations. After the defeat of Germany in World War II, the OUN-UPA was able to continue its armed struggle against the Russian occupational forces in Ukraine well into the 1950's.

The ABN's primary purpose was to serve as the political and military coordination centre of the insurgent liberation movements of the subjugated nations. The conceptual political foundation for the ABN was provided by an OUN Manifesto from 1940 and by the Proclamation of Ukrainian Independence of June 30, 1941, both of which emphasized anti-totalitarian, anti-communist ideals of national independence and democracy. The members of the sovereign Ukrainian Government of 1941 and many of the leaders of the OUN, including its head — Stepan Bandera, were arrested by the Nazis and sentenced to long terms in concentration camps for refusing to revoke the Proclamation of Independence.

The Conference of Subjugated Nations, which was chaired by Rostyslav Voloshyn who was later killed in a battle with Russian NKVD forces, urgently appealed to the Western Allies that they enter into a common front with the subju-

^{*}Statement of Yaroslav Stetsko President of the ABN and Former Prime Minister of Ukraine on the occasion of the 40th Anniversary of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and the 25th Anniversary of US Public Law 86/90 (1959) on the Captive Nations

^{**}See President R. Reagan's address on the occasion of 25th Anniversary of Captive Nations Week in Ukrainian Review No. 3, pp. 6-9

gated nations against not only Nazism, but against its generic prototype — Bolshe vism as well. From the resolutions of this Conference we read the following:

- "1. The First Conference of Subjugated Nations of Eastern Europe and Asia greets the nations of Western and Central Europe in their heroic struggle against the Nazi imperialist and proclaims its complete solidarity with them.
- 2. The Conference deems it necessary to bring to the attention of the nations of Western and Central Europe the struggle of the nations of Eastern Europe and Soviet-Russian controlled Asia, and the aims for which this struggle is being waged.
- The Conference urges that everything possible be done to prevent the transportation of non-German formations in the German army to Germany or to the fronts against the Western Allies.

Excerpts from the Appeal of the First Conference of Subjugated Nations of Eas tern Europe and Asia:

Brothers and Sisters!

In this difficult moment, caught in the midst of a raging imperialist war, when millions of our brothers are dying on the front, ... during this time of barbaric destruction of our property and the monuments of our culture..., we turn to you with our brotherly appeal: 'stand together in defence of your life and property and your loved ones, arise and fight against the enemy of all humanity — against today's warmongers!

.....The present war was begun and is led by the German nationalsocialists and the Russian Bolsheviks.

This war is being led in order to decide which of the imperialist powers is to further subjugate and exploit the peoples of Europe and Asia...

In this struggle against our common oppressors..., it is imperative that we establish a common front of all subjugated nations, led by their national leaderships. In order for the revolution to be victorious, the masses must arise in millions.

The subjugated nations of the East have already entered onto the path of this sacred struggle... and they have already achieved considerable success. The national insurgencies in Ukraine, the Caucausus, in Turkestan and in the Baltic countries have raised the flag of liberation against the imperialists, defending the nation from the dirty, pillaging, imperialist scum, liberating vast expanses of land...

Soldiers of the Red Army and our dear brothers in entrenchment!

With your heroic struggle you are driving the German imperialists from your native lands... However, you fulfilled only one-half of your duty. Behind your backs another imperialism is laying waste upon the agony of your nations — Russian Stalinist imperialism. This imperialism, which has exploited many nations, is just as great an enemy of the people, as German imperialism. Turn your weapons against this enemy. Strike at it with the same resolve that you are now fighting the Nazi German scum. In the Red Army begin creating a revolutionary, anti-imperialist organization. Seek contacts with the revolutionary insurgent armies and go over to them... individually and by entire military units...

This moment ought to be characterized not by a struggle between the workers of various nationalities, but by the solidarity of the subjugated nations, aspiring towards victory over both Nazi and Bolshevik imperialism!

Forward! Freedom for the subjugated nations!

For the creation of national independent states!

Death to Hitler and Stalin!

The Revolutionary Committee of the Subjugated Nations of Eastern Europe and Asia"

With a view towards further cementing the subjugated nations' front of liberation, the UPA — which had separate non-Ukrainian formations within its ranks (such as Georgian Uzbek, and others) — carried out a series of "raids" into the Caucasus, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Byelorussia, Hungary, Lithuania, and other subjugated nations, helping the national insurgent units there to further mobilize the indigenous population. The UPA also concluded anti-Nazi and anti-Bolshevik agreements of cooperation with the Hungarian Armed Forces and the Polish insurgent units (WiN). I, myself, was in the same concentration camp in Sachenshausen with the Commander-in-Chief of the Polish insurgent army (AK) — Grot-Rovetski, who was later executed by the Nazis, as were three members of the sovereign Ukrainian Government, which I had the honour of heading.

In the 1950's the ABN concept of liberation was effectuated in the Gulag in the mass strikes and insurrections of the political prisoners from the subjugated nations, who at that time numbered over 17 million. These actions threatened to lead to the dissolution of the Russian prison of nations, because the conflagration of revolution could have easily spread throughout the USSR. This possibility forced Khrushchev to institute a policy of "de-Stalinization", to reorganize the concentration camps, and to release a considerable number of political prisoners.

The ABN, through its respective national representations, has been systematically preparing and mobilizing the enslaved peoples in the USSR and its "satellites" for the final stage of the revolutionary, national-liberation struggle — coordinated and synchronized national uprisings on the territories of the subjugated nations, leading to the dissolution of the Russian empire into national, sovereign and independent, democratic states of the presently subjugated nations, each within its ethnographic borders.

In the irreconcilable clash between the world of national independence and democracy, and the world of Russian imperialism and communist tyranny, the subjugated nations are the Achilles' heel of the Russian empire. A barometer of the great weight that Moscow places on ideological-political warfare is a recent ad-

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dress by Konstantin Chernenko, a leading Politburo member, delivered at a Plenary session of the Central Committee of the CPSU on June 14, 1983. In fact, the entire session dealt with this issue. Chernenko's address was motivated by the growing internal decay in the Communist Party. But a no less significant underlying reason was the fact that President Ronald Reagan has continuously stressed the need for initiating a world-wide, anti-communist "Project Democracy".

In his address, Chernenko indentified the greatest threat to the Russian empire: "Nationalism — our enemy — aspires in its aims to utilize the inherent psychological characteristics of the youth... A scientifically grounded national policy (i.e., a policy of national subjugation, Y.S.) is an integral segment of Party activity." In trying to justify Moscow's brutal and racist policy of Russification, Chernenko asserted that "a weak knowledge of the Russian language limits an individual's access to the riches of international culture." How cynical can one get to even suggest that Ukraine — a nation of 53 million people that already had an advanced civilization and culture 4,000 years ago, several thousand years before the principality of Moscovy even came into being, or that Georgia, or Armenia, or Turkestan, or Lithuania, or even Greece, I suppose, are not capable of having access to world culture without knowing the Russian language!

Chernenko also voiced a warning with regard to religion as a threat to Bolshevism: "There is a growing segment of the people that is being influenced by religion. The many centres of imperialism not only seek to support, but also to sow religion, giving it an anti-Soviet, nationalist orientation." It would seem that the gerontocrats in the Kremlin have come to realize that Bolshevism — as a synthesis of Russian imperialism and communism — has engendered a severe crisis of moral decay and systemic bankruptcy. Hence, it is not surprising that Chernenko in his address presented the following quote from Andropov: "The formation of the Marxist-Leninist world-view as a matter of principle must be equated with a new quality of life, which by no means can be defined strictly in terms of material comfort, but incorporates the entire spectrum of a fully-developed human existence."

What does all this mean? Are we to assume that the Russian communists have suddenly made an ideological about-face and are now suggesting that there exists a non-materialist realm of existence? What is it that has brought about this sudden panic in the Kremlin? Chernenko quite bluntly provides the answer: "The class enemy has openly declared his intention to destroy the socialist order. President Reagan has called for a 'crusade' against communism. And imperialism regards 'psychological warfare' as one of the primary means of achieving this end... This is why it is imperative that we open an extensive propaganda counter-offensive not only in the international arena, but within the country as well..."

President Reagan has understood the significance of a political offensive, particularly with regard to the subjugated nations. At present, it is imperative that US radio-broadcasts to the USSR and its "satellites" incorporate our political aims, our concept of liberation and our particular way of life. The ideological struggle is no less significant than the current pressing need for technological modernity of the West's weapon systems. *Ideas are THE decisive weapon!* In this respect, we should always bear in mind one basic fact: that the non-Russian subjugated nations in the USSR constitute a majority of the population of the Soviet Union and they aspire towards the dissolution of the Russian empire into national, independent and sovereign, democratic states.

In 1878, Dostoyevsky wrote that "all people should become Russian, particularly Russian, because the Russian national ideal is universal." Recently, an entire plethora of colonialist literature, written in Russian, has appeared in the USSR, which has adopted Dostoyevsky's aphorism as its motto. For example, in Alexandr Prokhanov's novel *A Tree in Kabul* — a story of the Russian nation's "brotherly" assistance to the "oppressed" Afghan nation, the author tries to ideologically justify Russian armed intervention anywhere a Russian can set foot. Volkov, the story's hero, rides through the streets of Kabul in a tank, crushing the residents. Later, in a helicopter shooting down helpless women and children, Volkov is convinced that he is "bringing happiness. goodness, an unprecedented life, love and beuty" to the Afghan people, who are "too dumb" to appreciate the benevolence (sic.) bestowed upon them by their Russian benefactor. In the Russian empire, "happiness" means the total annihilation and subsequent Russification of all the distinctive national attributes of the enslaved peoples.

Moscow need not always and everywhere maintain its occupational troops on the territories of the nations that it has conquered, since Bolshevism itself is a total system of occupation, enforced by the Communist Party, the KGB and the entire terror apparatus. This system is an aggregate of means and modes of repression, whose primary purpose is to uproot and destroy the traditional institutions of a given nation, while simultaneoulsy replacing them by force with Bolshevik (Russian, communist), étatist, atheistic, anti-individualistic, anti-national institutions. In 1933, fifty years ago, in the resistance against Bolshevik collectivism, against the Russian way of life, over seven million Ukrainians were murdered in a brutal deliberate and unprecedented man-made famine. Through this same forced famine, North Caucasians, Don Cosssacks, Volga Germans and other enslaved peoples suffered heavy losses of human life.

However, the more the Bolsheviks try to *totally* enslave the subjugated nations, that much more is the revolutionary significance of even a least offensive act of defiance magnified. For example, a child that refuses to speak the Russian language at school is, in fact, committing a revolutionary act.

A revolutionary national-liberation process is a series of phases, incrementally increasing in intensity and culminating in an armed uprising and the embodiment of authority and sovereignty in the nation as a whole. The initial stage of this struggle is primarily one of consciousness-building, by which an enslaved, colonized people comes to understand the inherent nature of its own system of values as opposed to the Bolshevist value system. The subjugated nations have already passed this stage. Behind the Iron Curtain, the revolutionary processes have now entered into a second phase: the building of an incipient underground state. These multifaceted liberation processes have already developed to the point where Moscow may soon be faced with an irreversible revolutionary situation, which succinctly can be described as the existence of two irreconcilable, diametrically-opposed poles of power and authority. These polar forces are: on the one hand, the colonial regime, representing the centralized, imperialist pseudo-authority of Moscow, and, on the other hand, the revolutionary, legitimate authority of the respective subjugated nations, whose national sovereignty will be fostered and guarded by an armed, insurgent-guerilla force — the force of freedom.

Freedom or slavery — this is the dilemma facing all of humanity, particularly Western democratic societies. In order to emerge victorious from this dilemma, the Western Democracies must relinquish many of the luxuries of a consumer society and a welfare state. This is the only way that the West can achieve military parity with the Warsaw Pact, particularly with regard to conventional armaments, and, more importantly, seek to ultimately eliminate the global Russian imperialist and communist threat to freedom. It is more virtuous to live a modest, even spartan, lifestyle and to guarantee one's freedom, than to hedonistically seek shortterm material benefits and as a result jeopardize one's freedom.

Freedom presumes the possibility of choosing among different values and norms, and of the capacity to act upon this choice. Nonetheless, this choice must be made within a definite framework, that is rooted in the immutable laws of God and the good of the nation. John Locke, whose ideas greatly influenced the Founding Fathers of the United States, argued in the *Two Treatises of Government* that to act outside of the Law is incompatible with freedom.

Bolshevism, in its drive to conquer the world, has stepped outside of any moral framework and uses the deceitful guise of proletarian, socialist internationalism to pursue its global expannionist aims. Helmut Schmidt, the former *Bundeskanzler* of the Federal Republic of Germany, described the Soviet Union's policy as 75% Russian and 25% communist. (*The International Herald Tribune*, May 23, 1983). Elsewhere, he asserted that "Russia was and is an expansionist power — whether under the tsars or the communists. It has to be checked by a decisive counter-force in the future, as in the past." (*Die Zeit*, No. 19, May 6 1983).

We, the ABN, applaud the courageous Polish *Solidarnosc* movement which came to realize that Polish national structures could be built only in diametrical opposition to Bolshevik, Russian colonial institutions.

We, furthermore, fully support the heroic liberation struggle of the Afghan nation and appeal to the Free World to render modern military assistance and other means of support to the "Mujahideen".

In its full scope the national-liberation revolution of the subjugated nations is a struggle between two polar worlds, two irreconcilable systems, two world-views: the world of theism, faith in God, a heroic Christianity, and religion in general, against the atheism and Caesareopapism of Moscow; independent and sovereign nations against a global empire, democracy against totalitarianism, a mosaic of national cultures, each of which adds its own jewel to humanity's treasure-house, against Russification and "socialist realism"; the right of private property against collectivist slavery; the national against the imperialist ideal.

Ours is the age of the Bomb. We must always bear in mind that humanity is faced with the deadly spectre of a global holocaust of unprecedented proportions. The ABN feels that this global threat of nuclear war lies in the continued existence

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of the Russian empire. No "deterrence" theories will ever be able to eliminate the nuclear threat, but will, at best, only postpone a thermo-nuclear confrontation.

The only alternative to this apocalyptical spectre lies in a political and military strategy of liberation. The subjugated nations, with the moral and political support of the Free World, are capable of dismantling the Russian prison of nations from within, thereby eliminating the possibility of a nuclear holocaust. In the words of U.S. General John K. Singlaub: "The subjugated nations are the Achilles heel of the Soviet-Russian empire... They are, in fact, the West's most reliable allies and constitute the liberation alternative to nuclear war".

Once the Russian imperialist threat is eliminated, then a truly just and free international order can be erected, based on the ABN slogan — "Freedom for Nations!" "Freedom for the Individual!"

But in order for this alternative to become a reality several changes need to be made in Western political and military strategy *vis-à-vis* the Russian empire and communist system. First, the Western Powers ought to target their nuclear missiles only at Russian ethnographic territories and Russian military industrial centres, as was recently suggested by General Maxwell B. Taylor, a former Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff. This change will reflect the West's understanding of the basic imperialist nature of the USSR and its desire to seek the allegiance of the subjugated nations. In the words of the British military strategist General J.F.C. Fuller: "If the West is to gain the sympathies of the enslaved peoples, it must inspire them. To think in terms of the atomic bomb is autocratic; to think in terms of liberation is democratic... To use this weapon indiscriminately is to repeat Hitler's blunder and the way... it should be used will determine whether the millions of enslaved peoples of Europe and the USSR are to be the allies of the West or the unwilling defenders of Moscow."

General Fuller further stated that: "...NATO is... the only potential first front against the Soviet Union, so in the ABN... is to be found the only potential second front. Together the two should constitute the grand, strategical-instrument of the Western powers, the one being as essential as the other, for neither without the other can achieve what should be the Western aim — not the containment of Communism, but the complete elimination of Bolshevism, without which there can be no peace in the world."

Most importantly, though, the West should render a full measure of moral and political support to the subjugated nations' national-liberation struggle. It ought to create the necessary preconditions for this struggle to be most effective and ultimately victorious, by terminating all forms of technological and economic assistance to the Russian empire. Such a policy would not only be in the interests of the subjugated nations, but of the Western Democracies as well. If the West refuses to help us in our cause of liberation, then at the least it should refrain from helping our enemy and the enemy of all humanity. He who helps the subjugated nations in their quest for national independence is securing his own freedom!

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Major General John K. SINGLAUB, USA (Ret)

"THE LOW FRONTIER: AN ALTERNATIVE TO NUCLEAR WAR"

An Address Presented To National Defense Luncheon, National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution on 19th April 1983 at Capitol Hilton Hotel Washington, D.C.

Madame President, Honorary Presidents General, Distinguished Guests, D.A.R., H.O.D.A.R. and friends

The opportunity to speak to this group is an experience I have looked forward to for many months. I know that this group is basically interested in our national security, and if only one half of this audience reads the National Defense Committee's publication, the "National Defender", you are much better informed as a group on national security matters than Dan Rather or the majority of the electronic media commentators and reporters. Unfortunately, however, as individuals, you probably have less influence on the development of a national consensus than do the electronic stars who produce the TV Evening News (or Evening Blues) programs.

Collectively, however, this national organization, and especially its National Defense Committees across the country have the potential for keeping the media honest and of carrying the national security message to the grass roots. I commend you for your accomplishments of the past and encourage you to continue your efforts with renewed vigor in the future.

I have been told that speaking to the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution is like preaching to the choir. I realize that even the most pious choir occasionally needs to be recharged. Hopefully, this experience today will be in the nature of a strong, positive charge that can assist you in overcoming the negative influences of the freezeniks and the unilateral disarmers.

Some months ago, the "National Defender" carried an excellent article on the subject of "Project High Frontier." For those of you who did not read that article or have not heard about Project High Frontier, let me tell you a little bit about this concept. Project High Frontier is a proposal put forward by Army retired Lieutenant General Daniel Graham and a group of the most talented scientists and space engineers to provide this country with a space-based Ballistic Missile Defense System. This is a non-nuclear, purely defensive system of space vehicles capable of detecting, attacking, and destroying Soviet-launched ICBM's before they become a hazard to the U.S. or its allies. This concept is based upon current proven technology and can be placed in operation within 3 to 5 years for a modest cost of about \$15 billion if the decision is made to go ahead now on an expedited basis.

Project High Frontier is morally defensible because it abondons the McNamara-imposed strategy of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) and embraces a strategy of defending ourselves in place of threatening the destruction of Soviet civilians. It is not a "star wars" concept of the 21st Century as suggested by the liberal and ill-informed media. It is an alternative to Nuclear War which, if implemented, would even permit us to accept a nuclear freeze at the present unequal levels of strategic power. Without this or some other alternative, a nuclear freeze now, of any type, is sheer madness for the entire free world.

As I have mentioned, my friend and close colleague, General Graham, has been dedicating his talents and energies in his post-retirement years to solving the Nation's strategic problems at the high end of the conflict spectrum. He has named his efforts Project High Frontier for obvious reasons. For less obvious reasons, but because my experience and current efforts are involved with the low end of the conflict spectrum, General Graham refers to my strategic concepts as the "Low Frontier." Let me try to explain why I think that the "Low Frontier" is another non-nuclear alternative to nuclear war.

Some of us are old enough to remember World War II and some of the suprising activities which took place inside the Soviet Union when Adolph Hitler betrayed his ally, Joseph Stalin, and sent his victorious panzer divisions racing across the plains of Russia toward Moscow. The actions of the Ukrainians, a nation of 50 million subjugated by force of arms during the Bolshevik Revolution, is particularly instructive for our case.

The Ukrainians thought they were about to be liberated by the Nazis from the terrible tyranny of 24 years of Russian domination. They declared their independence from Moscow's rule and expanded their underground resistance movement into the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, but because of Hitler's failure to recognize the disaffection of these subjugated nations, they soon found themselves fighting the Nazi Wehrmacht as well. This active resistance to totalitarianism lasted well beyond the defeat of Nazi Germany It took ten years before the Red Army was able to reduce the effectiveness of the insurgents to such an extent that the valiant freedom fighters were forced to go underground.

Today the guns have been silenced in Ukraine. To some this means that peace has come to that valiant nation. But the peace of surrender to the communists has not brought freedom, individual liberty, or independence to the re-enslaved people of Ukraine any more than it has to the more recently enslaved people of North Korea, Cuba, Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, Angola, Nicaragua and Afghanistan. The spirit of Ukrainian resistance, which has served as an inspiration to freedom fighters throughout the world, is still being expressed in the form of dissident writings and actions from all parts of the Soviet Empire and by quiet acts of sabotage and passive resistance inside the 1500 slave labour camps which form the Gulag Archipelago.

Today there are no soldiers, sailors, or airmen of the United States or its allies fighting and dying in a shooting war in any part of the world. Because the guns of the U.S. and its allies are silent, most citizens of the West believe that we are enjoying a period of peace. But the facts are that today we are not living in a time of peace. We are in the the midst of war. Admittedly, it is not a hot war in the conventional sense, but it is a revolutionary, total war. It does not recognize national boundaries, but it is only fought in the "war zone" which by communist definition, includes all nations outside the Soviet-controlled "Socialist Camp." This war knows no truce and can only end if one of the antagonists is totally defeated.

In the West, as soon as shooting stops or when diplomacy or military deterrence has prevented the outbreak of a shooting war, we operate under the peacetime rules of civilized nations. This we believe to be peace. Unfortunately, The USSR and Communist China have a completely different set of rules. According to the rules of Marxism-Leninism, the continuing class struggle means that the Socialist Camp is at war with the non-communist world on a continuing basis, whether at the shooting or the non-shooting part of the conflict spectrum.

The West, and especially the United States, looks at war today to be divided into two categories or levels of intensity. The highest level of intensity and the greatest threat to Western security and survival is Strategic Nuclear War. At a lower level of violence, with a lower threat to our security, is what is defined as conventional war. This involves battalions of troops using tanks and artillery, and ships and airplanes armed with conventional munitions.

The military forces of the Free World are generally organized, equipped, funded, and trained to fight either one or both of these two options. The USSR, on the other hand, recognizes and employs a third option and considers unconventional or non-shooting, covert war an essential part of the total spectrum of conflict. They with the so-called "national liberation movements", which they have created in the Third World and the Communist Parties which they support, in the capitalist nations believe in the total conflict with Western Civilization.

This unconventional warfare part of the conflict includes low intensity actions such as sabotage, terrorism, and guerrilla warfare. It also includes such covert and non-violent activities as subversion, psychological operations, economic warfare, support to dissidents groups, disinformation activities, propaganda, and political warfare. The Soviet Union today, acting directly or through its allies, proxies, or surrogates, is heavily engaged in all of these unconventional warfare operations against the Free World. Because they are covert and generally conceal the involvement of the Soviet Union, there is a tendency in the West to pretend that we are not under attack — that we are, in fact, in a period of peace.

In this period of so-called "Peace", the U.S. finds itself, after nearly 20 years of unilateral restraint, in a position of military inferiority in both the strategic and the conventional areas of armaments *vis-a-vis* the Soviet Union. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the USSR putting on such a major "Peace Offensive" as a part of its unconventional warfare campaign against the West. The thrust of this Soviet effort is to convince the world that the U.S. plan to modernize its own and the military forces of its allies constitutes an unwarranted initiation of an arms race which disrupts the peace of detente. The Soviet theme goes on to say that since an arms race will undoubtedly lead to a shooting war and a shooting war can escalate into a nuclear war in which all civilzation will be destroyed, the U.S. people must reject any increase in defense expenditures, accept a freeze at the present level of nuclear weapons, and even initiate unilateral disarmament to show our good faith.

If we are forced to accept these ideas as a consequence of the disinformation activities and psychological operations being conducted by KGB-trained agents of influence and supported by well-meaning but naive citizens of the West, we will remain in this false state of peace while the Soviets extract more and more concessions and compromises. We will be forced to meet coercive threats with increasing appeasement and eventual surrender to avoid a possible thermonuclear war. The Soviets will have won the conflict in the manner recommended by the ancient Chinese military scholar Sun Tzu who, in about 350 B.C., advised that the best general was he who avoided the use of violence and achieved his conquest by the surrender of the enemy.

What can we in the West do to prevent this conquest by surrender? What alternative do we have to the threat of nuclear attack other than the threat of nuclear retaliation? First we must come to terms with the existence of an enduring adversary relationship with the USSR and Communist China. This includes a recognition of a military confrontation with Communist Russia. To think otherwise is to engage in wishful thinking of a very dangerous sort. Second, as a matter of urgency, we must develop a Western strategy which recognizes the whole spectrum of conflict — from Strategic Nuclear to Conventional to Unconventional. This strategy must not only accept the communist challenge to the point of resisting it forcefully, but it must exploit to a maximum those many weaknesses within the Communist Empire with a view toward rolling back communist tyranny and domination everywhere.

1. The Free Nations of the world must stop the processes of self-surrender and of subsidizing communist governments, and

2. The process of liberation behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains must be encouraged, supported, coordinated, and sustained as much as possible.

I recognize that there will be those who will have some objection to the second element of this strategy. But, just as surely as no football, soccer, or rugby game was ever won without taking the ball across the opponent's goal line, the West cannot win this conflict without adding an offensive component to its strategy. Only by applying the principle of the counter-attack can the West arrive at a global strategy capable of guaranteeing peace and security for itself and hope to the enslaved millions of the world.

We must recognize that the Free World's most reliable allies are the enslaved peoples within the Communist Empire. The real Achilles heel of the whole Soviet power system is the restiveness and disaffection of the people within the Soviet camp. Can you imagine the terror it would strike into the hearts of the Kremlin leadership if it were faced with other Polands inside the Warsaw Pact and one or more Insurgent Armies of the Ukrainian model of 40 years ago inside the Soviet Union? Can you imagine the immobilizing panic of the Soviet Armed Forces if it were faced with a few more Afghanistans on and inside its borders? The fact that the Polish Solidarity Movement has grown several fold since the imposition of martial law gives some indication of the magnitude of this restiveness and the potential for resistance based upon national consciousness. The fact that the Afghan Freedom Fighters are gaining support and effectiveness in the face of increasing Soviet military commitment there stands as testimony to the strength of Muslim resistance to Communist imperialism and colonial aggression. And let us not forget that Communist China is subject to the same pressures of restiveness and disaffection of its own enslaved peoples and the victims of Chinese colonialism in such territories as Tibet.

Since Communist tyrants, Chinese and Russian, fear nothing so much as the infiltration of ideas of freedom and justice into their sphere of influence, a non-violent, non-military truth campaign beamed at the enslaved peoples of the world will have a significant deterrent effect against future communist expansionism. In fact, the Free Nations of the world who now find themselves confronted by an ever-increasing worldwide communist offensive, carried out under the threat of nuclear attack, can best defend themselves by turning the tables and hitting Soviet imperialism in its most sensitive spot, namely the internal resistance inside the Captive Nations.

For the Free Nations of the world to carry out this new strategy, some important changes need to be made. Within the United States, the covert actions and human intelligence collection capabilities of the Central Intelligence Agency must be re-established. The Special Operations forces of the U.S. Army, Navy, and Air Force must be expanded, restructured, and consolidated. Legislative restraints which protect communist imperialism and prevent or limit assistance to non-communist or anti-communist governments of the Third World must be removed. The West, in a co-operating rather than competitive manner, should determine the limitations on targeting of NATO missiles. Retaliatory nuclear strikes should be changed to recognize the friendly status of the Captive Nations and emphasize the strategic importance of targeting Russian facilities. Perhaps most important, there is a need to expose and counter Soviet and Chinese disinformation activities in the Free World with expanded, modernized, radio stations, such as Voice of America, Voice of Freedom, Radio Free Europe, Radio Free Asia, Radio Marti, and others.

Today in the worldwide political struggle between Communism and the West, there are literally hundreds of millions of enslaved peoples who are searching for some form of recognition and encouragement which will lead to their eventual liberation from their involuntary enslavement under Communist totalitarianism. They need the same hope of liberation that the Allies gave to the Nazi-occupied nations of Western Europe and to the Asian peoples occupied by the totalitarian forces of the Japanese Empire.

The Soviet Empire today, when faced with the possibility of other Solidarity movements among its occupied satellites and with the unreliability of its non-Russian forces in actions against the Afghan Freedom Fighters, will be deterred from further overt aggression if confronted with the threat of increasing disaffection as a result of a truth offensive from the Free World.

We in the West must recognize that the subjugated peoples and Captive Nations of the worldwide Communist Empire are one of the potentially most powerful spiritual and political forces in the world. They are, in fact, the West's strongest ally and constitute the liberation or flow Frontier alternative to nuclear war.

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Mykola CZUBATYJ

RUSSIAN CHURCH POLICY IN UKRAINE

The Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union compelled Stalin to exert every possible effort to save the Soviet empire from destruction.* The hitherto popular shibboleth of Red propaganda that Russia is the fatherland of international proletariat proved no longer sufficient to keep the martial ardour of both the Russian and non-Russian peoples of the USSR at white heat. Other means had to be found that would touch the hearts of the people and especially their national and religious sentiments. As one result of this Stalin began to take a more benign view of the traditionally national Russian Orthodox Church, and a closer collaboration developed between the Kremlin and the Moscow patriarchate.

The non-Russian peoples, however, especially the Ukrainians, failed to be impressed by this revival of Russian nationalism and of the Russian Church. In the past both had been used to denationalise them. To offset this distrust, the Bolsheviks made to the Ukrainians certain cultural and literary concessions, such as the publication of war literature to arouse their native patriotism and pride. Even this failed to drive the Ukrainians into the Russian war camp. Where Stalin failed, however, Hitler succeeded. The attempts of the Nazis to transform Ukraine and the Caucasian nations, occupied by the most nationally conscious and anti-Russian peoples, into mere colonies of German Lebensraum, at once aroused among the Ukrainians and others a deep hatred and undying opposition against the Germans. This opposition became all the more bitter as the Nazis executed or imprisoned scores of thousands of Ukrainian nationalists and drove millions of people into Germany to do forced labour there. Thus in no time at all the Ukrainians realised that they would gain nothing by exchanging their enslavement by the Russian Bolsheviks for the Nazi colonial system of national extermination. It was a case of out of the frying pan into the fire.

When finally victory was won and Soviet world imperialism came into play, the policies of the latter required the revival of the Orthodox Church as an instrument of the state, to be used to russify the non-Russian elements of the USSR and, on the other hand, to cause the Orthodox peoples of the Balkans and adjoining countries to look up to Russia as the staunch defender of their faith and the champion of their national interests. Therefore the Russian Orthodox Church was revived, to become an instrument of policy of the atheistic Soviet rulers. Soon it surrendered itself to them so slavishly as to negate its very Christian mission.

Casual observers of this elevation to official grace of the Orthodox Church in the Soviet Union, rushed forward with premature conclusions. According to them, this was the beginning of religious tolerance in the USSR. and marked a

[•] This article first appeared in the Ukrainian Quarterly in the United States, (Vol. II No. 1, 1945). However in the light of new developments which have taken place in the Ukrainian Catholic Church (see p. 39 of this issue of Ukrainian Review) the events which the author describes in this article assume a fresh significance.

new era in Soviet internal affairs. Nothing could be further from the truth. The Soviets have not changed their views on religion. They have come to recognise it as a convenient tool of their state policies and a means of serving Soviet policies and supporting the atheistic Kremlin rulers. In fact, the Russian Orthodox Church has received certain concessions, but they are far short of any religious freedom.

Insofar as the non-Orthodox people of the USSR are concerned, the new Soviet religious policy has ameliorated nothing. In fact, Ukrainian Catholics of the Eastern rite, centred in Western Ukraine, have found in many cases their position worse than ever before. Where previously the Reds persecuted religion as a whole, in an attempt to supplant this "opium of the people" with their materialistic philosophy, today the Bolsheviks continue their persecution of all churches excepting the Russian Orthodox. Their purpose is to erect upon the ruins of all these Soviet Russian Orthodoxy as an instrument of national extermination of the non-Russian peoples within their borders. The legend of religious freedom in the USSR belong to the myths about Soviet ethnic democracy, that is the alleged equality of all peoples under Soviet rule.

Russian Orthodox Church as an Instrument of State Policy

A characteristic of East European history has been the close relationship between the church and national life, vastly different from that in Western Europe or America. That is why in Eastern Europe each nation of the Orthodox faith has created its own national autocephalic church with its own independent head.

Nowhere has this relationship between State and the Church been closer than in Russia itself. It is quite old, since it dates back to the Tartar period of Russian history, that is to the first half of the 15th century. At that time the religious ideas of Muscovy were beginning to assume form, together with its imperialistic ideas of territorial expansion in Eastern Europe. At about that time Constantinople, known then as the Second Rome, had fallen into the hands of the Turks. Moscow seized this opportunity to proclaim itself the Third Rome, and then proceeded to flout the authority of Constantinople. Meanwhile it steadily exerted pressure to make its Orthodox Chruch serve its various political interests and imperialistic aims.

Accordingly, the ambition to reach and dominate the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles became camouflaged as "the duty of Orthodox" Muscovy to restore the cross to the dome of the St. Sophia Cathedral in Constantinople. Similarly, the plan to conquer Ukraine together with Kyiv, mother of all Ukraine-Rus' cities, became known as "the lending of a helping hand to our Orthodox brethren in Polish-Catholic slavery". These grandiose plans, however, could not be realised then, as Moscow was still too weak politically and culturally. It was impossible for Moscow at the time to force Ukraine and Byelorussia — countries of Western mentality and with a higher cultural level — to accept its religious "protection". Consequently as the self-styled Third Rome, Moscow was on constant guard lest the peoples of the former Kyivan-Rus' state confess a faith other than the Orthodox of the Muscovites. In line with this policy, it blocked all attempts to establish a religious union between Ukraine and Byelorussia and Rome, and to develop close West European cultural influences among them.

There was indeed then considerable likelihood that these two nations would unite themselves with Rome. At the Ecumenical Council in Florence in 1459 the ecclesiastical union of the Constantinople Patriarch with Rome was finally accomplished. The leading spirit behind the union was the Kyivan Metropolitan Isidore. Moscow refused to ratify this agreement and thereby isolated itself religiously as well as politically. Seeing its hopes dashed of ever reaching the shores of the Black Sea and of affixing the cross to the dome of St. Sophia, Moscow began an intensive campaign to nullify the results of the accord reached at Florence. From that time Moscow has ever been an implacable enemy of any attempted religious union of Ukraine and Byelorussia with Rome, as such a connection with the West would destroy any possibility that Moscow might have of uniting these nations into one religious unit and assimilating their peoples into the Russian nation. One of its methods here has been the cultivation of blind hatred against anyone or anything connected with Catholicism. "If an angel appeared from heaven before you", wrote the Muscovite Metropolitan Jonas, "and told you to recognise the authority of the Pope, then curse him".

Closer relations between the Church and State in Muscovy were inaugurated during the first half of the 16th century. It began with a dispute between Abbot Joseph of the wealthy Volokalamsk Monastery at Volotsk and Abbot Nil of the modest Sorsk Monastery. The first was of the opinion that monasteries should try to become rich in order to better train monastic candidates to become bishop counsellors of the Tsar. The other abbot felt differently. He believed that it was not the main purpose of monasteries to train counsellors for the Tsar or to mix into politics at all, but only to save the souls of the brotherhood and other faithful. The Church, he said, had no need to mix into State affairs or act as an instrument of the State. Moreover, the Orthodox Church should be independent of the State while its Metropolitan should have a free hand over it.

In the dispute, the views of Abbot Joseph prevailed. Subsequently his views were approved in theory by Metropolitan Makary, in the middle of the 16th century. According to him, the Russian Orthodox Chruch should have two heads, a temporal one, in the person of the Tsar (from 1547 on), and an ecclesiastical one — the Metropolitan, who should be elevated to the dignity of Patriarch — which is exactly what happened in 1589. The value of this elevation was first strikingly proved during the Period of the Great Troubles when the Moscow Patriarch played a vital role in the salvation of the Muscovite State after the extinction of the Rurik dynastic line in Muscovia.

Nonetheless, Makary's view on the necessity of having two heads of the Church did not prevail long. Tsarist autocracy could not tolerate the presence of another autocracy beside itself. Conflict between the Tsar and the Patriarch became inevitable, and resulted in the abolition of the Patriarchate by the builder of the modern Russian empire, Peter I.

Peter's reformation of the Church replaced its single patriarchal head with a

Holy Synod composed of a number of ecclesiastics plus a civilian Procurator, the official representative of the Tsar, in whom was vested the real authority in the Synod. From that time the Russian Orthodox Church became a mere tool of the internal and foreign policies of Russia.

In actual practice the Russian Orthodox Church became somewhat of a branch of the Ministry of Police, as in its own way it too was duty bound to uphold the Tsarist system. On that account alone it became an object of hatred among the Russian progressive circles as well as among the non-Russian peoples, especially the Ukrainians and Byelorussians. The latter immediately recognised it as an important agent in the officially sponsored attempts to Russify them and to deny to them freedom of conscience and faith. The Russian Orthodox Church ever remained alien to the Ukrainians and Byelorussians, who developed their religious faith and life along the traditional lines of the ancient Kyivan Rus'–Ukraine state of wide tolerance and close relations with the Western European nations.

Church and People in Ukraine

Following the final break of the Russian Church with the Kyivan metropolitanate (1461), as the spiritual leaders of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian peoples, the Kyivan metropolitans began steadily to draw their Orthodox Church closer to the West. Living beneath the foreign rule of the Polish-Lithuanian Roman Catholic state, the Kyivan metropolitans were compelled to depend for support upon their faithful rather than upon the state. Thus at the time when the Russian Church was already well on its way to becoming a State church, the Ukrainian Church remained dependent upon the people, first upon the nobility and magnates who represented the Ukrainian people and then, later, upon the masses themselves, organised in their church brotherhoods. There was in this some resemblance to the Protestant Church organisation.

Such dependence upon the masses eventually proved to be inconvenient to the Ukrainian-Byelorussian Orthodox Hierarchy and reforms were sought to make it more on the order of the Catholic models, that is to transfer the authority of the church from the masses to the hierarchy itself. Much along this line was done by the famed Kyivan metropolitan Peter Mohyla, who went to the extent of educating the seminarians at the newly founded Kyivan Mohyla Academy (1632) on the basis of the teachings of Catholic theologians and Catholic canon law, which was adapted by the Metropolitan himself to meet the needs of the Ukrainian people. In this manner, the cleavage between the Ukrainian Orthodox Church widened to such an extent that when about the middle of the 17th century a good portion of Ukraine found itself under Muscovite protectorate (1654) and the Ukrainian and Russian clergymen came into contact with one another, the latter looked upon the Russians as some sort of barbarized Christians.

As could be expected, amidst these occidental tendencies of the Ukrainian Church there was the natural inclination to go a step further and revive the accord of the Council of Florence (1439) and re-unite the Ukrainian Orthodox Church under the authority of the Pope albeit with the preservation of the centuries-old religious traditions and rites of the Ukrainian people. This was done at the council held in Brest in 1596. This radical step evoked strong protests among the more conservative elements who preferred that the church remain dependent on the masses. Among them there were some who, as a result, began to look to Moscow for support. The Ukrainian people were thus split into two religious camps — the Ukrainian Orthodox and the Ukrainian Catholics of the Eastern Rite, often called Uniates.

Forcible Russification of both Churches in Ukraine

Political circumstances themselves finally decided the fate of Ukrainian Orthodoxy. From a protectorate Ukraine soon was transformed by Moscow into a merc province and concurrently the Ukrainian Orthodox Church found itself forced to give up its allegiance to the Patriarch of Constantinople and submit to the authority of the Russian Church (1685). From then on that submission constantly grew more subservient until finally the Ukrainian Church itself became an instrument of russification of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian people. Any attempts to preserve Ukrainian religous traditions were brutally suppressed by Moscow.

It is no wonder then that during the 18th century a strong sentiment appeared among the Ukrainians for a religious adherence to Rome, which by that time had managed to bring within its fold about two-thirds of all Ukrainian people and well nigh all of the Byelorussians. To reverse the natural historical cultural development of the Ukrainians and Byelorussians was possible only by means of force, as the hard political conditions of the Ukrainian people under Russia certainly did not encourage them to desire religious dependence upon Moscow.

An opportunity for the Russian authorities to settle accounts with the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Eastern Rite finally arrived with the partitions of Poland in 1772 and 1795, in the course of which the overwhelming majority of the Ukrainians found themselves under Russian domination. Russian persecution of Ukrainian and Byelorussian Catholics of the Eastern Rite followed and this sometimes rivalled that of the early Christian martyrs. The stark fact is that Russia was able to force eleven million Ukrainians and Byelorussians to become "converts" to the Russian Orthodox Church.

Among the other measures taken then was the *ukaz* by Catherine II, directing the evacuation from Ukraine into St. Petersburg of the majority of the Ukrainian bishops headed by the Metropolitan himself, there to be interned for the remainder of their lives. Meanwhile, the Ukrainian clergy became the object of widespread Tsarist investigations directed to the uncovering of "dissidents". Against this there rose among the masses a wave of popular resistance. Millions of the people, called "resistants", although officially registered as Orthodox, refused nevertheless to regard themselves and their children as such. Their clergy who openly took an intransigent attitude against forced conversion to the Russian

Orthodox Church, and likewise scores of thousands of their faithful, were summarily arrested and exiled into distant and barren Russian provinces.

Following a period of relaxation of this persecution during the reign of the more liberal Alexander I, there came during the reign of his successor, Nicholas I, a fresh wave of persecution. It ran its course for ten years (1829-39) and culminated in the complete extirpation under Russian rule of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Catholic Church of the Eastern rite. The sinister figure behind this extirpation was the Auxiliary Bishop Siemashko who was definitely a *persona* grata with the government at St. Petersburg. The success of this action became complete, when in 1874 the last vestiges of Ukrainian Catholics in the area of Kholm, formerly under Poland were disposed of by the Russian government.

As a consequence of all this, Catholicism of the Eastern rite, so dangerous in Tsarist eyes, passed out of existence in Russian occupied lands and remained banned, even during the revolutionary year of 1905, when the decree of religious freedom ignored it completely. To be sure, the decree allowed the Orthodox subject of the state to change his religion to any other, even to the Roman Catholic, but definitely not to the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Eastern rite. This ban upon the latter, incidentally, lasted until the Russian Revolution in 1917.

Russian action in this connection was not limited to politicians and ecclesiastics alone. Abetted by the Russian authorities there appeared an officially supported "West Russian historical school", which with might and main proceeded to picture the Ukrainian and Byelorussian religious union as a "Polish intrigue, an act of the Jesuits, for the destruction of the Ukrainian nation". Strange it was indeed that such solicitude for the Ukrainian nation was expressed by those who elsewhere refused to acknowledge the very existence of the Ukrainian nation, and went even to the extent of banning the use of the Ukrainian language in 1863.*

There is no doubt but that the church union of Ukraine and Byelorussia with Rome was an indication of the natural cultural development of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian peoples, aimed at preserving close relations with Western Europe and incorporating themselves in it, just as the ancient Kyivan Rus-Ukraine considered itself a part of athe European "Communitas Christiana". This attitude of Ukrainian culture became one of the most striking characteristics of the national individuality of the Ukrainian nation.

The Western Ukrainian Cultural Piedmont

In the pursuit of its imperialistic aims Russia has for centuries been trying to assimilate the Ukrainian and Byelorussian people. In the process it has constantly attempted to destroy those traits which differentiate them from the Russians. Here lies the reason for the relentless and brutal campaign to eradicate the cultural attributes of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and the doubly brutal campaign to do the same in the case of the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Eastern rite which in Western Ukraine has become like a national faith.

^{*}The infamous ukase (decree) of P. Valuyev, the Tsarist Minister of the Interior (20.7.1863)

The fact that Galicia, the principal part of Western Ukraine, was able to preserve its eastern Catholic faith was largely because for one hundred and fifty years it was under the rule of Austria, which had no interest in destroying this religion. Through Austria, Galicia was in close contact with Western Europe and as a result became the most dynamic portion of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Piedmont as it has been aptly called. On this account Russia has always plotted to annex it and destroy its national and religious life.

During the years before the first World War the Russians spent large sums of money on Orthodox propaganda among the Galician Ukrainians. This propaganda was used in the adjoining but Russian occupied Ukrainian province of Volhynia, and was vainly attempted to persuade the Galician Ukrainians to adopt Russian Orthodoxy as their own faith. When the Russian troops occupied Galicia during the war, these attempts were redoubled on the spot. Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky and other Ukrainian Catholic clergy were banished into the depths of Russia, there to remain until the Russian Revolution (1917).

The Red Fight Against a Revived Ukrainian Orthodox Church

At first the revolution brought national and religious freedom for the former enslaved peoples of Tsarist Russia. A movement quickly appeared among the Orthodox Ukrainians of eastern Ukraine (until this time under Russia) to Ukrainianize their church. Likewise a friendly feeling towards the Catholicism of the Eastern rite of Western Ukraine appeared among them. This movement, however, never really got under way simply because of lack of leadership. In all of Ukraine there could not be found even one Orthodox bishop who considered himself a Ukrainian, so thoroughly had the Orthodox Church in Ukraine been russified. A group of clergy and laymen then undertook to lead the reform of their church. Their principal demand was to make the Church autonomous and Ukrainian, something which, of course, the bishops in both Ukraine and Russia refused to permit. The Orthodox Ukrainians then convened (late in 1918) a Ukrainian Church Council, in which Rev. Vasile Lypkivsky played a prominent role. The council urged that the hierarchy appoint Father Lypkivsky as the Kyivan metropolitan. The hierarchy again refused. The Council then proceeded to make the appointment itself and proclaimed the establishment of the Autocephalous Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

The Bolsheviks, who had by then occupied Ukraine and Kyiv, at first did not mix into church affairs. They were busy with a general atheistic campaign, which affected Russian Orthodoxy in Ukraine far more than it did the independent Ukrainian Church. Soon the former became extinct in Ukraine and into the resultant vacuum the Ukrainian Church entered and steadily spread throughout the land. Although it was not canonically well founded, still it represented a national revolution in the field of religion.

During the period of so-called Ukrainization between 1923 and 1929 under Red rule, the Autocephalous Ukrainian Orthodox Church gained correspondingly.

With the end of that period, the church like other Ukrainian institutions, became the object of savage persecution at the hands of the Reds. The new metropolitan of Kyiv, Mykola Boretsky, was imprisoned, the church itself was ordered to dissolve, and some of the hierarchy were compelled to make debasing recantations of their faith, while the faithful were hounded for years (1930). In a short time, the Autocephalous Ukrainian Orthodox Church disappeared from view, and what remained of it went underground.

Just as some ten years earlier Moscow had destroyed the Tsarist Orthodox Church in Ukraine and thereby enabled the Autocephalous Ukrainian Church to grow in its place, so now it had destroyed the latter in order to revive in Ukraine the Russian Orthodox Patriarchal Church which was coming back into the good graces of the atheistic Kremlin rulers.

Religious Persecution of Western Ukrainian Catholics

The occupation of Western Ukraine in 1939 by the Soviets with Nazi approval had the same aim which had prompted Tsarist Russia to occupy Galicia in 1914. It was simply to seize and throttle the national spirit of the most dynamic part of Ukraine. Although atheistic, the Reds were not at all averse to using religion for this purpose.

Following its usual pattern in such cases, Moscow first disposed of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Western Ukraine by placing it under the control of the Moscow Patriarch, and by forcing the Volhynian Archbishop Oleksiy and his assistant Bishop Polikarp to recognize his authority. For a while they allowed the Ukrainian Catholic Church to remain in peace, probably because of the worldwide influence and personal popularity of its venerable head, Metropolitan Count Andrew Sheptytsky. Still, though the Church then was not persecuted, its development was not allowed to proceed by the Soviets unhindered.

The retreat of the Reds from Western Ukraine and subsequently from Eastern Ukraine as well offered an opportunity for the revival of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Oleksiy, however, refused to lead the revival, saying he would remain loyal to the Moscow Patriarch. Soon he was murdered by the underground of the Ukrainian independentist groups. Bishop Polikarp assumed the leadership. Thus the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church came again into being and soon spread not only throughout Volhynia but throughout East Ukraine as well. In retaliation, the Patriarch tried Polikarp *in absentia* and excommunicated him. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church continued to grow in strength nonetheless, and under the direction of Bishop Mstyslav, assistant to the Kyivan Metropolitan, it revived five hundred parishes, mostly in Ukraine west of the Dnipro river.

The Soviet conquest of Ukraine brought all these gains to a quick end and compelled the Ukrainian Orthodox Hierarchy, clergy and outstanding churchmen to quit Ukraine and flee westward.

The Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy and clergy, however, did not flee before the Soviet advance. Upon express orders of Metropolitan Sheptytsky they remained

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with their parishes. As long as their venerable prelate remained alive, they and their flocks were not particularly molested by Reds. But when he died and was succeeded by Metropolitan Josyph Slipyi, a savage persecution of the church, its clergy and the faithful swept over the land.

The first blow fell upon the hierarchy. Metropolitan Slipyi and all his bishops were arrested and thrust into prison. There the first to perish was the aged Bishop of Stanislaviv, Gregory Khomyshyn, together with his assistant, Ivan Liatyshevsky. Late in 1945 Metropolitan Slipyi himself was reliably reported to have died in a Kyiv prison. A later dispatch informed that he was being held in prison in the Ural mountains**. By that time the Reds had turned their attention to the priests, and had executed scores and imprisoned hundreds of them. The comparatively few who have been left at liberty are today subjected to various restrictions and indignities.

With the purge well under way, the Moscow Patriarchal Synod issued an appeal to all Ukrainian Catholics to forsake their church and enter the Russian Orthodox Church, and at the same time recognise as their religious head a certain Bishop Makariy, whom the Moscow Patriarch had appointed Bishop of Lviv and Ternopil. When this appeal went unheeded, the Kremlin then set up an "Initiatory Group for the Reunion of Ukrainian Catholics with Russian Orthodoxy".*** It was composed of three priests, one from each of the three Galician dioceses. It is worth noting that their leader, Rev. Havryil Kostelnyk, had already served a couple of months in a Soviet prison when he accepted membership in the group. Another member, Rev. Michael Melnyk, was reported as being on the verge of insanity. Whether they served willingly or not, the fact remains that with all the official authority and power at their disposal, these "missionaries" have been able to "persuade" a bare forty of the Ukrainian Catholic priests to be "converted" to Russian Orthodoxy out of about 2.700.

One of the measures taken by this Initiatory Group was to ask the Council of Peoples' Commissars of Ukraine to come to its aid. Although the Soviets profess the church is separate from the state, still this did not prevent the Council of Commissars in response to the appeal from the Group, from dismissing from their ecclesiastical offices the hierarchy of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and appointing in their place not their canonical successors but handpicked interlopers. The document issued by the Council in this connection is worth quoting here:

(To) Members of the Initiatory Group for the Reunion of the Greek Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church: Dr. Kostelnyk, Dr. Melnyk, and A. Pelvetsky.

As per instructions of the Council of Peoples' Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR and in reply to your declaration of May 28, 1945, I wish to inform you that:

1. The Initiatory Group for the Reunion of the Greek Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church is hereby recognised in its present form as

^{**} His Beatitude Patriarch Josyf Slipyj was released from Soviet Russian captivity in 1963 and since resides in Rome.

^{***} See "Letters of Defiance" on p. 39 of this issue of Ukrainian Review.

the sole provisional ecclesiastical administrative organ, to which is granted the authority to administer fully the existing Greek Catholic parishes in the western regions of Ukraine and to direct the reunion of the said parishes with the Russian Orthodox Church.

2. The Initiatory Group for the Reunion of the Greek Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church has the authority for the future to settle all legal questions pertaining to the administration of the Greek Catholic Parishes and their reunion with the Orthodox Church, with the authorised Commissioner of the Council of Peoples' Commissars in matters relating to the Russian Orthodox Church designated by the Council of the Peoples' Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR and in accordance with regional official delegates.

3. After the registration of deaneries, parishes and monasteries of the Greek Catholic Church, the Initiatory Group is required to send to the proper Commissioner in matters of the Russian Orthodox Church authorised by the Council of Peoples' Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR lists of all those deacons, rectors and monastery abbots who refuse to acknowledge the jurisdiction over them of the Initiatory Group for the Reunion of the Greek Cathlic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church.

Commissioner of the Council for Russian Orthodox Church Affairs on the Council of Peoples' Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR — Kyiv, June 18, 1945. P. Khodchenko.

It is clear that *tovarish* P. Khodchenko was vested by the Council of Ukrainian Peoples' Commissars with the authority of the Pope over the West Ukrainian Catholic Church.

In reply to the above order, the clergy of St. George's Cathedral in Lviv sent a protest directly to Molotov, vice-chairman of the Council of Peoples' Commissars of the USSR in Moscow.

The protest declared that:

As a result of the arrest of the Episcopate of the Greek Catholic Church in Western Ukraine, together with a long series of priests, and because of the order forbidding any of the Greek Catholic clergy to administer the Church, our Church has now found itself in a very abnormal condition.

The situation has become all the more complicated by the appearance of an Initiatory Group (etc.), which has issued an announcement to the Greek Catholic clergy... Because this announcement contains much falsehood, we Greek Catholic clergy reject all responsibility for it... (here follows an expression of loyalty of the clergy to the Soviet Union, and then):

Our attitude toward the action of Rev. Kostelnyk is completely negative, and we consider his action as pernicious, basically un-church-like and contrary to the truth as proclaimed by Christ: "There shall be but one flock and but one pastor". With the present situation being what it is, religious strife may rapidly ensue. Therefore we appeal to the government to release from

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prison the entire Episcopate with our Metropolitan at its head, and in the interim between now and the time of such release, to make it possible for us to administer the affairs of our church. Until our Metropolitan and bishops are released, the legal church administration would govern in accordance with the canons of our Church.

We believe that the Government will grant out petition, for Stalin's Constitution guarantees to all citizens, and therefore to us too, freedom of conscience and religion. We know in the name of what high ideals the Revolution of 1917 was fought, and we believe that these high ideals of liberty are alive even today, and, that, moreover, they are growing and encompassing the whole world.

Therefore in the name of justice and in the light of the brilliant victory of the Soviet Union, we plead that we and the people be permitted to retain freedom in Church affairs which we have enjoyed for hundreds of years and to which on the basis of Soviet law we have full right now.

Lviv, July 1, 1945. St. George's Cathedral Square. No 5. (Signatures).

It is not known whether there has been any answer from Comrade Molotov to this appeal of the Ukrainian Catholic clergy of the city of Lviv, in which they emphasized the freedom of religion guaranteed by the Stalin Constitution. Reports from Lviv, however, mention further arrests of the Catholic clergy and members of the faculty of the Theological Academy, and the closing of the Cathedral of St George, the national shrine of Western Ukrainians. Moreover, in connection with the protest of the Ukrainian Catholic clergy to Molotov over 300 priests were arrested and sent into exile. Many were executed.

The persecution of the Ukrainian Catholics on account of their religious conviction prompted the Holy See to issue an Encyclical letter to the world "Orientales omnes Ecclesias" of Pope Pius XII. It pictures the miserable religious status of the Western Ukrainian Catholics under Soviet occupation, sends encouragement to the jailed bishops and praises the martyrs of the Faith.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church of Western Ukraine is today undergoing a period of severe persecution. One sees there taking place a desperate struggle for the preservation of their ancestral Faith at the very moment when at the London Assembly of the UNO there are being professed for the record beautiful ideals of human rights and the Four Freedoms of a better and freer world.

NEWS FROM UKRAINE

A CHRONICLE OF AN UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT TO VISIT OKSANA MESHKO REACHES THE WEST**

Recently a letter reached the West, written in Moscow on September 20, 1982, by "Elena" to "Marina" (no further identification of the author or recipient was possible), describing an unsuccessful attempt to visit Oksana Meshko in Ayan, Khabarovskiy Kray, where she is serving her five-year term of internal exile. The full text of a translation of this letter is printed below.

Moscow, Sept. 20 1982 (Traneslation of the original)

Dear Marina:

As you might recall, I once mentioned that I intended to visit Oksana Meshko in exile, on my way from Magadan. This, however, turned out to be more complicated than trying to cross the Soviet border. To illustrate this to you, I will try to use the epistolary genre, drawing this event in colour and in detail.

The settlement of Ayan, where Oksana Yakivna resides, is found on the shores of the Sea of Okhotsk, south of Magadan. I planned to get there by some smeall airplane in about two hours. But it turned out quite differently.

I was informed at the airport that there are no flights from Magadan to Ayan, although there are flights to Okhotsk — one flight on Sunday. But there are no flights from Okhotsk to Ayan.

--- "Then, how can I reach Ayan?" I asked.

The girl in the office, searched various reference books until she located the place named Ayan. She said: "there is only one flight there from Nikolayevsk-on-Amur." "But how can I get to Nikolayevsk from here?" "Only through Khabar-ovsk."

Imagine, to Ayan from Magadan, you must travel through Khabarovsk! It is quite the same as going to Leningrad from Moscow through Murmansk or Odessa. I also went to the harbour to see if there were boats to Ayan, but there were none. And, as you know, there are no other ways to travel there.

I was almost ready to abandon the idea of getting there, but then I reread the letter from Oksana Yakivna — and I was overcome. I decided to fight to the end.

After many difficulties I reached Nikolayevsk-on-Amur — through overcrowded lines, long hours at the ticket counter and waiting at the airport. In Niko-

^{*}Seventy-eight-year-old Oksana Meshko, a founding member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, was sentenced on January 6, 1981, to six months' imprisonment and five years' internal exile for "anti–Soviet agitation and propaganda." She is currently in exile in Ayan, a village in a desolate region of Siberia, where the climate is extremely harsh. The conditions of exile are life-threatening to Oksana Meshko, who had a heart attack in 1976 during a police search of her apartment, and suffers from severe arthritis. On August 2, 1983, one hundred Members of US Congress sent an appeal to Yuriy Andropov, requesting that Oksana Meshko's be released from internal exile for humanitarian reasons. For a vivid account of Oksana Meshko's life see *Between Death and Life*, translated into Eng lish by *George Moshinsky*. Published by ODFFU Inc., P.O. Box 304, Cooper Sta., New York, N.Y. 1003, USA.

layevsk the weather was overcast and drizzling — not suitable for flying. I learned that there was only one flight to Ayan daily — actually only once a week or even less frequently. The weather in Ayan often does not permit flying. "People here sometimes wait for weeks for a flight to Ayan," I was warned. "Then, how can I get there" — "NO WAY."

I went to the river harbour — there was no passenger ships! I learned, however, that there was a merchant ship which would leave the next day for Okhotsk through Ayan! I was relieved — there was some hope. I went to the harbour master, showing him the telegram from Oksana Yakivna, hoping to obtain his sympathy. He said that according to the rules he cannot take any passengers, but in view of the circumstances and the telegram he might do it.

I spent the day in Nikolayevsk. Everything I saw was like Chekhov's "Sakhalin Island" — there was no difference. Only the nobility meeting was missing.

In the late evening of the next day, I was finally on the ship's deck. Here, you would believe, my ordeal was at an end. In fact it was only beginning.

I forgot to tell you that Ayan, among other things, is in the border zone. There is a system of permits, issued by the office of the local militia, but in general, if you have an invitation from a resident of the border zone, that is sufficient. I had with me the telegram from Oksana Yakivna complaining about her health and asking me to visit her, as well as two letters with the same request. In Magadan, I had learned that there are some more stringent permit forms, which are verified by the MVD, (Ministry of Internal Affairs), but I was afraid they would use that to obstruct me. I even telephoned Oksana Yakivna for this reason, but we decided that such a minor thing would not be an obstacle to our meeting. But, no.

My adventures began while still on the ship. I was not the only passenger. Given the non-flying weather, there were a number of passengers like me, among them a group of Ayan government officials returning from their vacations: the head of the area KGB, the militia master, his staff and the prosecutor. I did not know this at first. The next day, suspecting nothing, I stood on the deck admiring the scenery of the Amur delta. I was approached by a young man, blue-eyed with a simple face, who asked me how is it possible that he does not know me — although he knows everbody in Ayan by sight, he sees me for the first time. I answered that I was visiting someone in Ayan. "Whom?" — "A relative." "What is their name?" I was silent. But, I guess, I mentioned that I came from Moscow. The man was on the staff of the militia. And, my face probably appeared suspicious to him.

That evening the ship's officer collected the passengers passports to make out a list as they do there. As it happened, I was in the navigator's cabin at the time. the door was suddenly opened and the navigational officer entered the cabin, followed by a man with a characteristic well-fed figure.

"I am the chief of the Ayan KGB," he said while still in the doorway, "I have to check the passengers passports; does everybody have a permit for Ayan. I see here some faces unknown to me. . ."

I left the cabin, stood on the deck and waited for what would come next. Soon the navigational officer came and asked me back to the cabin.

"Where is your permit?" asked the KGB agent.

"I do not have a permit, I'm going as a guest. I have an invitation." "Show it."

What to do? Get into an argument at once? Say that I will only show it only to the border authorities? Then he would understand whom I was visiting. Nothing to do but show him the telegram. How his brows frowned and his face turned red.

"Meshko?" — he exclaimed, and in his anger could not think of another word to say. Then he sat very officially at the table and started to write something and, in an offhanded manner, said:

"Then be ready to pay 10 roubles fine for the violation of the border rules and 30 roubles for the return trip."

"But I have an invitation."

"That is unsufficient. A permit is also needed."

I feigned complete astonishment and no understanding of what was going on. Now he was uneasy for his tartness.

"Well, we'll reach Ayan, and then the border authorities will decide," he added softly.

In the morning, I met some workers from the Court department in the mess hall, and they said the KGB man ordered the captain not to let me on shore.

"What will the captain do with me?"

"Nothing. You will sail with us until we return to Nikolayevsk."

They chuckled. I asked them if there had been incidents in the past when the border authorities had refused a passenger to come on shore. They said no. And they encouraged me.

"At worst they will fine you, and let you go"

We arrived at Ayan on September 1, late at night. A patrol boat approached the ship in order to take the passengers to the shore. I put on my rucksack and went upstairs to the exit. But the KGB man blocked my way out.

"Stop, where are you going? You are not permitted on the shore".

"At that moment the blue-eyed man I met before, and another lanky fellow, the head of the local militia, appeared, and grasped me from both sides, pushing me back from the door — so hard I barely kept my balance.

"I better not see this woman on the shore!" should the "Che-ka" man to the captain. "What if the border guard lets her pass?" responded the captain.

"I do not permit it. I am chief of the KGB. That is sufficient."

Soon the border guards arrived, and cited me for violation of the border regulations.

"But I am not violating anything. I am on a visit by invitation."

"Your invitation is not in proper form. And you do not have a permit."

It is worthwhile to note that there was another passenger with the same kind of telegram — but no one demanded a permit or said a word.

"On the ship you are not in a border zone. On shore you are in a border zone. Therefore you cannot leave the ship." explained the border guard.

"Then, why are you citing me for a violation, if I am not in violation — I am not on the shore?"

He prattled something indistinctly like, because you wanted to violate and so forth.

The next morning I could see Ayan. It is a very small settlement, nestled among tall cliffs, appearing poor and unsightly. There is no wharf or pier on shore. Only several motor boats were anchored. The landscape is monotonous, downcast and grey. It was raining lightly but continuously. Now I could clearly understand the danger to Oksana Yakivna's health: she has hypertension and a serious eye ailment — yet the humid climate is constantly making them worse. The atmosphere is thin, and one always seems to need more oxygen. This is a hard place even for a healthy person, but how much more so for Oksana Yakivna! She is now 77 years old. And if I would try to list all her ailments, his sheet of paper would be too short. And I'm not even mentioning the psychological stress — the complete isolation in Ayan from the outside world. If you would want a place at the end of the world, which lacks ingress or roads, where you might find complete solitude — you would never find a better place than Ayan. Imagine how I felt then on the deck, after all the hardships I went through, to be only 300 metres from the shore, but to never reach it.

I attempted one more try. A boat with the aide of the captain and several seamen was going on shore. I sat in the boat with them. As we left for shore, a patrol boat appeared and sailed parallel to us to the shore. As we reached the shore, I did not have time to even disembark, when there suddenly appeared as if from nowhere a militiaman and a Che-Ka-agent — it was not the same one who shared the boat with me, but one younger and lower in rank. Both had red faces and acted nervously. At that moment some five armed border guards rushed toward us from different directions, and several vehicles arrived simultaneously. The Chekaman, shouting at the captain's aide, demanded documents of the boats occupants.

"We came to the warehouse", said the aide quietly.

The Che-ka-agent continued to shout something uncomprehensible. They sat all of us into a car, saying we would be taken to the border station. We did not go, however, but remained in the car with the motor running for some 10 minutes. In the meantime, the Che-Ka-agent was bustling around the shore, both preoccupied and uncertain, but then he opened the car door and told the seamen to return me to the ship at once. I responded that I wanted to see the chief of the border station. "What for?" asked the Che-Ka-agent, making it clear that the man was nothing to the man who had previously cited me with the border rule violation. I handed him an application and requested permission to land in Ayan, and to fly from Ayan to Khabarovsk, since I already had a ticket "Khabarovsk — Moscow" for September 10, and, if I was forced to remain with the ship I would never make the flight. The border chief held my application in his hand, but did not seem to know what to do with it. I asked him permission to stay or reasonable grounds for rejection. He hesitatingly answered that the matter would be reviewed within the next day.

I managed to pass a note to Oksana Yakivna that I arrived but that I could not leave the ship. The entire next day, I watched the passing boats and the shore in the hope that Oksana Yakivna might somehow find her way to my ship. I asked some of the seamen to bring Oksana Yakivna to the ship. Around four o'clock, a patrol boat brought the KGB agent and militiaman, who proceeded immediately to the captain. They talked for almost an hour. They might have discussed my case and threatened the captain with the consequences for not following their orders. After this conversation, the captain asked me not to come on deck and not to talk to talk to any of the ship's crew. Then both men left the captain's cabin and stepped down to their patrol boat. I tried to follow them. When I got to the boat, I asked the militiaman to take me to the shore, because I had to talk to the chief of the border station. But he remained silent and pointed to the Che-Ka-agent, as if to say, "I am nothing go to him." But I kept up my supplication, making clear that I did not want to turn to the Che-Ka-agent. Then the Che-Ka-agent himself interfered.

"You are not permitted to go on shore."

"But I have to talk to the chief of the border station."

"What for."

"To get a reply to my application."

"We already gave you a reply: nyet."

"I do not need your nyet but a reasonable basis for rejection in writing."

"There is no need for a writing. You will fly from Okhotsk."

"But Okhotsk also lies in a border zone."

"No."

"How can you say no? Every local inhabitant would tell you that Okhotsk is in the border zone."

"So you will fly from there; the airplanes fly there."

"And, from here."

"Here they do not fly; the weather is not flyable. The weather that day ironically, was beautiful — not one cloud in the sky, the sun shining, the sea calm and clear; the rocks reflected in the water. People say here that such days can be counted in Ayan on one hand."

"And in Okhotsk, it seems, the weather is flyable?" I asked the Che-Ka-agent.

"Yes, it is flyable in Okhotsk, and here it is not," he continued his nonsense as he hurried down the boat.

"And what's your name?" I called after him.

"What do you need my name for?" he shouted red-faced. And then disappeared into the patrol boat.

That evening the ship's crew returning from the shore told me: "They would not let your aunt on the ship."

I was shocked

"Yes, they didn't let her. We let down a ladder for her and started to help her, but then they came running from all over the place screaming at us, and took her off the third step of the ladder."

So there it is. Alright, I cannot go on shore for lack of a permit, but why can't she come?

At dusk, a motor boat came about the ship and several people disembarked, one came up and said hushedly: "I have to talk to you later." The group went to a deck cabin, and on their way back, this one took me aside and whispered:

"What should I carry to your grandma?"

"A greeting," I said.

"And what else?"

"Well, if you can take me on shore."

"No that is impossible. But what should I give her?"

"Just a greeting."

"Greeting?" he asked in disbelief. "Only this? How about documents?" I almost burst into laughter. Just what I needed — a provocateur.

"Do not be afraid, I am a trusted friend," he continued to whisper. "I'll pass on everything to her without damage. Give to me everything you brought. Letters, documents, she will get everything."

It turned out that he was chairman of the Regional Executive Committee.

"If you really want to help", I told him, "then as a representative of the local authorities I beg that Oksana Yakivna be allowed to come over here to see me."

"No, nobody can grant such permission; she is a political deportee, a dangerous criminal against the state," he told me loudly in front of everybody, losing control of himself. And there were people around us.

"For the last time, what should I give her?"

"A greeting."

"Thats up to you. . ."

Nevertheless, I managed to pass a note to her, not through him, of course, but through the stevedores. Unfortunately, Oksana Yakivna didn't receive it. My intuition failed me this time, I gave it into the wrong hands.

Late at night, on the third of September, we sailed away to Okhotsk. I glanced for the last time at the lights of Ayan. They glimmer red — like in a desert, so solitary. The sea was calm as it rarely occurs there, and the sky was clear. Along the shore — silhouettes of the rocks were towering above. The moon was reflected in the sea surface. Some of the ship's crew came over to me, and asked me about Oksana Yakivna. I told them about the human rights movement and the Helsinki Group. Some of them had already heard something about it from the radio.

One young woman asked: "But why did she join it? Such an old woman?"

"But why shouldn't an old woman be honest?" responded a seaman.

Actually, the Che-Ka-agents did accomplish one thing — they had discredited themselves before the entire populace. One could even say they had conducted a show case of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda.

In Ochotsk I was greeted as a long-expected guest. Two border guards came to my cabin, and took their stations: one on each side of the door. They were armed with rifles. The KGB agent who arrived with the guards was holding a conversation with the captain and navigational officer on something; soon I was cited with another violation of border violation regulations. Then, he ordered me to open my baggage. Apparently, having violated the regulations, I must be searched.

"Search," I said, pointing to my rucksack and pocketbook.

"No, show it yourself."

"I am showing you. There is my bag."

"No, open your pocketbook."

Well, I thought, let him see if he wants it so much. I opened the pocketbook and showed him a collection of Akhmatova's poetry.

"Turn the pages"

I did. Then, I took out two more books, which he started to review. At that moment a letter fell out. (How could I have forgotten?) I had written it to Vanya, but did not have time to mail it from Nikolayevsk.

"Stop," he said

He took the letter and swiftly copied the address on it. But this was already too much for me.

"What is this? A search?" I asked.

"No, no. We are just looking at your belongings, and you are showing them to us."

"Then I am not going to show them to you," I said, closing my pocketbook.

"If so, you better come with us!" he said loudly and sternly.

We proceeded, but how. Under the armed escort. Everything as it should be: one border guard before us, and the second one behind us. We went down, then along the hallway, to the deck, where we marched in front of the wonder-struck ship's crew. That's how they brought me to the hold of the patrol boat, sat me down, and took positions on each side of me — to protect me. They warned that they would shoot me if I tried to escape.

Thus, we arrived on shore. They put me in a car, and the Che-Ka agent sat beside me. Along the way, he asked me questions — where do I work and what kind of geological organization I was travelling with. I stopped him with a simple question: "Is this an interrogation?"

They brought me to some pier at the harbour and then, they let me go free. The Cha-Ka agent gave me directions to the airport, told me not to violate the border regulations, saluted me and left. True, there appeared a few militia men and others, but when I boarded a boat for the airport, they got into their cars and left.

One thing was still puzzling; me why did they put guards on me on the ship when I could not go anywhere — except into the water.

Thus, I crossed the bay on the other side and arrived at the airport. After I checked the schedules, I met some geologist friends who were by luck based there. I stayed overnight with them. In the morning I went to the post office to arrange a telephone call to Oksana Yakivna, and then to the airport to get a ticket for the next day. As I was leaving, I was unexpectedly approached by an unknown person, a short man with a red nose. He seemed to say almost to himself:

"Elena Nikolayevna, may I talk to you?"

I wasn't sure he was addressing me since that was not my proper name and he wasn't looking at me, so I didn't answer and kept going.

"Elena Nikolayevna," he shouted so loudly that I was startled.

"I am talking to you; come with me," he said without looking at me, as he walked in the direction of the militia office.

I stopped for a moment.

"Let's go, let's go."

"And who are you?" I asked.

"It doesn't matter. Chief of the militia detachment." We entered the militia office.

"Your documents?" he asked.

I told him that I did not have my documents with me at that moment.

"And where is your black pocketbook."

"At the same place where the documents are, of course."

"And why are you in the border zone without documents? Why didn't you depart yesterday? Do you hold me a fool? Do you play cat and mouse with me?"

"Cat and mouse? This is the first I have ever saw you!"

"No, you're playing cat and mouse with me for the second day!"

Unbelievably, he wanted me to take him to the place where I stayed overnight. I said I would not show him the place, but I would bring my passport a little later. He let me go, but then he followed me. Well then, I went in a wrong way, directly opposite direction.

"There?" he showed me the way to the settlement.

"Not there," and I continued in the same direction. The road as it turned out, led to a military installation.

"No, you are making fun me! Let us go back! I will put two guards on you. If you do not go, I'll put four of them. We'll comb the whole settlement!"

"And who authorized you to do this?" I asked.

"Here, I can do anything I want. If I want, I can jail you for three days for violating the border zone regulations. If I want, I can arrest you for the violation of passport rules. I'll fine you severely!"

Finally, I came loose of him. I stopped at the post office to cancel my call. I could not endanger the geologists for such a minor thing. I brought a ticket to Niko-layevsk.

In Nikolayevsk at the border, I was approached by someone who introduced himself as the chief of the harbour, and asked if I had seen a girl with red hair, who had just been there. I answered, no, I did not see. "Because," he said, "the KGB is looking for her." He smiled and looked at me, "Well then? Did you perhaps see her?" Now, I smiled, "Oh, KGB," I said, "they have to search for someone — for the red-haired, for the black-haired people. They must be paid for something, and they must have something to write in their annual reports." The "chief of the harbour" mumbled something in response, but did not ask any other questions.

I arrived at Khabarovsk without any adventures, and in due course departed for Moscow. Consider for a moment all the healthy, mature, physically strong people in the territory from Nikolayevsk-on-Amur to Okhotsk in the past week how were they occupied? And what interestingly, do they do on other days, when they do not have as important a subject for work as an especially dangerous lawbreaker like me.

Humour aside, let us think how we may help Oksana Yakivna. Her situation is a tragic one. Her age, her illness, the harsh climate, the strictness of supervision, the desolation of the region and finally — complete solitude. And she has still almost four years ahead of her. How shall we help her? The winter there is very severe. Her heat is a stove for which she must supply her own wood; water must be carried; her dilapidated home needs repairs, and so on. Her neighbours even last year wondered "How will you survive the winter here alone?" There are no doctors; there is no one to turn to. In the village of Ayan, although there are KGB and militia quarters, there is not even a medical clinic; and Oksana Yakivna must long seek permission for travel to Khabarovsk for medical care. In Khabarovsk, she is given recommendations for treatment by local doctors — but there are no local doctors. And there is no medicine. In her situation, even prison conditions would be easier to bear than an exile.

I told her on the telephone: That it is alright, Oksana Yakivna, we somehow will visit you next year." At this she only replied with an ironic: "Do you really believe that I will survive the entire year?".

Thus, how shall we help her? She is hoping for amnesty on the 60th anniversary of Soviet rule. This would, of course, be good but try to recall who has ever obtained pardon for a political sentence? Request a review of her sentence? But this is merely an extraneous waste of nerves. Write to the KGB — this will only tease the dogs. Write to the state prosecutor of "MVD?" But by the time they review the case, her term will have been served. Maybe, perhaps, we can widely publicize this whole thing, and hope for a raging reaction from international society. But do you not understand that the international circles are already too tired to react to our disarray?

Elena

"Smoloskyp" No 22.

Baltic Political Prisoners Join Ukrainian Helsinki Group

Two political prisoners from the Baltic states, a Lithuanian and an Estonian, have recently joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group while serving their sentences in labour camp No. 36-1 in the vast penal complex near Perm, reported the External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

Viktoras Petkus, a 54-year-old founding-member of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group, and Murt Niklus, a well-known Estonian dissident, apparently made the move, according to the External Representation, in order to dramatize that the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, which was formed in 1976 to monitor Soviet compliance with the 1975 Helsinki Accords, continues to function despite intense repression by authorities. A similar group based in Moscow was disbanded by its remaining members last year because of government persecution.

There are currently seven members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group serving sentences in camp №. 36 — Mykola Rudenko, Vasyl Stus, Ivan Kandyba, Lev Lukianenko, Vitaliy Kalynychenko, Vasyl Ovsienko and Myroslav Marynovych. Although 26 of the original 37 members of the Kyiv-based group are either in exile or imprisoned and six have been expelled from the Soviet Union, representatives here have said that the group's ranks have been replenished by activists who have remained anonymous to avoid persecution.

Mr Petkus, a literary historian who served a six-year term from 1947 to 1953 for membership in a Catholic youth organization, ATEITIS, was sentenced in 1978 to three years in prison, seven years in a special-regime labour camp and three years' internal exile for activities with the Lithuanian Helsinki Group, which he helped form in 1976.

Mr. Niklus, a zoologist, was sentenced in 1980 to 12 years' imprisonment and exile for his work in the human-rights movement. He was a close associate of codefendant Juri Kukk, an Estonian historian who died in a Soviet labour camp in March 1981. He previously served an 11-year term.

The External Representation said that the two men's display of solidarity with the Ukrainian human and national rights movement underscores the notion that the rights of any one national group in the USSR can only be attained with the active involvement of all nationalities.

New Soviet Law May Prolong Sentences of Political Prisoners

The Soviet Union recently added a new law to its books that dissidents fear will be used to stretch the labour-camp terms of political prisoners, reported *The New York Times*.

The new law, which went into effect in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic on October 1, provides terms of up to five years for prisoners who disobey or oppose labour-camp administrators.

The measure is applicable to all prisoners, but dissidents believe that it will be applied primarily to human rights activists who refuse to renounce their activities while in camps.

Both dissidents and Western diplomats who monitor human rights in the Soviet Union saw the statute as a new weapon in the tough crackdown on dissent that began about three years before Yuri Andropov became the Soviet leader and has continued unabated under him. At the time, Mr. Andropov was head of the KGB, the secret police, which carried out the crackdown.

The new law, Article 188-3 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, states that "malicious disobedience to lawful demands made by the administration in the execution of its functions" by a prisoner who has been sent to an isolation cell or transferred to prison in the preceding years can bring up to three years' imprisonment.

Prisoners considered "especially dangerous recidivists" or those convicted of a "grave crime" can be sentenced up to an additional five years.

Dissidents say the measure codified and simplified a practice that has become increasingly frequent in recent years, when a number of dissidents nearing the end of their terms have found themselves sentenced to new terms, often on charges of slandering the state while in camp.

The new law will expedite the practice by relieving authorities of the need to compile a whole new case against a dissident who is nearing the end of his term. Diplomats said it appeared, in effect, to give labour camp authorities arbitrary power to extend the sentences of dissidents, a practice that was commonplace under Stalin but was largely abandoned in the 1960's and 1970's.

The stipulation that the law is applicable to those prisoners who have been punished in the course of their term, either by spending time in isolation cells or in prisons, would make most of the prominent dissidents now serving time liable to extended terms. The treatment of dissidents has grown much harsher under Andropov, many receiving new sentences on the basis of flimsy evidence, for example *Vyacheslav Chornovil* and *Olha Heyko*.

Although the new law applies to the RSFSR, corresponding measures are likely to be incorporated soon into criminal codes of other constituent republics.

Women Political Prisoners Appeal to World Governments

In the autumn of 1983, seven female political prisoners of Moscow's concentration camps, among them Raisa Rudenko, wife of the head of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group Mykola Rudenko and Polish poet Iryna Ratushynska of Kyiv, submitted a written plea to 35 world governments who signed the Helsinki accords. In the document, the prisoners enumerate the Soviet Union's multiple violation of human rights and state that they are prepared to offer concrete facts before any international commission. Having no other way to protest the inhumanities of the Soviet government, the prisoners kept an 8-day fast as a sign of their solidarity last September. The prisoners can be reached at the following address: USSR, Mordovskaya ASSR,

431200,

Tengushivsky R-N,

Pos. Barazhevo, Aunr. Zh-385/3-4

Arrests and Imprisonment of Ukrainian Patriots Continue

In January, 1983 *Ivan Svitlychnyi*, a well-known literary critic, poet and defender of Ukrainian national and human rights was released from exile. In 1972 he was sentenced to 7 years' in a concentration camp and 5 years' internal exile for 'anti-Soviet agitation and propanganda'. Now 54, Mr. Svitlychnyi is partially paralyzed and otherwise disabled as a result of a stroke and brain hemorrhage he suffered in 1981 while imprisoned.

Also released in 1983 were *Vasyl Barliadanu*, a 42-year-old art historian, and *Taras Mel'nychuk*, a poet and veteran of the Ukrainian national movement after finishing a 4-year stretch for 'hooliganism'.

But for the most part, arrests, sentencing and repression of dissenters, continue unabated. Here are some of the cases not mentioned hitherto in the *Ukrainian Review*. In February reports from Ukraine revealed that the Ukrainian economist *Zinoviy Antoniuk*, 50, was sentenced to 1 year in a strict regime concentration

camp for 'parasitism' (the term used in the Soviet Union for somebody unable to find suitable employment). He had been released in 1981 after completing a 10-year labour camp and exile term for 'anti-Soviet agitation and propanganda'.

Another prominent dissenter to be re-arrested in 1983 was Olha Heyko, a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and wife of imprisoned Helsinki monitor *Mykola Matusevych*. Mrs Heyko, 29, was arrested one month prior to her scheduled release from the labour camp where she was completing a 3-year term for 'anti-Soviet slander' (see p. 35 of this issue of *Ukrainian Review* the article 'New Soviet Law May Prolong Sentences of Political Prisoners').

Another dissenter, *Petro Ruban* began serving a 3-year exile term after completing a 6-year labour sentence for activities connected with The Ukrainian national movement. The 43-year-old wood carver had previously served two terms, the last being from 1965 to 1973.

It was also reported that two Ukrainian political political prisoners, *Yuriy Badzio* and *Vasyl Striltsiv*, staged one-day hunger strikes in late 1982 to coincide with the 60th anniversary of the formation of the Soviet Union. Mr. Badzio is currently serving a 12-year labour camp and exile term which began in 1980, while Mr. Striltsiv, a 54-year old member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, was sentenced in 1981 while imprisoned to a 6-year labour camp term.

In February 1983, *Svitliana Kyrychenko*, the wife of Yuriy Badzio, was the subject of a sardonic article in *Vechirnyi Kyiv*, a Soviet newspaper in Kyiv, which accused her of 'egoism' and getting material support from persons in the West. The lengthy article, headlined 'A Lady with Ambition', charged that Mrs. Kyrychenko sought to exploit her husband's imprisonment and attention it has recieved in the West for personal gain.

On April 12th 1983 the Ukrainian Catholic religious activist Yosyp Terelya was sentenced in the Transcarpathian oblast of Ukraine to 1 year imprisonment for 'parasitism' (see Ukrainian Review, No. 2, 1983, pp. 34). On April 18th Victor Yanenko, born 1953, an electrician, and former prisoner of conscience (1980-82), was tried in Kyiv for 'anti-Soviet agitation and propanganda'. Earlier, on March 3rd Iryna Ratushynska, a physicist and poet was sentenced in Kyiv to 7 years' imprisonment and 5 years' exile for 'anti-Soviet agitation and propanganda'. On October 17th a senior member of the clergy of the Pentecostal Church, Ivan Fedorchuk from Oleksandriya, Rivne region of Ukraine was sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment and 5 years' internal exile for religious activity.

On October 21st, *Valeriy Marchenko*, a philologist and journalist and former political prisoner (1973-81), was arrested in Kyiv. Since his earlier release (July 6th, 1981), Valeriy Marchenko had obtained a residence permit to live with his mother. However, he was placed under administrative surveillance for one year, which meant 1. he could not leave the city of Kyiv; 2. he was not permitted to leave his apartment between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. (house arrest), 3. he was to report at the *rayon* (district) militia station every Friday at a designated time. Also, unofficially all his telephone conversations were being monitored and, upon leaving the house where he lived, he was always being followed. On top of all this, the authorities constantly accused him of 'deliberate parasitism'. When he hoped to obtain the

job of literary editor of the *Pravoslavnyi Visnyk* (The Orthodox herald) (at the time the post was vacant), he was rejected on the grounds of his *biography* to date by Archbishop Makariy and Metropolitan Filaret of Kyiv. To add further injury to his situation, Valeriy Marchenko needs medical attention for a kidney disease.

A Ukrainian political prisoner *Stanislav Zubko*, who was being held in a concentration camp in the Donetske *oblast* suffered continuous persecution from criminal elements in the camp held in a concentration camp in the town of Izyaslav in the Khmel'nytsky *oblast* (MKh-224/31).

October of 1983 also saw the arrest in Zhytomyr of *Sofia Y. Belyak* and her subsequent sentencing to 5 years' imprisonment in a strict regime concentration camp and 5 years' internal exile for circulating books on the Holy Virgin of Fatima and "for maintaining contacts with t. Polish independent Trade Union 'Solidarity'". On two occasions she visited her relatives in Communist Poland. She was tried under art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR.

Information has also come to light that the Soviet authorities have forbidden with any rightful cause before the law pass on any material help to Oksana Meshko (See pp. 26-34 of this issue of Ukrainian Review) and to the wives of Anatoliy Marchenko and Oleksiy Murzhenko.

News has also reached the West recently about the arrest and sentencing of *Semen F. Skalych a pokutnyk* (a religious sect) from Drohobych in the Lviv region. A former member of OUN-UPA, he was arrested in 1980 and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment and 5 years' internal exile for keeping religious and patriotic poetry.

LETTERS OF DEFIANCE

The Rev. H. Budzins' kyi writes to the Soviet Ukrainian press

On 2nd December 1980 in Rome, at a Synod of Ukrainian Catholic bishops summoned by his Beatitude Patriarch Josyf Slipyi the so called 'Lviv council of 1946', which was supposed to anull the 1596 Brest Union with Rome and proclaim 'reunification' with Russian Orthodox Church, was solemnly condemned as having no canonical validity whatsoever. The document issued by the Synod of the Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy entitled "A Solemn Condemnation of the so called 'Lviv council' of 1946" points out that no bishops were present at this 'council', and that the presence of some priests and laymen is not sufficient to make this 'council' canonical. The 'council', the document states, was nothing other than a brazen attempt by an atheistic government to force its will on the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and thus is clearly null and void in the eyes of the clergy and laity of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, both in Ukraine and in emigration. The Rev. H. Budzins'kyi's letters to the Soviet Ukrainian press and the Appeal sent on behalf of the Committee for the Defence of the Catholic Faith in Ukraine to the Minister for Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR shows that the Ukrainian Catholic Church as a whole, both in Ukraine and abroad, is united in its stand on this important matter. Also, it shows that the Ukrainian Catholic Church, officially banned in the Soviet Union, is alive and well after over 40 years of persecution by the atheistic Soviet Russian authorities. Eds

Document No 1

To the Editors of Vilna Ukrayina ('Free Ukraine)

Esteemed Editor,

I affirm with regret that you continue to publish in your newspaper falsehood and slander against the Catholic Church. How many times have I written to you about the fact that I was a member of the delegation to Moscow in 1944 and, because of that, have a moral duty. In issue No. 8 of 12th January 1983 a certain Simonchyk lays down the very same charges, as if milling the wind. He writes word for word (I quote): "The Uniate Church by decree of the Lviv church council has gone into self-liquidation". In one sentence each word is a lie. It is not true that the Catholic Church is called the 'Uniate'. In 1939 the Registry Office (ZAHS) took into its possession church documents including not less than 20 million birth certificates. In these documents there is no mention that the Church is called 'Uniate'. In all the documents the Church is called Greek Catholic. Under Polish occupation the Poles called us 'Rusyny' (Ruthenians — transl.), but because of that we did not cease to be Ukrainians. Again the Russians call us 'Uniates' but because of that we have not ceased to be Catholics. It is untrue that in L'viv, in 1946 a church council of the Greek Catholic Church was held. Simonchyk, in parrot fashion repeats words learnt without thinking what they mean, he does not understand what they mean. If he were asked what a 'church council' is, he would not have the remotest clue. The Catholic Church has a 18-hundred year old history and only 21 Ecumenical Councils have taken place but many particular (councils). Not one of them was ever presided over by an ordinary priest. If for 18 centuries the Church was hierarchical then who has the right to transform her into a democratic (church). A priest who summons a council should have authorisation from somebody.

Here the cat has been let out of the bag. On 18th June 1945 an ordinance appeared in the press issued by Khodchenko, the head of the Committee responsible for religious affairs at the council of Peoples' Commissars (Radnarkom) of the Ukrainian SSR that he 'sanctions' (the formation) of an initiatory group, in other words, those who were to summon the council. Khodchenko wrote in Ukrainian, but uses the secretive word 'sanctions', though without doubt, there is an equivalent word in the Ukrainian language. Using this secretive word Khodchenko emphasizes his own importance, his authority is hardly less than that of the Roman Pontiff. He is a great inquisitor and has the right to send to their deaths all members of the clergy who refused to submit to the Russian Patriarch. Khodchenko demanded from his subordinates, whom he 'sanctioned' that they prepare lists of all those persons who refuse to submit themselves to the Russian Patriarch. A terrible fate awaited these people. They died behind barbed wire, somewhere in the remote North beyond the Polar circle. He transferred to bishops appointed by the Russian Patriarch all jurisdiction over the Catholic Church and at a stroke liquidated the Church.

In the October 1981 issue of the journal *Zhovten* (October) the learned professor, doctor of history Tsiokh writes that the priests of the Catholic Church (of the Eastern Rite) are criminals. If this is what is written in the mass-media at the end of the 20th C., then more so in the middle of the century.

The regional procurator Antonenko writes that the Union (with Rome ---transl.) was imposed during the course of 350 years with fire and sword. Only he did not mention who it was that imposed the Union. According to the procurator's way of thinking the Union was something so disgusting that only the sword and fire could implant it amongst the people. So, if Catholic priests are criminals, then Khodchenko deems it a matter of honour to destroy these 'criminals'. Especially if in those times all matters were determined by the almighty Lavrenty Pavlovych (Beria). If in June 1945 Khodchenko liquidated the Catholic Church, transferred its jurisdiction to the Russian Patriarch, physically destroyed those who refused to submit, then what else could the pseudo-council 'self-liquidate', summoned nine months after the liquidation of the Catholic Church? It is said that one does not beat someone lying down, nor shoot at a corpse, but the Lviv pseudo-council of 1946 liquidated the Catholic Church which was lying in ruins. At the council there were two or three Greek Catholics who attempted to mount a protest but for their courage they paid with their lives. Prior to the pseudo-council Kostel'nyk took a large group of traitors to Kyiv where for thirty pieces of silver they solemnly repudiated the faith of their forefathers and signed declarations concerning their transition to the Russian faith.

After this they summoned a council, made use of police vehicles in which travelled 'the members of the council' to Lviy. On the third day of the council they decided to liquidate the Catholic Church. For this they had no juridical foundations. On the other hand, the Church of St. Yuriy was occupied a month before the liquidation of the Catholic Church was decided upon. On what grounds? On 205 Shevchenko St. there stood a Catholic church. The church was built by the poor population of this suburban village with the contributions of the unemployed. The people went for the *kvesta*, that is they collected donations for the construction of the church. Despite the prohibition of the Polish administration. The Poles built a large kostel (a church of the Roman Catholic Rite - transl.) and wanted the Ukrainians to attend the kostel to become polonised 'like it was in Kholm'. The masons who had volunteered went on building all night but the Poles did not destroy the building which had been begun; though they did not give permission, they did not destroy it. At the end of the 1950's the Zaliznychnyi district executive committee (*Raivykonkom*) confiscated the church from the believers and transformed it into a militia station. What the Poles did not destroy the Russians took away. For the people they built a large public-house where night after night raw brandy (syvukha) was sold which everybody calls 'black ink'. The raw brandy is supposed to take the place of the Church for the people. The results are frightening — to a man, hard drinking has spread.

Symonchyk writes that the (Ukrainian) Catholic Church has liquidated herself. But did not Hohol's Derzhymorda state that the widow beat herself up? All of the Ukrainian bishops perished — 11 persons, not because they were guilty of something but because they were Ukrainian bishops. The archpriests (*mitroforni protoiyereyi*), of whom there were 50, all perished, hundreds of priests, monks, nuns, cantors and ordinary faithful, died for the faith of their forefathers. The regional procurator Antonenko counted in all 5 persons who refused to submit themselves to the Russian Patriarch. The Soviet authorities have done a collosal favour to the Catholic Church by providing her with many martyrs and confessors of the faith. The Catholic Church grows on the blood of her martyred children. The spreading of hatred against the Catholic Church is direct war propaganda. Millions of Catholics throughout the world sympathise with us, especially because of the fact that the Soviet authorities have confiscated all shrines and for 5 million Catholics of Eastern Rite not one church is left.

In the mass media (in Lviv, Kyiv, Moscow) there is written that 25% of priests have not gone over to the Russian Church. It is clear that at least 10% of Catholic churches should be left open to Catholics. At least one church in one *oblast* (region). The Poles, who constitute 3% of the population of Ukraine, have many shrines, also the Hungarians have their own shrines but for the Ukrainian Catholics there are none. This is the Soviet understanding of freedom of conscience.

The Russian Patriarch has sent his priests to Ukrainian villages. If the parishioners do not accept him, then the militia is sent to demolish the church, destroy the religious inventory and the valuable objects (carpets, embroidery) are taken to an unknown destination. The people are forced to accept a priest educated in Leningrad because he is a guarantee that the church will not be demolished. They are young traitors (jannissaries), children of Catholic parents whom the Russians teach to hate the Catholic Faith. Exploiting their monopoly situation, they get rich on the piety of the people and demoralize them. A Catholic priest cannot officiate in a Catholic church without encountering great unpleasantness (fines, prison). The Catholic Church does not possess any atomic weapons, she has no divisions, army, only moral power, which is the Gospel. Punishing Catholics for the sole reason that they are Catholics in international language is called genocide. And genocide is a crime against humanity. It would be worthwhile knowing this by all those scribblers of ill tidings such as the Toropovskyis, the Tsiokhs, the Symonchyks, the Min'kovetskyis, by Taras Myhal' and other enemies of the Catholic Church.

1st February 1983

Rev. H. Budzins'kyi Lviv 41, vul. Spokiyna 4 Ukrainian SSR.

Document No. 2

To the Editor of the newspaper Vil'na Ukrayina (Free Ukraine), Lviv.

I was pleased with your reply of the 2nd February. Five years have passed since I started to write to you, warning you not to publish lies against the Catholic Church. A lie is a boomerang, it does not strike the person it is directed at, but the person who writes it.

Surely you know that in June 1945 Khodchenko appointed people who were to summon a council, they were 'sanctioned' by him, that is, he gave them the necessary authorization. In this way the Catholic Church of the Eastern Rite was liquidated. But you published an article written by Symonchyk that the Church 'liquidated' herself. And not just an article by Symonchyk. Whom do you want to deceive? Khodchenko's instructions were published and many people have kept this document to this day. Without the smallest doubt, this document is also abroad. I was pleased with your reply in which you confess that you are unable to give an answer. I shall present you with an argument which you cannot refute.

It is possible that you passed on to the militia this matter, so that they could "stir up the gruel they originally cooked up". Religion in general, and the Catholic Church in particular, is protected by the UN where a representative of the Catholic Church sits. You cannot justify the destruction of the Catholic Church as an internal matter of the USSR. Written in the ancient books are these words: "The blood of your brother Abel calls to heaven for revenge". This blood of the innocent martyred bishops, priests, monks and nuns. This is not an internal matter. We are Ukrainians. We are natives in our own country. Blood and sweat was shed by our forefathers on this soil. Who gave the right to the Russian Patriarch to take away our ancestral faith? He, obviously, thinks that we are African savages

whose faith could be denied by the stick and imprisonment, and then to thrust his own upon us. This is how Great Russian imperialism worked at the court of the Romanov czars. Although the house of the Romanovs perished their faith lives and rules. Threats have no relevance here. I was promised that if I acknowledged that the Rusian Patriarch is a saint I would have a contented life. But I preferred the prison or even death to saying such nonsense. I think that the Russian Patriarch was never and never will be a saint, and it would be better if I were to vanish from the face fo the earth than to declare in church that the Russian Patriarch is a saint. Anyhow, you yourselves do not believe he is a saint. You propagate him because that is what you are told to do. You do this for money.

In all the world everybody is agreed upon this point — that treaties should be abided by. The government of the USSR signed an international convention on genocide and the Supreme Soviet of the USSR ratified the convention. So the persecution of religion according to the spirit and letter of the convention is an international crime.

The Council of Peoples' Commissars (*Radnarkom*) had no right to summon a church council. Khodchenko 'sanctioned' it but he had no right to pass on jurisdiction (of the Church) to the Russian Patriarch, because neither Khodchenko nor the Council of Peoples' Commissars had any jurisdiction over the Catholic Church. The Catholic Church did all it could to prevent confrontation. In all the world people know of the hatred the Russians bear towards the Catholic Church. For this reason the Catholic Church sent a delegation to Moscow in December 1944 which included also my little part in these efforts.

To our regret, everything turned out differently and not through our fault. We did everything within our power to serve the people from whom we came and of whom we are a part, their flesh and blood. History will not condemn us, but Beria, who directed the destruction of the Catholic Church history has already condemned.

23rd February 1983

Rev. H. Budzins'kyi, Lviv 41, vul. Spokiyna, 4. Ukrainian SSR

Document No. 3

To the Editor of the newspaper *Radyans'ka Ukrayina* (Soviet Ukraine), Kyiv 252047, Brest-Lytovs'kyi Prospekt 94.

Esteemed Editor,

I am a suscriber to your newspaper for many years and a constant reader. It was as if a thunderbolt hit me when I read in issue No. 135 (15th June 1983) a shameless lie. Could the editors permit a lie and lose their prestige? After this we could say there are lies in the newspaper. A proverb states that whosoever permits himself to lie just once, has no truth. I quote the place with the lie: "On 8-10 March 1946 a council was held in Lviv by the Uniate Church which accepted a

decision to anull the union of Brest and to reunify with the Russian Orthodox Church" (end of quote).

Comrade Vovk knows a great deal about the Ukrainian Church abroad — in Italy, across the ocean, in the United States, Canada and in other parts. He knows about Cardinal Tisserant and a lot more. He sees all the way to the forest but nothing under his own nose. He knows perfectly well that the so called Lviv council was summoned by Khodchenko in the name of the Council of Peoples' Commissars (Radnarkom) of the Ukrainian SSR. Khodchenko published in the press a decree dated 18th June 1945 which called for the creation of a committee which adopted the name 'Initiatory group', and stated that this group is 'sanctioned' by him, that is, he gives it full authority to control Catholic parishes, in order to hand them over to the Russian Church. He gave them jurisdiction over the Catholic Church. In other words, he liquidated the Catholic Church with a stroke of the pen. This is an unheard of crime which has no precedent in world history. The Council of Peoples' Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR, and, more so, Khodchenko have no jurisdiction over the Catholic Church and, for that reason, could not pass it on to nobody. This rabble driven together by the police on 8th March 1946 could in no terms be called 'a council of the Uniate Church'. This amounts to mockery over historical events. Khodchenko instructed his underlings, that is, his initiatory group, to provide him with a list of those who refuse to submit to the Russian Patriarch. The Russian czars called similar people 'resisters' (uporstvuyushchymy). These people were cruelly punished. Not only did they suffer attacks against themselves, but also against their wives and children. The 'council' took place in an atmosphere of savage terror. In October 1981 in the journal Zhovten' (October) in Lviv an article appeared written by a learned professor, a doctor of history J. Tsiokh. He writes in black and white that priests of the Catholic Church (of the Eastern Rite) are criminals. Perhaps, because of the fact that they refused to sign declarations to the effect that are going over to the Russian Faith in accordance with Khodchenko's demands. In the Roman Empire, in the first three centuries A.D. anyone who refused to bring a sacrifice to the idols was put to death without mercy (amongst the gods was included also the Roman emperor). The same has been repeated in the Ukrainian SSR. Whosoever amongst the Catholic priests did not sign a declaration to the effect that they were going over to the Russian Faith was cruelly punished. There was no instance in which a Catholic priest who had not signed the declaration, was left free. If in the 1980's Catholic priests are thought of as being criminals, then more so in the 1940's. The Symonchyks, Tsiokhs, Vovks, and alia recieved the command to whitewash the criminal rabble on March 8th 1946 and call it a 'council of the Uniate Church', though there were no bishops present there, not one archpriest (*mitrofornyi protoiyerei*), because all of them were in prison (11 bishops and 50 archpriests). To which we may add all the superiors of the mens and womens monasteries, monks and nuns, and simply faithful who defended the Church.

The so called Lviv council of 8th March 1946 is indisputable proof of persecution of the Catholic Church in the Ukrainian SSR.

The government of the Ukrainian SSR called a church council which had to

liquidate the Catholic Church. In actual fact, the council was summoned by the Russian Patriarch Aleksei. He constitutes the most shameful page of the history of the Russian people. Religious intolerance is a peculiar characteristic of the Russian people in the previous centuries and likewise in the 20th C. The Russian Church is the vanguard of the Russian czars, of plundering imperialism. No state in the world persecutes the Catholic Church, except Albania and the Ukrainian SSR. All those who are arrested during religious persecution are considered as being arrested for their religious convictions. Anyhow, the government of the Ukrainian SSR did not conceal the fact that Catholics were being arrested for refusing to go over to the Russian faith. In the Ukrainian SSR the Catholic faith (of the Eastern Rite) has been made illegal and is cruelly persecuted. The shrines of the Catholic Church are locked by key and it is considered a crime for the people to pray there.

When religious persecution ceases then the people of the western *oblasts* (regions) of the Ukrainian SSR will return to the faith of their forefathers, which means to the faith which the Kyivan Prince Volodymyr accepted in 988. This faith was Greek Catholic, whereas the schism came only 66 years later (in 1054). A hundred years after the baptism of Ukraine-Rus' the Kyivan Church accepted the feast of 'the transfer of the relics' of St. Nicholas from Myrae to Bari (celebrated on 22nd May). So, already a hundred years after their baptism our forefathers considered their faith to be Greek Catholic. History relates that religious persecution ends disastrously for the persecutors. The sooner that the persecution of the Catholic Church ends, the better for the people and the ctate.

In issue No. 146 of 28th June of this year, some excerpts from a pamphlet appeared which someone called Maliavs'kyi wrote about me. He writes that I committed a crime when I informed on a Soviet teacher named Diuk to the Gestapo in 1941. Diuk confronted me in court with this allegation. But when I asked him to explain the circumstances of this denunciation, he got so enmeshed in his own lying, that he had to confess that he could not remember the circumstances in which this took place. This fabricated falsehood burst like a soap bubble. And even if Diuk retracts his denunciation of me, Maliavs'kyi still resurrects it from the grave after so many years. One does not have to be literate to understand that Diuk's denunciation is a lie. One could then ask him why he was not arrested after he was denounced. But he not only remained at liberty but also held a position as director of a school which meant he was a trusted person in the eyes of the Gestapo. It is an incontrovertable fact that there was no denunciation of Diuk. I denounced no one, but on the contrary, I helped those who were in trouble, including Jews who were going to be sent to their deaths. This can be attested by the very Jews whom I helped, risking my own neck. Some of them were saved and live to this day. This is a characteristic of a Soviet teacher, Diuk, an informer, who wanted to ascribe to others what he himself was.

This is a characteristic of Soviet court procedure. I was arrested on 25th May because I refused to sign a declaration about going over to the Russian faith In prison they demanded I write my autobiography. They began to search for false witnesses and could not find them in all the years 1945, 1944, 1943, 1942 Then in

1941 they come upon a Soviet teacher from the village where I lived during the German occupation. The 'crime' which I allegedly committed — informing on Diuk is a lie, and other crimes are also lies. The court has not proven anything dishonest about me. At a meeting I warned that Jews should not be killed. Diuk was attempting to prove that I praised Hitler, but he wrote in black and white that he never heard a single speech by me. He added what 'people had said'. This is a characteristic of Soviet courts. Not having a shadow of proof, they sentence one to a cruel term of imprisonment. Anyhow, I am considered a criminal, since I did not sign the declaration about changing over to the Russian faith. This is what Prof. Tsiokh writes: Catholic priests are criminals. The agreements which the government has signed concerning genocide, human rights — this is no more than a scrap of paper. The Catholic Church (of the Eastern Rite) bleeds to this very day.

2nd July 1983

Rev. H. Budzins'kyi, Lviv 41, vul. Spokiyna, 4. Ukrainian SSR

Document No. 4

To the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR, Kyiv. From the Committee for the Defence of the Catholic Faith, Lviv.

An Appeal

The Committee for the Defence of the Catholic Faith requests you to issue an instruction to desist from anti-Catholic propaganda. During the last months this propaganda has strengthened and it is conducted on a very primitive level. Some times it adopts the semblance of a row at a bazaar.

The basis for this propaganda is an outright lie — that the Catholic Church (of the Eastern Rite) summoned its council in Lviv on 8th March 1946 and that at this council the Catholic Church allegedly passed a resolution about its self-liquidation and the transfer of its faithful to the Russian Patriarch. As far is East from West, that far is this statement from the truth.

The Catholic Church was liquidated by the chairman of the Committee for religious affairs at the Council of Peoples' Commissars (*Radnarkom*) of the Ukrainian SSR P. Khodchenko. He issued a decree dated 18th June 1945 concerning the creation of a committee for the liquidation of the Catholic Church which adopted the name 'initiatory group'. The members of this group along with the police demanded from each priest the signing of a declaration about a voluntary transfer to the Russian faith. Those who refused to sign this declaration were cruelly punished. For that reason others signed in order to save their lives. Anti-Catholic propaganda distorts all these known facts and would like to create the impression for the reader that the signing of the declaration concerning the transfer to the Russian faith was done voluntarily. Those who did not sign the dec laration

concerning the transfer to the Russian faith are slandered as if they were convicted thieves, including all the Catholic bishops.

Secondly, the Committee for the Defence of the Catholic Faith requests you to instruct regional executive committees (*oblvykonkom*) of the western *oblasts* of the Ukrainian SSR not to obstruct the registration of Catholic parishes. The officers of the regional executive committees usually answer that the Catholic Church (of the Eastern Rite) has been liquidated in the USSR. But they cannot explain by whom and when the Catholic Church was liquidated. Some of them refer to Council in Lviv on 8th March 1946. But in actual fact this is the most shameful occurrence of the 20th C.

The government of the Ukrainian SSR has no right to liquidate the Catholic faith and the Church and to obstruct the faithful who wish to register their religious communities according to the Constitution of the USSR.

Thirdly, the Committee requests that an instruction be given to the procurator of the Transcarpathian *oblast* to re-examine the case of Yosyf Terelya who was sentenced in December 1982 to 1 year deprivation fo freedom for mythical 'parasitism'. He is a father of a family, he has to take care of a daughter still a minor and of his ailing wife. She worked until her maternity leave and on March 3rd gave birth to a child. Could any one consider as a sponger a father who has to tend to his household, take care of a child and an ailing wife? Any person with a sound mind would say — no! The only matter on which Terelya could possibly be faulted is that he is a defender of the Catholic faith, hated so much by the Soviet administration. But we can remind everybody that the Catholic Church was hated very much by the Russian czars. The proverb states that the enemies of your enemies are your friends. The Catholic Church suffers persecution from Czar Peter I to the present day.

Lviv, 12 July 1983.

For the Committee for the Defence of the Catholic Faith,

Acting chairman:Secretary:Kobryn Vasyl' Antonovych,Budzins'kyi Hryhoriy Antonovych,m. Bobrka, vul. Kotliarevs'koho 2m. Lviv,Peremyshlyans'ki r-n, Lvivs'ka obl.vul. Spokiyna, 4Ukrainian SSRUkrainian SSR

Yarema Gregory KELEBAY

TOWARDS A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF DMYTRO DONZOW

V

Donzow's *Nationalism* (1926), was the product of his concern for the "failure of 1917-1920" and the subjugated status of Ukrainians particularly in the USSR* His purpose was to elaborate a political doctrine which would help to pull the Ukrainian people out of their colonial predicament.

Nationalism (1926), became a controversial book as soon as it appeared.³¹ Even some Ukrainian nationalists condidered it too "wilful" and charged that it was "without Ukrainian content". Most Social-Democrats considered it "imported" and an example of "Ukrainian fascism". And some conservatives accused Donzow of plagiarizing from the Ukrainian conservative thinker, Lypynsky. In any case, in *Nationalism* (1926), Donzow attempted to provide a remedy for the ills of the Ukrainian nation. He wanted to articulate its yearning for liberation and to guide it out of its captivity.

By 1926 Donzow came to believe that the central issue facing Ukraine was the "intellectual baggage of the 19th and early 20th centuries" which informed European Social-Democratic and revolutionary intellectual circles, provided most of the content to the Bolshevik agenda, and legitimized the revolutionary Russian regime. Donzow rejected this intellectual heritage as inappropriate for any colonial people.

The major Ukrainian problem of the 1920's was the "contemporary Ukrainian man" who was a "child of his time" by virtue of being infected by a foreign and obsolete 19th century intellectual heritage. This contemporary man was "provincial" because he was misguided by "Drahomanov, Hrushevsky and (in Galicia) Franko". This "contemporary provincial Ukrainian man" believed in disembodied and abstract "reason, legitimacy, brotherhood, justice, democratic nationalism, liberalism, pacifism, socialism, cosmopolitanism and even anarchism". He believed in an illusory political symbiosis between Ukraine and Russia, the "suppression of the national imperative" and the denial of the wilful element" in life.

But Donzow was not pessimistic. He believed that only "part of the nation" subscribed to this outlook. It was the outlook of the sector which Donzow called "plebeians" or the "pariah nation". The majority of the nation, he believed, would follow the correct principles of Ukrainian nationalism.

Donzow argued that Ukrainian liberationist nationalism must be founded on the "wilful" elements of life; that is the "will to life" and the "will to govern". In place of the hegemony of reason, Donzow argued for "non-rationalism, romanticism, and struggle". It was the duty of every Ukrainian patriot to rise above his

^{*}Continued from Ukrainian Review no 3, 1983

personal "ego" and connect himself to the "legends and myths of the people". Citing the British Empire as an example, Donzow urged "expansion" and "effort" in defence of "your own world". This effort required a form of "dogmatism" and not endless talk. He asked Ukrainians to accept or reject their "own truth" and not just to go on discussing it without end.

He urged Ukrainians to decide. Those who accept their "own truth" connected to the legends and myths of the nation, would have to cultivate "exclusiveness" and "hardness". The bearers of Ukraine's "own truth" would have to put the "interests of the nation above all else" but simultaneously serve the aims of humanity and "progress".

In the world of values they would recognize "hierarchy" and in that hierarchy the primacy of the "national" over the "individual". These national "knights" were to reject contemporary "bourgeois morality". Their morality was to be life "enhancing" and "strengthening". Only such Spartan-like ascetics would lead Ukrainians to self-rule and national independence.

Donzow felt it imperative to develop an indigenous content for Ukrainian nationalism because history taught him to distrust "unindigenous ideas" and foreign ideologies. The mandate of Ukrainian nationalists was to find a synthesis between the ideas of "universalism" and "nationalism" as a precondition to "progress". This synthesis could only be made by an idealistic and "enterprising minority" which would make a "creative conquest" of Ukrainian society.

Perhaps the key to understanding Donzow's nationalism is his view of liberty, order and human nature. We do not know if Donzow was influenced by Freudian thought. In any case, Donzow accepted the existence of the "subconscious". In his view of nationalism he emphasized the non-rational "subconscious urge" to reach "rational goals" and claimed that this urge came from the "will to live" without any "reason" or explicit "motive".

For Donzow, life or existence was an end in itself. Life may create or search for an ideal, or strive toward an objective, but life as such did not have a purpose. Existence only had a "movement" but no direction of its own. Existence had a natural wish to "grow" and "develop", and in this growth and development there was "gratification". The motor force of human action were the feelings of "desire", "affection" and "competition".

Human "progress" was often the result of simple and "blind action". Human strength was not tied to "the chain of reason". The "will to live" was the "greatest strength of any nation" and the contributor to its "development". Reason and intellect were only the "corrective principle". Human life was enhanced most by an array of feelings such as love, hate, anger, ambition, aspiration, and commitment. The philosophy of people should therefore be based on this "will to live" without "sanction, justification or premeditation".

It is a pity that in his biography of Donzow, Sosnowsky makes no mention of Donzow's possible indebtedness to European Existentialism. After the First World War and the failure of the Ukrainian revolution, some of Donzow's views were very similar to later French existentialism, as it was articulated after the disillusionment with World War II, the Nazi occupation of France, French collaborationism and the French resistance.³²

But Donzow did not ignore what he called the "universal moment" in life. Although he believed in "the nation above all else" he also argued that the nation must learn to serve the general progress of mankind. Since all civilizations (or cultures) were not created equal, "progress" has, of necessity, an expansive or an "imperial character". The civilized must help to civilize the less civilized. This obligation and burden always falls on the "able, clever and gifted". Certain kinds of imperialisms, therefore, could be a "calling" and a mission.

Donzow argued that if Ukraine was to become an independent state separate from Soviet Russia, it was imperative for Ukrainians to have a nationalist intelligentsia which would function as an "initiating minority" and become the "element of order" which would organize the Ukrainian nation through "creative preemption and constraint". This intelligentsia would have to "abandon provincialism" and gain ascendency in the entire economic and political life of Ukraine. It would have to win its "command" from the whole Ukrainian population and all its territiories on the basis of an indigenous Ukrainian "national idea".

To do so, the intelligentsia would have to have the "faith" and the "will" to actively impose itself ("s'imposer") on the "passive material". This "imposition" would be justified only if it were founded on the Ukrainians' "Own Gospel" and not on foreign ideas or some of the minimalist" political demands of the 1920's. The nationalist intelligentsia had to remember that the Ukrainian "Gospel" had always venerated the "family", "community", "private property", "hierarchy", "productivity and work", "free enterprise", the "separation of church and state", "occidentalism in culture and institutions" and an independent "peasantry" or "village".

Donzow continued to elaborate these ideas throughout his later life in his other works such as *The Intoxicant of Socialism* (1936), *The Spirit of Our Past* (1944), *From Mysticism to Politics* (1957) and *The Invisible Tablets of Taras Shevchenko* (1961). As a result of these convictions, many of Donzow's intellectual adversaries claimed that Donzow was a "fascist" and that his thinking was a prime example-of Ukrainian fascism.³³

VI

Even before the appearance of Sosnowsky's biography of Donzow in 1974, the pedigree of Donzow's political thought, the nature of his nationalism, and his intellectual location on the ideological spectrum have all been a source of some debate.

In Ukrainian Nationalism (1955), John A. Armstrong argued that at the close of the 19th century, one of the first exponents of "integral nationalism" was Charles Maurras, one of the founders of Action Francaise.³⁴ Furthermore, Armstrong wrote that "integral nationalism" became a dominant force in the "dissatisfied" countries of central and southern Europe during the 1920's. In his view, Donzow

was an active proponent of nationalism before the First World War, and although Donzow's early teachings resembled those of "integral nationalism", "apparently he derived most of his ideas from the German nationalists like Fichte and Herder, rather than from Maurras or Italians like Pareto and D'Annunzio.³⁵

This, of course, was not the first time Donzow was connected to those German thinkers deemed to be the intellectual precursors of fascism or nazism.

Then, in a study written in 1962, Roman Olynyk-Rakhmanny introduced a major revision about Donzow's ideological pedigree. He argued that before 1913, Donzow contributed a number of articles to Social-Democratic papers such as *Pratsya* and *Zemlya i Volya* and a number of his opponents were fond of charging that Donzow "was a follower of Rosa Luxemburg".³⁶ However, by 1913 Donzow reached the conclusion that the only alternative (for Ukraine) was "political separation from Russia (and) the breaking off of every tie with her" Olynyk-Rakhmanny elaborated:

"Donzow had performed a gradual about-face from, the radical left to the extreme right, and at the same time, changed from the collectivist to the individualist perception of the world. According to Donzow, the masses, so adored by Social-Democrats, must be led — not courted — by a few strong individuals, an elite equipped with extraordinary energy, powerful will, and an all embracing but clear-cut and dynamic idea"³⁷

Olynyk-Rakhmanny went on to say that this change in Donzow's thinking grew out of his "infatuation" with the writings of Maurice Barres and Charles Maurras because "these French writers propounded a system that would subordinate the interests of all citizens to the general good of *la patrie*".³⁸ But unlike Barres, Donzow was not a collectivist, and remained deeply attached to the European principal of individualism.³⁹.

Olynyk-Rakhmanny showed that Donzow also embraced Taine's theory of *race-milieu-moment* according to which man's actions are influenced by race, environment and the epoch or *Zietgeist*.⁴⁰ In Donzow's search for a "reappraisal of values", Olynyk-Rakhmanny cites him as saying (in 1925) that this, "...would mean the acceptance of the views of Bergson and Sorel in philosophy and sociology, Kipling in literature, Roosevelt and Lord Kitchener in politics"⁴¹ In this reappraisal Donzow argued that "the most urgent task would be to free Ukrainians from the tenets of foreign ideologies. One of these, and the worst, was the Tolstoyan philosophy of non-action, or the *sansara* of the Indian philosophers".⁴² In short, Olynyk-Rakhmanny argued that it was

"the patriotism of the 'soil and the dead' and pragmatist Barres' concept of 'national truth (that) reverberated through the writings of Donzow in the 1920's and 1930's".⁴³

The major reason why Donzow turned to Barres and why the notions of "the soil and the dead" "and national truth" appealed to him was because they expressed in another European language, and reverberated the Ukrainian national tradition as articulated Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861) and contained in the *Kobzar*.⁴⁴

Olynyk-Rakhmanny's attempt at rehabilitating Donzow by pulling him away

from the German and Italian intellectual traditions and connecting him to the political heritage of France and England was not without impact. The effect was that in 1968, when John A. Armstrong wrote a subsequent essay on "integral nationalism" in Eastern Europe (although he reiterated that "Dmitro (sic) Donzow fervently proclaimed his admiration for Mussolini) he conceded that Donzow was "a man of unusually complex intellectual descent".⁴⁵ Armstrong went on to say that:

"Quite possibly... Donzow was influenced by the conspiratorial model of Narodnaia Volia. By the late 1920's however, Donzow rejected all of the 'ideas of the nineteenth century' and hailed a curious collection of 'heroes' including Nietzsche, Bregson, Georges Sorel, Kipling, Kitchener and Theodore Roosevelt. Donzow's main intellectual inspiration at this period was drawn from Maurice Barres and Charles Maurras. Roman Olynyk-Rakhmanny, the most systematic student of Donzow's ideas, goes so far as to speak of his 'infatuation' with the French writers of Action Francaise. Even if one accepts Ernst Nolte's view that the Action Francaise constituted the 'first epoch of fascism', the relationship between the Action Francaise and Italian fascism was at most marginally significant when Donzow embraced the French ideas".⁴⁶

Since the attempt at rehabilitating Donzow by Olynyk-Rakhmanny and Armstrong was seemingly well under way, it is no wonder that when Sosnowsky's book appeared in 1974 it caught most people by surprise. Sosnowsky like Olynyk-Rakhmanny and Armstrong, argued that Donzow started as a socialist and then moved from left-to-right during his political career.⁴⁷ Olynyk-Rakhmanny had qualified this point by saying that Donzow was not unusual in that almost all Eastern Ukrainian parties (and politics) subscribed to some version of socialism at that time.⁴⁸ But unlike Olynyk-Rakhmanny and the 1968 version of Armstrong, Sosnowsky reverted to the charge that during the 1920's and particularly the 1930's Donzow came to "sound similar to Italian and German fascism.⁴⁹

According to Sosnowsky during the inter-war period Ukraine had "two nationalisms" the mainstream nationalism of Mikhnowsky, rightful heir to which was the OUN and the nationalism of Donzow which represented a deviation from this heritage. Sosnowsky attempted to show the continuity between Mikhnowsky and the OUN and thereby to leave what he thought was the fascist — sounding Donzow out in the cold.⁵⁰

In a critical review of Sosnowsky's book by Anathole Bedriy, which appeared in 1974, Bedriy took exception to Sosnowsky's thesis.⁵¹ Bedriy argued that Donzow never was a Marxist, and that this was evident from the persistent and profound religious and ecclesiastical themes in all his writings.⁵²

According to Bedriy, the young Donzow's brief flirtation with some socialist ideas, and his shortlived membership in the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Workers' Party between 1910-1911, are not sufficient evidence for the allegation that Donzow was Marxist. Therefore, a serious study of the evolution of Donzow's political thought yields no evidence for claiming a "march from left to right".⁵³

Furthermore, Bedriy challenged Sosnowsky about Donzow's intellectual resemblance to European fascism. He cited Donzow's article "Are We Fascists?" (1925) where Donzow denied having any relationship with fascism, and said, "our movement does not change its aims, depending on the resolutions of one or

another group of nations, or the line of one or another alliance. (Our movement) is not imported from abroad, and does not find its centres there"⁵⁴ In short, Bedriy challenged the thesis that Donzow started as a Marxist; that Donzow ever arrived at an intellectual position resembling European fascism.

Bedriy went on to reject Sosnowsky's thesis of "two nationalisms" and argued that there was only one indigenous Ukrainian nationalism. It started with Taras Shevchenko and continued through Mikhnowsky and Donzow to the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. In his time, Donzow was simply one of the great Ukrainian exponents of this nationalism.⁵⁵

Summarizing Donzow's complete intellectual political and literary output, Bedriy argued that Donzow stood for five principles: 1) Russia in all its manifestations is Ukraine's enemy, 2) Voluntarism is an intricate part of the nationalist conception of a Ukrainian revolutionary struggle, 3) A Ukrainian nationalist elite is necessary to lead a national revolution, 4) The political struggle for an independent Ukrainian state must be joined to a larger ideological — cultural struggle, 5) The independent Ukrainian state must be founded on the state traditions of the Princely and Cossack epochs.⁵⁶

Bedriy, argued that an examination of Donzow's complete thought reveals that he stood on these principles consistently throughout his life, and that these principles have nothing whatever to do with Marxism, fascism or "marching from left to right".

VII

In spite of efforts to "rehabilitate" Dmytro Donzow many people remain unconvinced, and continue to suspect that Donzow was a fascist and an exponent of Ukrainian fascism.

No doubt, Donzow risked being called names in order to try to save the Ukrainian nation. And some of his political ideas may sound similar to parts of fascist thought. In a number of his writings he made reference to sources that some historians consider to be precursors of European fascism. And since Donzow wrote most of his major work in the 1920's and 1930's, it would be difficult to say that Donzow was absolutely uninfluenced by some of the political ideas of his day, or the "climate of opinion" of his time.

So there is a particular sense in which Donzow was a fascist, and we might now get that sense out of the way.

For those who suffer from what Goethe called the Dialectical Disease, and arbitrarily divide the world into Marxists and non-Marxist; all non-Marxists are theoretically labelled fascists. Only in this peculiar sense can Donzow (like all non-Marxists) be considered to have been a fascist.

Furthermore, the first one to describe Donzow as a "national socialist" (later "nazi" and interchangeable with "fascist") was Lenin in 1914, eight years before Mussolini's March on Rome and nineteen years before Hitler came to power.⁵⁷ This charge came from the Marxist-Leninist camp and is a typical Marxist-Leninist allegation. Those who repeat the charge should, at least candidly disclose their

source and acknowledge their indebtedness to the "liberal" Lenin. But in spite of the fact that the accusation against Donzow first came from him, the issue is serious.

Does Donzow's political philosophy sound sufficiently similar to fascism to deserve that name; or, was it demonstrably derived from European fascism?

The charge of fascism is a grave one in the company of civil men, so the burden of proof lies with Donzow's accusers, and has not been discharged beyond a reasonable doubt.

To accuse Donzow of fascism (and indirectly the movement his ideas helped educate) on the ground of similar-sounding phrases and terminology, is to make a fragile case. It is analogous to ensisting that all (even mutually exclusive) ideologies, systems of thought, or religions must be totally different, and not share any common elements whatsoever; and this is an untenable expectation. Most political ideologies or religions share common elements and hold some similar convictions. For example, Christians and Moslems both believe in the principle of an afterlife; but that does not make Moslems out of Christians or Christians out of Moslems.

The insistence on total dissimilarity between one's thought and fascism places Marxists and socialists into somewhat of a predicament. It is often forgotten that Italian and German fascism wers both anti-Bolshevik, but none the less, national *socialist movements*. The content and language of modern fascism was in large part socialistic, and fascism may be understood as socialism with a national face, or as A. James Gregor has called it, a "Marxist heresy".⁵⁸

On the other hand, many things in life are not what they are called, or seen to be. The People's Republic of China is far from being the "people's"; the German Democratic Republic is far from being "democratic", and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is far from being a "union" of sovereign republics.

Having said that, what evidence do we have that Donzow was not a fascist.

Donzow never conceded to adhering to the fascist movements in Italy and Germany. On the contary, he maintained his distance from both fascism and nazism. On a number of occasions he publicly denied being a fascist even before these movements earned their ugly reputations and when many proclaimed their admiration and sympathy to them.

In addition, there are a significant differences between Donzow's nationalism and European fascism in the 1920's and 1930's

Fascism was a social, economic and political domestic order, in sovereign states, whereas Donzow's nationalism was essentially a strategy for revolution and the liberation of a subjugated people from Russian imperialism. Fascism found most of its support by addressing itself to the problems of the disaffected "lower middle class" while Donzow's nationalism was essentially oriented toward the Ukrainian peasantry.

European fascism tended to be anti-West and anti-European. Fascists tended to consider the West "corrupt" and in need of radical reconstruction. Donzow was always a defender of Europe, European culture and European principles.

For example, in letters to Yurij Klen between 1933 and 1939, Donzow criticized and disagreed with Oswald Spengler's thesis about the "decline of the West", ⁵⁹

Both nazism and fascism were pronouncedly anti-Semitic. However, in his study and analysis of the "catastrophe of 1917", Donzow considered the "Ukrainian Ulster" (Russians, Poles and Jews) at worst a "neutral element" and potentially a positive element, and blamed the failures almost exclusively on the Ukrainian intelligentsia. There is no evidence of any programatic or ideological anti-Semitism in Donzow's philosophy.

As a thinker, Donzow was consistently against borrowed or "imported" ideas and theories. He always stood for seeking "our own truth" and "our own Gospel". Philosophically, Donzow was an indigenist.

European nazism and fascism were essentially reactionary movements. Both were directed against domestic political pluralism and against their own "republic". Given the evidence about the objective conditions in the Soviet Union which Donzow had when he wrote (and which many Western intellectuals denied). there seems to be no alternative to considering the character of his "active nationalism" as a profoundly emancipatory and progressive doctrine.

Nazism and fascism were also both based on the "feuhrer principle" while Donzow's nationalism was based on the "military principle". The difference is that the "feuhrer principle" was based on the will (or whim) of the feuhrer, while the "military principle" is based on an ethical code and the "rule of law". Donzow's "hetmanism" and "Bonapartism" was more akin to classical Roman dictatorship as a necessary temporary emergency, for the purpose of defending the Ukrainian nation, rather than a sympathy for autocracy or dictatorship. In fact, Donzow suported European "democracy" in many of his writings.

Donzow always linked the content of his "active nationalism" to scriptural and Biblical exegesis, and not as did most nazi and fascist thinkers, to modern secular anti-Christian nihilism.

Finally, critics who accuse Donzow of borrowing from fascism or sounding similar to fascists, must explain other evidence. That is, that the matrix of his political philosophy and some of its most striking features (particularly those which the critics find most repugnant) could just as easily be shown to come from Marxist thought and methodology.

Like Marx, who said that philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways: the point, however, was to change it, Donzow believed in action and activism. His political philosophy (like that of the European Left) was very much in the manipulative rather than the contemplative mode.⁶⁰

Donzow's dramatic literary style and his either-or dichotomous formulations could be seen as modelled on the Marxist notion of the "dialectic" so prevalent in European intellectual circles at that time.

As with Marxist thinkers, Donzow's political philosophy was based on the "conflict model". War in society and history was a "natural" state of affairs. For Marxists this war or conflict was between two classes. For Donzow the conflict was between two civilisations; East and West, Occident and Orient, Ukraine as the spearhead of Europe and Russia as the spearhead of Asia. It is also said that Donzow borrowed the notion of a "Russian threat" to Europe from Marx's essay on the "Eastern Question".

In analysing Ukrainian society and the "failure of 1917-1920", Donzow also utilized "class analysis". He differentiated Ukrainian social classes and came down strongly in favour of (and in admiration of) the Ukrainian *Khliboroby* (or "breadwinners of the nation").

The unavoidability of "revolution" as a strategy for liberating the Ukrainian people from Russian imperialism can also be brought to the door of Marxist thought. Planned "revolution" as a strategy for liberation was clearly the brain-child of the European Left.

Donzow also wrote about the historical inevitability of a conflict between Europe and Asia. The notion of "historical inevitability" also comes from Marxist historical "science".

When Donzow observed the Bolshevik regime in Russia and Ukraine he announced that he could see the wolf's tail under the grandmother's skirt. He also called the "Third Internationale" a camouflage for the "Third Rome" — Moscow. He saw that the Bolshevik Revolution was not a progressive break with Russia's past but the continuation of traditional Russian autocracy and despotism. Donzow was not duped by rhetoric about reality. And his training to distinguish between words ("superstructure") and reality ("substructure") as likely as not came from his familiarity with Marxist analysis.

Donzow argued that the Ukrainian nation could only be led out of its captivity by an "initating minority" (or a political elite) and often praised the merits of Ukrainian "knighthood". This was not different from Lenin's "vanguard of the proletariat"; a group of professional, dedicated revolutionaries who would lead the revolution; or Antonio Gramsci's cleverly renamed "Prince Collectif".⁶¹

There are other ways in which Donzow could be read to sound similar to Marxist thought and Marxist methodology. This can be seen in his emphasis on the necessity for information, propaganda, and polemics; of intellectual combat with one's ideological adversaries; his idea of "strong and weak nations" similar by the way, to the Marxist notion of "historic and unhistoric nations", and his contempt for decadent and materialistic aspects "bourgeois morality".

The point is that, it would be equally untenable to say that Donzow was indebted to Marxism as it is untenable to say that he was indebted to European fascism.

By 1926, Bolshevism, the Russian totalitarian state and the GULAG were tightening their grip on Ukraine. The issue was survival in the face of total national annihilation. Ukraine desperately needed a life-preserving, vivid and unambiguous anti-thesis to all-oppressive thesis of Russian Bolshevik imperialism.

Donzow wanted to mobilize the moral and spiritual efforts of the Ukrainian nation, and in so doing turned to the Western European intellectual heritage where there were (and are) ideas and the political thought of both the Right and the Left. In fact, the ideological spectrum as such, is the intellectual product of European political thought, and a central part of the Western European political inheritance.

In calling upon his deepest intellectual resources and his knowledge of

Europe's intellectual past, he elaborated his own ideology designed for Ukrainians, aspects of which resembled European political thought of both the Right and the left. John A. Armstrong was correct when he said that "Donzow was a man of unusually complex intellectual descent". Given his prolific and long career it is easy for anyone to select or cite those parts of his work which suit a preordained icon or caricature of him.

Donzow's analysis of Ukraine's predicament led him to search for the most cogent way of speaking about liberty, dignity and independence; to make the Ukrainian case, and to connect the Ukrainian question to the central issues of our time. His aim was to liberate the colonized and subjugated Ukrainian nation and to alert Western civilization to one of its two greatest threats in the 20th century.

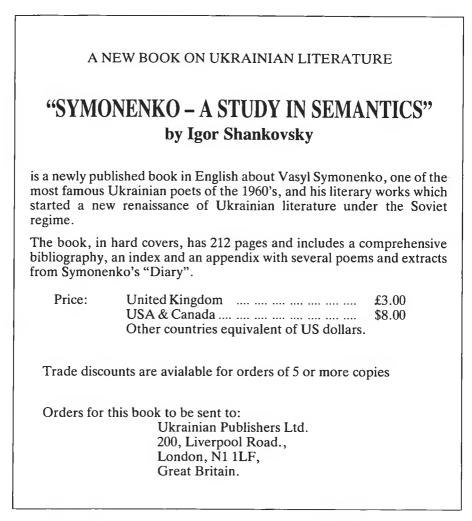
He chose to fight fire with fire. To the Russian totalitarian thesis, he answered with the Ukrainian anti-thesis of "active nationalism"; and as witnessed by the subsequent decolonization of Asia and Africa between 1947-1975, during which 87 new independent nation-states entered the United Nations, he was simply a man ahead of his time.

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Frank SYSYN*

RUSSIA OR THE SOVIET UNION?

For two generations, the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics have faced each other as superpowers. Along with the increasing importance of the Soviet Union in world affairs, one might expect that the American public,** and particularly American educators, would become more knowledgeable about the peoples of the Soviet Union. Only an informed citizenry and political leadership will be capable of making sound decisions on policies toward the Soviet Union. Yet, one is often struck by most Americans' unfamiliarity with the basic geography, history, political structure, and cultures of the peoples of the Soviet Union. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the widespread assumption that all Soviet citizens are Russians and that the Soviet Union is Russia.

The term "Russia" is routinely used as a synonym for the Soviet Union on American television, radio, in popular publications, in the press, and even in university lectures. Although many people are aware that the Soviet Union is made up of numerous nationalities, the shorthand use of "Russia" continues to confuse even well-educated Americans. It often leads to absurd situations. American sportscasters look dumbfounded when after congratulating a Soviet athlete for his victory as a "Russian" Olympic Champion, the athlete adamantly asserts that he is a Georgian. American delegations proclaim their love of Russia and Russian culture to their hosts in Vilnius, only to find their hosts respond with hurt Lithuanian pride. Teachers inform their Armenian-American and Ukrainian-American students that they cannot select Armenia and Ukraine for their school projects, since they are not "countries" but regions of Russia. Even the National Geographic Society, which valiantly struggles against Americans' widespread ignorance of the world beyond their borders, has recently issued a book with the confusing title "Journey Across Russia: The Soviet Union Today."

The most surprising aspect of the problem is that most Americans cling to the concept of the Soviet Union as Russia, while Soviets, including Russians, insist that their state is a federation of national republics. Despite the fact that the republics have little autonomy and the regime follows a policy of Russification, the Soviet leadership carefully adheres to a terminology that reflects the multinational nature of the federation of twenty five union republics.

Why then does the American educational system, press and public stubbornly continue to view all Soviet citizens as Russians and the country as Russia? In part, the problem is one of historical terminology. The Russian Empire of the nine-teenth century included most of the areas now in the Soviet Union — therefore the USSR is viewed merely as a transformed Russia. Since the Tsarist state was

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^{**}For 'American' read American, British and generally West-European

created from a Russian core and espoused a Russian nationalist ideology, Americans overlook the existence of non-Russians. With little historical perspective, Americans view Central Asia, the Caucasus, the Baltic area and Ukraine as always naturally having been a part of Russia. They forget that most of these areas were annexed to the Russian state only since the eighteenth century. For example, to the Armenians, whose ancient kingdom accepted Christianity in 301, and who spent centuries under Turkish and Persian rule, their connection with Russia is merely one episode in a long and complicated history. For that matter, Western Ukrainians were never part of the Russian Empire, and were only incorporated into the Soviet Union in 1939-44. Yet the widespread view that the Soviet Union is a Russian nation-state, and not an imperial conglomerate similar to Habsburg Austria-Hungary, remains dominant even in American foreign policy circles.

Strong biases against "fragmentation" exist among Americans, who derive their attitudes about the Soviet Union from the experience of the United States. Instead of sympathizing with groups in the Soviet republics who seek to transform the Lithuanian SSR or Georgian SSR into independent national-states, many Americans consider the Soviet republics as comparable to the American states. They believe that just as the ethnic groups of the United States have adopted English and have merged into one American people so the "ethnic" groups of the USSR should adopt Russian. The excesses of twentieth-century nationalism deafen many to the cries of Latvians and Byelorussians who claim that they, like the Poles, Bulgarians and Dutch, should have their own independent states.

Finally, the enchantment of many Americans with the great Russian literature and music of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries makes the American wonder what strange force possesses the Estonian to reject this world-renowned culture and identity. The success of Russian cultural and educational figures in academic and cultural communities creates an atmosphere often unsympathetic to non-Russian demands. The exotic myth of powerful Holy Russia and the Russian soul overshadows any interest that Americans might have about the Azerbaijani or Moldavian-Rumanian culture. Even the dramatic and acrobatic Georgian and Ukrainian dance groups are labelled Russian by impressarios who wish to capitalize on the popularity of all things Russian.

The use of the label "Russian" for people as different as the Western-oriented Finnic-speaking Protestant Estonians, the Turkic-speaking Muslim Uzbeks, and the Romance-language speaking Moldavian-Rumanians has impoverished Americans' appreciation of the cultures and histories of the peoples in the USSR and has rendered Americans incapable of understanding social and political developments in the USSR. Since the last Soviet census indicated that non-Russians are approaching majority status in the Soviet Union, Americans are out of touch with half the population of the other superpower. The American experience in Indochina demonstrated the danger of ignorance about other parts of the world — a costly lesson that should not have to be repeated. With the percentage of non-Russians increasing in the Soviet Union, the balance of power may shift in the USSR, and Russian attempts to retain dominance may lead to an explosive situation. As the Turkic-speaking population of the USSR increases dramatically,

how many foreign policy advisors understand Uzbek political and cultural traditions and how many Americans academics study Kirghiz?

Limited knowledge about the non-Russians in the USSR also blinds Americans to the human and national rights issues in the USSR. No one would maintain that the life or freedom of a Russian dissident in Moscow is worth more than that of a Lithuanian Catholic in Vilnius. Yet, because of a lack of understanding of Lithuanian affairs, the Western press minimizes the importance of such "provincial" movements, which allows the Soviet regime much more latitude for repression.

American insensitivity to national differences in the USSR also offends the dignity of a substantial number of Americans of Armenian, Byelorussian, Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian Rumanian-Moldavian and Ukrainian descent. Many editors of reference works have dismissed the indignant and emotional letters of Lithuanian-Americans or Ukrainian-Americans as the ravings of a 'nationalist' lunatic fringe. Editors and educators continue referring to "Kyiv, Russia" or "Russian dancers from Vilnius," without even considering that the often hysterical and inarticulate letters that they receive may lodge justifiable complaints. Since over three million Americans descend from the non-Russian nationalities of the Soviet Union, the problem takes on considerable personal importance for many American citizens.

The situation can be improved by a careful campaign for a new atmosphere of understanding. Educators should emphasize the cultural and national diversity of the Soviet Union in their geography and history lessons. Audio-visual materials should be used to impress students with the heterogeneity in art, architecture, religion, and social patterns of the nations of the Soviet Union. American ethnic groups should be utilized as sources of information on Armenian architecture, Lithuanian literature, and Jewish religious traditions. All too often ethnic communities are reduced to the level of quaint suppliers of ethnic food and folk dancing.

Editors, reporters and television personnel should receive careful instructions from their employers explaining the need for exactness when describing the Soviet Union. Simply by using "Soviet" and "Soviet Union" when referring to the USSR and its entire population, media people can avoid incorrect statements. Rather than just writing angry letters, the ethnic groups should conduct an organized programme of supplying information and resources about their ancestral homelands. The process will be a long one, since bad habits are difficult to uproot. Only by tolerance and understanding can the problem be resolved without confrontations. The result will be a deeper understanding of the Soviet Union and its cultures and a better basis for American-Soviet relations.

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A BRIEF BIOGRAPHY OF MAZEPA: HETMAN OF UKRAINE AND PRINCE OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, 1639-1709

2. From Royal Page to Hetman of Ukraine

Hetman Ivan Mazepa — Koledynsky* was born of a noble Ukrainian family¹ at his ancestral seat at Mazepyntsi, near Bila Tserkva in Ukraine. The date of his birth is not certain and is still a matter of dispute, but March 20, 1639, seems to be plausible.

The most authoritative testimony also should be considered. Mazepa's closest associate and his chancellor, Philip Orlyk, in his letter of August 22, 1741, wrote, "... I am seventy years of age, as Mazepa was in Bender..." (in 1709).² Therefore, 1639 should be accepted as the year of his birth. The exact day and month given by a Polish poet, T. Padura (1801-1872), can be accepted without doubt.³

Mazepa's mother, Maryna Mokievsky, was descended from an old, noble Ukrainian family. After the death of her husband (1665), she entered a convent in Kyiv where she later became Mother Superior. This, however, did not prevent her from taking an active part in the political life of that time. Her son, as Hetman, often came to her for advice. She died toward the end of 1707 at approximately 90 years of age, when Mazepa was 68 years old.

His father Stefan Adam Mazepa, was a Ukrainian nobleman. Although he was in the service of the Polish King, in the war against Poland he joined the Ukrainian Hetman, Bohdan Khmelnytsky (1648-1657), creator of the Hetmanstate. The difficult and drawn-out war with Poland led to an alliance between Ukraine and Russia in 1654 known as the Treaty of Pereyaslav. Since Russia did not carry out the terms of this treaty, Khmelnytsky's successor, Hetman Ivan Vyhovsky (1657-1659), broke with Russia and formed an agreement with Poland known as the Treaty of Hadiach (September 17, 1658). According to this treaty, Ukraine was returned to Poland but as a separate, autonomous state. Stefan Adam Mazepa supported Vyhovsky's policy. This may explain his promotion and his son Ivan's appointment as a page at the court of the Polish King Jan Casimir after he first obtained an education at the Ukrainian College (Kollegium) in Kyiv. He studied, according to the Ukrainian chronologist Velychko, at the Jesuit College in Warsaw. Mazepa visited France, Germany, Italy⁴ and conversed in

Continuation from issue No. 2, 1983 of Ukrainian Review

^{1.} J. Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz, "Pochodzennia i herb Hetmana Mazepy," *PUNI*, Vol. XLVI, pp. 53-56.

^{2.} Cf.: Ohloblyn, *Hetman Ivan Mazepa ta joho doba*, p.21. The English newspaper, *The Daily Courant*, No. 2239, of December 29, 1708, relying on the Russian source of information, also questioned that Mazepa was 70 years of age. (Actually, he was 69 years old in 1708).

^{3.} Ohloblyn, op. cii., p. 21

^{4.} Subtelny, Mazepists, p. 17

French, German, Italian, and Dutch. Contrary to Borshchak's doubts,⁵ Mazepa spent one year (1657-1658) in the city of Deventer in Holland where he was sent by the Polish King to study artillery as is indicated by two Dutch generals in their history of the Army of the Netherlands.⁶ Upon his return, he was sent on several diplomatic missions from 1659 to 1663 to the Ukrainian Hetmans.

The most popular story of Mazepa's reason for leaving the royal court is told by the Polish nobleman Jan Chryzostom Pasek in his memoirs⁷ and by Voltaire in his History of Charles XII. Both authors wrote that Mazepa had a love affair with Madame Falbowski (the Christian name was not mentioned), the young wife of an aged Polish nobleman Falbowski, one of Mazepa's neighbours in Volhynia. Falbowski caught his wife with Mazepa and decided to punish him in an unusual way. He ordered Mazepa to undress himself, and then he put the naked Mazepa, bound hand and foot, backward on a bare-back horse, and fired a pistol to startle the horse. Falbowski expected that the ride through the thick forest on a furiously galloping horse would eventually result in the death of Mazepa. Fortunately for Mazepa, his horse brought him to his own estate, but in such a state of mutilation that his servants could not recognize him at first. There they freed and cared for him.8

However, there are some differences between Pasek's story and Voltaire's story. Pasek did not name the place, mentioning only that the action took place in Volhynia, while Voltaire did not mention the name of the location at all. Furthermore, the fact that Pasek did not indicate in any way that he was in this region, but rather far away in the city of Smolensk, negotiating with the Russians, implies the strong suspicion that Pasek heard this story only at second hand.

Such stories were not unusual at that time. For example, the French diplomat, Foy de la Neuville (1649-1706), mentioned in his memoirs a similar story about a Scot in the Polish service, who had a love affair with the wife of a Lithuanian Colonel.9

The reason that Pasek wrote in this fashion is this: Mazepa denounced Pasek, who served at the Polish court of King Jan Casimir. In 1661, Pasek, was involved in an army plot against the King. Mazepa revealed this to the King. Pasek was tried, sentenced, and his estates were confiscated. Though he was later pardoned and reinstated, Pasek could not forget what Mazepa had done to him, and apparently took advantage of the story in order to avenge himself for Mazepa's revelation to the King. Pasek called Mazepa a liar, thief, and adulterer, and mentioned his love affairs indiscriminately. Pasek's story cannot be considered truthful because, as Kostomarov in his well-known monograph remarked, "... Pasek was a staunch

^{5.} Borshchak, "Mazepa...," p. 4.

^{6.} Ter Aa en De Bas, *Het Staatsche Leger, 1568-1795*, (Breda, 1913), vol. VII, p. 238, Aanhangsel, ("...Johannes Koledynski, latere kozaken Hetman Mazeppa, was een jaar in Nederland bij Geschutfabriek Willem Wegewaard in Deventer.)

T. Jan Ch. Pasek, Pamieiniki, (Cracow, 1929), pp. 312-18.
 Voltaire, Histoire de Charles XII, (Rouen, 1731). I used the English translation by John J. Stockdale, The History of Charles XII King of Sweden, (London, 1807), pp. 258-262. Kostomarov mentioned several variations of this episode, op. cit., pp. 387-9.

^{9.} Foy de la Neuville, An Account of Muscovy As It Was in the year 1689, p. 4.

personal enemy of Mazepa"¹⁰, and Alexander Brueckner, a prominent historian of Polish literature, also points out that Pasek was "an incredible liar"¹¹

How Voltaire obtained the information of the story could be answered thus: Pasek's memoirs, completed about 1688, were quite popular in Poland at that time, and they survived either orally or in several manuscripts. It is evident that Voltaire obtained this information from the exiled Polish King, Stanislaw Leszczynsky, whose daughter, Maria, married the French King, Louis XV. Leszynski lived in Paris, and Voltaire, who was not sure of the veracity of the story, asked the exiled King to confirm the story in a written statement. Leszynski did this more than once.¹² They were partially published in the Polish magazine Astrea in Warsaw, in July 1821. The first complete edition of the memoirs was published in 1836, almost a hundred years later than Voltaire's Histoire de Charles XII (1731).

According to the German historian Otto Haintz, Voltaire's history is worthless as a historical source, because Voltaire used an unreliable compilation of his countryman H. de Limiers¹³ as his source. The de Limiers book was supposedly based upon a book by Daniel Defoe,¹⁴ a Scot who had never participated in the Great Northern War.¹⁵

There is no evidence to support Pasek's story, but there is however, another non-legendary version of one of Mazepa's love affairs. According to the Kyivan archivist, I. Kamanin, who found records from the year 1663 in the Central Archives in Kyiv, there is evidence that a Polish nobleman, Zagorowski, asked for a divorce from his wife, Helen, because he had intercepted many presents and letters to his wife from his neighbour Mazepa. In one of the letters, Mazepa asked the wife to make a trip with her husband from their estate to the next village. Revushki. On the road, Mazepa intended to ambush and kill Zagorowski. Mazepa's plan, however, did not work out. The outcome of the story is not known.¹⁶

It is quite possible that the young, gallant Mazepa had some love affairs, but the story about Falbowski does not appear as serious as Pasek claimed in his memoirs. There was quite an accurate biography of Mazepa in the German weekly magazine in Hamburg, Historische Remarques of January 22, 1704, in its November 27, 1703, correspondence from Moscow. The writer mentioned such very personal details concerning Mazepa as his marriage to a rich widow (Hanna Frydrykievych whom he married in 1668 or 1669), that she died in 1702, that they had one daughter who died very young, and that Mazepa's sister was married three times. The author even gave the names of her three husbands: Obydovsky, Vituslavsky, and Voinarovsky. The son from the third marriage, Andrew Voinarovsky, came

10. Kostomarov, op cit., p. 389.

15. O. Haintz, Karl XII von Schweden im Urteil der Geschichte, (Berlin, 1936), pp. 7-8
16. I. Kamanin, "Mazepa i jeho prekrasnaya Yelena," Kievskaya Starina, (1886), Vol. XI, pp. 522-35.
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^{14.} The History of the Wars of His Present Majesty Charles XII by a Scots Gentleman in the Swedish Service, (London, 1715), cf: J.R. Moore, A Checklist of the Writing of Daniel Defoe, (Bloomington, 1960). p. 183.

to live with his uncle Mazepa, who then sent him to study philosophy in Kyiv. The author also accused Mazepa of denouncing his predecessor, I. Samoylovych. Logically, if the correspondent from Moscow had mentioned some personal affairs of Mazepa in the magazine, surely he would have mentioned the love story about Falbowski's wife.

Pasek's story seems to have little veracity, because if Mazepa had really been punished by Falbowski, as Pasek described, how could the Polish King have promoted Mazepa to a higher rank in 1665 after such a scandal? It is certain that Mazepa did not leave the Polish court because of an illicit affair. After Mazepa's alliance with the Swedish King Charles XII, not one of his biographers mentioned the Falbowski affair. All of these biographies omitted any reference to this charge, and they certainly would have mentioned any fact of Mazepa's life which would put him in a bad light.

In 1669, Mazepa joined the service of the Ukrainian Hetman Peter Doroshenko, whose ambition was to liberate Ukraine from both Moscovy and Poland. These two powers had divided Ukraine into two parts according to the Treaty of Andrusiv (1667). On the Right Bank of Ukraine was Doroshenko, first under the Polish King, and then under the Porte, and on the left bank was Hetman Ivan Samoylovych under the Russian protectorate.

Mazepa became Doroshenko's close associate and was often sent on diplomatic missions. In 1674 on a mission to the Crimea, Mazepa was captured by Ivan Sirko, the leader ("Koshovyj") of the Zaporozhian Cossacks, who had their own territory and administration. Sirko sent Mazepa to Hetman Samoylovych, who was Doroshenko's political opponent. Mazepa was in a dangerous situation, but Samoylovych, having recognized his education and diplomatic skill, quickly promoted him from private instructor of his children to the highest military rank and gave him the position of Inspector-General ("assaul") in 1682. Since Mazepa's former commander, Doroshenko, recognized the authority of Samoylovych, Mazepa served the latter in many diplomatic missions, especially to Moscow. There he made many influential court acquaintances, chief among whom was Prince Vassilii Golitsyn.¹⁷

3. Mazepa's Participation in Anti-Turkish Campaigns

In 1684 the Emperor Leopold I organized the "Holy Anti-Turkish Alliance". The Polish King Jan Sobieski, after his victory over the Turks at Vienna (1683), invited Russia to join the "Holy Alliance" against the Turks. Disregarding the advice of Ivan Samoylovych, Hetman of the Left Bank of Ukraine, Poland, and Russia concluded a so-called "eternal peace treaty" in the Spring of 1686. According to this Treaty of 1686 Poland renounced in perpetuity the Left Bank of Ukraine, and gave up Kyiv and the Zaporozhian Cossacks to the supremacy of Russia. Moscow promised to attack the Crimea, while Austria, Poland, and Venice were to attack the Porte.

^{17.} For details see : Kostomarov, Mazepa, pp. 250-2; Ohloblyn, Hetman Mazepa, p. 13-22.

Samoylovych tried to prevent the conclusion of the "eternal peace treaty," but was unable to hinder the course of events and was obliged to participate in the campaign against the Crimea together with the Russian Army under the command of Count Vassilij Golitsyn, the favourite of the Tsarevna Sophia, who was ruling as a regent for her minor brothers Ivan and Peter.

Samoylovych, who was very well acquainted with steppe warfare, recommended starting the campaign in the early spring in order to cross the dry steppe before the summer heat. However, his advice was disregarded and the expedition set out in summer. An army of about 100,000 men and 10,000 wagons arrived at the end of April 1687 in the Zaporozhian Steppes, where it was joined by the Hetman's army of 50,000. The united armies advanced towards Perekop. The summer was very hot, there was neither water nor fodder for so many horses and in addition the Tartars set fire to the dry grass. It was the usual device to prevent the enemy approaching their land. The campaign was a complete failure. Golitsyn, in order to save his reputation at the court, persuaded the high ranking Cossack officers to depose Samoylovych whom they had disliked for his autocratic behaviour, accusing him of connection with the enemy. Samoylovych was arrested on July 21, 1687, in the camp on the river Kolomak and sent to Moscow. On July 25, (August 4, n.s.) 1687, the Cossacks elected Ivan Mazepa as the new Hetman.¹⁸ He and the council of officers swore to recognize the supremacy of the Tsar and signed the so-called "Kolomak Articles,", which diminished the autonomy of the Ukrainian Hetmanstate, as mentioned in the introduction.

Already in his lifetime, Mazepa was accused of denouncing Samoylovych in Moscow.¹⁹ The original denunciation is not preserved, only a copy of it is available on which Mazepa's name is not listed.²⁰ However, later (1693) Mazepa himself admitted his participation in a conspiracy against his predecessor.²¹

The deposed Hetman Samoylovych and his son, Yakiv, without trial or sentence, were sent to Siberia, where the father died in 1690 and his son in 1695 in the city of Tobolsk.²² Despite his autocratic behaviour, Samoylovych was undoubtedly loyal to the Tsar, a Ukrainian patriot, a good statesman and an efficient administrator.

News of the events on the Kolomak River provoked disorders and mutiny in some Cossack regiments in Ukraine.²³ The Cossacks and the peasants plundered and even killed some of their officers, expressing the growing dissatisfaction against the new Ukrainian "landlords." Mazepa with the help of Russian troops restored order issuing a decree ("ooniversal"), in which he forbade recourse to private vengeance for wrongdoings.

Having subdued the turmoil in his country, Mazepa was forced to make new

^{18.} Kostomarov, op cit., pp. 390-1.

Historische Remarques, (Hamburg, Jan. 22, 1704), No. 4, p. 24; Theatrum Europeum, (Frankfurt, 1720), Vol. XVIII, p. 273. (referring to the year 1708).
 D.H. Bantysh-Kamenskij, Chtenija v Imperatorskom Obshchestve Istorii, (Moscow, 1858), Vol. I,

<sup>pp. 297-304; cf.: Ohloblyn, op cit., p. 37.
21. Ohloblyn, op cit., p. 28; Subtelny, The Mazepists, p.18.
22. Ohloblyn, op cit., p. 37-8.</sup>

^{23.} For details see, Kostomarov, op. cit., pp. 392-4; Ohloblyn, op cit., pp. 28-9. The London magazine Modern History, of May 1668, No. 8, pp. 14-15 reported about "discords raised by the Cosaques."

preparations for a campaign against Crimea which started in the Spring of 1689. In April 1689, Mazepa joined the Russian Army (112,000 men) under the command of Golitsyn at the Kolomak River and from there the united armies reached Perekop at the end of May. Although Golitsyn defeated the Khan, the Russian Commander-in-Chief was afraid to proceed any further (the Tartars again burned all the country around) and in early June he decided to retreat.

There were some rumours that the Tartar Khan bribed Golitsyn. The Nuremberg magazine Neu-eröffneter Historischer Bilder-Saal mentioned that Golitsyn was supposed to recieve 100,000 Thaler.²⁴ Apparently Golitsyn's indecision was the main reason why he retreated.²⁵ Although the second Crimean campaign was unsuccessful, Golitsyn did not accuse Mazepa of any wrongdoing. In fact, after this campaign, the Hetman with a suite of 304 high-ranking officers came to Moscow to pay his respects to the Regent Sophia, sister of Peter I, and Count Golitsyn her favourite. Mazepa was greeted by the Colonel Ivan Tsikler, who headed 500 cavalrymen and many officials from "Malorossijskij prikaz" (Ministry for Ukrainian Affairs). The high official ("Diak"), Vassilij Bobyn, came to meet the Hetman with the Tsarist coach and brought the Hetman to the "Posolskij Prikaz" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs), where he was accommodated with his party.26

While in Moscow, Mazepa witnessed the removal of Sophia and Golitsyn from power by Peter I. It was expected that the Hetman also would be deposed. In fact, the high-ranking officers of this party discussed a possible successor.²⁷ On August 10, 1689, Mazepa was summoned to his first audience with the new Tsar, who praised the services of the Cossacks during both Crimean campaigns. Replying to Peter I, Mazepa emphasized the difficulties of his office, the mistakes made by Golitsyn and assured the new Tsar of his allegiance. Peter was pleased by Mazepa's speech and gave him and his party generous presents. They safely returned to Ukraine. As is evident, Mazepa possessed the uncommon ability to communicate, and his persuasiveness rested on a natural charm.²⁸ But, perhaps his most distinguished characteristic was his ability to make others believe what he wanted them to believe. Thus this first audience became the beginning of a close political and personal relationship.

The Tsar launched a war against Turkey in 1695 and in order to secure a free way to the Azov and Black seas, Mazepa actively participated with his troops in this campaign. The Tsar planned operations on two fronts, against the Turkish fortress of Azov and against the Crimea. The first attempt to defeat the Turks at Azov in 1695 was a failure, but at the same time the Ukrainian and Russian armies led by Mazepa and the Russian General Sheremetjev respectively, were quite successful in the region of the lower Dnipro River. The Turkish fortresses such as Kizikermen, Tavansk and a number of smaller strongholds were taken.²⁹

^{24.} Neu-cröffneter Historischer Bilder-Saal, Vol. V, p. 854; cf; Theatrum Europeum, Vol. XIII, p. 652.

For details see: Ohloblyn, op cit., pp. 47-8.
 Kostomarov, op. cit., pp. 403-4; cf., M.M. Bogoslovskij, Petr I, (Moscow, 1948) Vol, IV p. 320.

^{27.} Kostomarov, op. cit., p. 405 28. Cf., A. Starchevskij, Spravochnyj Entsyklopedicheskij Slovar, (St. Petersburg, 1853), Vol. III, pp. 387, 390.

^{29.} Kostomarov, op. cit., p. 453.



Hetman Ivan Mazepa in Full Regalia and his Coat of Arms

In 1696 the second Russian campaign against Azov was very successful. According to the testimony of the Tsar himself, the Ukrainian troops (15,000) under the command of Colonel Lysohub, played a decisive part in the battle.³⁰ The Tsar was very pleased with Mazepa and invited him after the battle to his headquarters. where the Tsar spent all day with the Hetman and rewarded his services generously. Mazepa received vast grants of lands and was granted on February 8, 1700, the title of Count of Ukraine.³¹ At the same time he was also granted the newly established order of St. Andrew.³² Mazepa visited the Tsar almost every year in Moscow and Peter I respected and trusted him. In fact, Mazepa became the Tsar's close friend and advisor in Ottoman and Polish affairs.

The war lasted four more years. The Ukrainian and Russian troops fought the Turks and Tartars, but their allies did not participate in this campaign. Ukraine was the principle countributor to its expenses. The situation in Ukraine became worse because of bad harvests and the Ukrainian population suffered very much. In addition, the Russians not only demanded provisions from the Ukrainian population but mistreated them and beat the officials.³³ Mazepa complained to the Tsar, but was helpless against mistreatment of his people by the Russians. Since Austria had concluded a separate peace treaty with the Porte at Carlowitz (January 16, 1699), the Turks proposed to the Tsar to negotiate the terms of a peace treaty, which was finally signed in Constantinople on July 3, 1700. Ukraine was relieved from the burdens of this war. In fact, Mazepa for a long time tried to convince the Tsar to direct their expansion to the North and wage a war against Sweden, as F. Golovin, Minister of Foreign Affairs, related to Peter I.³⁴

4. Mazepa's Internal Policy

The main goal of Mazepa's policy was to consolidate all of Ukraine and to strengthen the office of the Hetman. The Hetman having had rich experience, realized that any attempt to rid Ukraine of Russia would fail and cause disaster to his country.

As mentioned, Mazepa was neither a Russophile nor a Russophobe. He considered the terms of the Pereyaslav Treaty (1654) as a basis for co-existence with Moscow, since this was a situation inherited from his predecessors.

Mazepa also believed that with Russia's assistance, he could realize the goals of the Ukrainian national policy in regard to Poland and Turkey, namely to liberate and to unify Ukraine under one hetman. Therefore, he decided to be loyal to Moscow and through his personal charm and eloquence won the favour of the Tsar, Peter I. The Austrian envoy in Moscow, Otto Pleyer, in his report of February 8,

^{30.} Kostomarov, op. cit., p. 458-461. 31. Joseph Siebmacher, Grosses und Allgemienes Wappenbuch, (Nuremberg, 1893), Vol. I, p. 160.

^{32.} Kostomarov, op. cit., p. 483.

^{33.} Kostomarov, op. cit., pp. 474, 476-7, 489-490. 34. Ohloblyn, op cit., p. 252. Bogoslovskij, Petr I, Vol. IV, p. 343.

1702, remarked that "Mazepa is very much respected and honoured by the Tsar "35

Mazepa's great intelligence helped him to perceive the situations and men who could serve his purposes. But his most distinguished characteristic was his ability to communicate with all types of people. The Hetman was so very well informed about international politics that the French diplomat, Jean Baluze, remarked in his report of 1704 that "...in contrast to the Muscovites he follows and knows what is happening on foreign countries."³⁶ Baluze also confessed that Mazepa was very cautious in divulging information.³⁷

Mazepa's policy was to strengthen Ukraine internally, to improve education and socio-economic conditions, to create strong leadership, and to make Ukraine so strong that Moscow could not easily weaken her autonomous status. Taking advantage of a period of peace, Mazepa initiated valuable steps in the fields of culture and education, and encouraged the building of schools and churches.³⁸ At his own expense he built several beautiful churches and monasteries in Kyiv, Chernyhiv, Pereyaslav, and other places. He remodeled the Pecherska Lavra Monastery in Kviv, built around it a stone wall and constucted beautiful gateways with miniature churches. Mazepa was also a patron of national arts and learning. He erected a new building for the Petro Mohyla Academy (Mohylanska Academia) in Kyiy, and endowed it richly with lands and funds. In addition, he founded a number of schools and hospitals. He generously endowed monasteries and convents, which were at that time the main centres of education. Furthermore, he donated a large silver platter to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem with the following inscription: "Donated by his Highness, Ivan Mazepa, Hetman of Rus."39

Although Mazepa was a great patron of education and religion, the Hierarchy of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church at the order of Peter I, issued an anathema against the Hetman⁴⁰ and effaced all inscriptions and seals reminding the people of him. Nevertheless, Mazepa acquired the sympathies of Ukrainian people and had many odes, poems, and dramas composed in his honour. In fact, despite the Tsar's order, Mazepa's portrait was preserved on the wall behind the altar in the Lavra Monastery in Kyiv.⁴¹ In order to strengthen the position of the Hetman's office. Mazepa intended to make it hereditary. Since he had no children of his own, Mazepa planned to appoint his nephew, Andrew Voinarovsky, as his successor.

It is possible that Mazepa had good intentions. However, by being too loval to Moscow and by approving and legalizing the abolition of the democratic system in

^{35.} HHS, Russland, 1-20; cf. Ustrialov, op cit., Vol. IV, part 2, p. 573.
36. Baluze's report of 1704 was published by E. Borshchak, op cit., pp. 28-30.
37. Ibid. ("...I could get nothing from this ruler...for he belongs to the type who either remains silent or

^{37.} Ibid. ("...I could get nothing from this ruler...Ior he belongs to the type who either remains silent or talks and reveals nothing.")
38. Kostomarov, op. cit., p. 426; See also: M. Andrusiak, "Hetman Ivan Mazepa jak kulturnyj dijach" PUNI, Vol. XLVII, pp. 69-87. V. Sichynskyj, Ivan Mazepa — Ludyna i mecenat (Philadelphia, 1951), and of the same author: "Ivan Mazepa — Patron of Culture and Arts of Ukraine", The Ukrainian Quarterly, (1959), Vol. XV., No. 3, pp. 271-280.
39. M. Vozniak, "Benderska komisja po smerti Mazepy," PUNI, Vol. 46, pp. 130-1.
40. V. Bidnov, "Tserkovna anatema na hetmana Ivana Mazepu," PUNI, Vol. 47, pp. 38-56: O. Lotockyj, "Sprava pravosylnosty anatemymurvannia Hetmana Ivana Mazepy," PUNI, Vol. 47, pp. 57-68 57-68.

^{41.} Sichynskyj, "Graviury na chest Mazepy...," PUNI, Vol. 46, p. 160.

Ukraine introduced by his predecessor, Mazepa caused deep dissatisfaction and opposition among the Ukrainian people. One sign of dissatisfaction of the people and the Cossacks was the unsuccessful revolt led by Petryk Ivanenko, 1692-1696, who fled to the Zaporozhian Cossacks in 1691 and tried to persuade them to attack Mazepa in order to liberate the Ukrainian people from the "new landlords". Petryk counted on the Zaporozhians and also hoped to secure military help from the Crimean Khan, who, as a matter of fact, recognized Petryk as a Hetman of Ukraine and promised him assistance. Mazepa's army awaited Petryk at the border; however, the Zaporozhians did not join Petryk, who was forced to retreat and was not killed by the Cossack Jakym Vechirka (Vechirnenko) in 1696 as Kosto-marov and Hrushevsky have stated,⁴² On the contrary, according to Ohloblyn, Petryk, as a Hetman of the so-called "Khanska Ukraina," a part of Southern Ukraine between the Boh and Dnister Rivers under the Crimean Khan's jurisdiction, for many years harassed both the Hetmanstate and Russia.⁴³ Those who attempted or participated in any uprising against Mazepa's administration were severely punished, and as the contemporary chronologist, Samuel Velychko, remarked in his chronicle, "there was silence and fear among the people."⁴⁴ During his time in the office, Mazepa based his authority on the educated class of Cossack officers. Some Ukrainian historians reproach him for his lack of democratic attitude towards the people. In fact many contemporaries considered him as a Pole. However, he also supported tradesmen and businessmen in Ukraine.

When, in 1700, the Ukrainian merchants had some difficulties with the Polish officials, Mazepa intervened directly with the Polish Government. He asked the Polish Government to instruct its officials not to make difficulties for the businessmen with Ukrainian passports. Although the Hetman supported the privileged class of the officer corps, he nevertheless, never neglected to protect the interest of the Ukrainian population as a whole. Mazepa insisted that the landlords should hold their lands "reasonably, according to Ukrainian custom, without causing difficulties to the peasants from newly imposed obligations." He, for example, in his decree of 1701 announced that he had impeached an officer before the court of justice for having overburdened his peasants with new and illegal obligations.⁴⁵ On several occasions Mazepa defended the peasants when the Tsar tried to force them to build fortresses and to serve in the military transports. Mazepa argued that the peasants were already overburdened with many duties and that it was the duty of the Cossacks to perform military services.

(To be continued)

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^{42.} Kotomarov, Mazepa, p. 457, Hrushevsky, A History of Ukraine, p. 357. About Petryk's uprising against Mazepa see: Kostomarov, Mazepa, pp. 437-457 and Ohloblyn, Hetman Mazepa, pp. 176-188, 190-2.

^{43.} Ohloblyn, Hetman Mazepa, p. 188. 44. Hrushevsky, A History of Ukraine, p. 354.

^{45.} D. Doroshenko, A Survey of Ukrainian History, p. 322-3; for details see: Ohloblyn, op cit., pp. 65-147.

THE RISE OF EXILE LITERATURE: A Survey of Modern Ukrainian Poetry.

In 1962 on Long Island, NY died one of the greatest Ukrainian exile poets, Teodosij Os'machka.* On hearing of his death, the poet Mykyta I. Mandryka wrote:

Os'machka in his works will remain immortal as long as Ukrainians live. He is the voice of Ukraine herself for the period of her most painful sufferings. His voice is and will be forever a grievous act of accusation of her torturers, and also of the whole World; an act written by his blood and the blood of Ukraine.⁷⁰

While living in the United States, Os'machka wrote two prose works and translated two Shakespeare tragedies *Macbeth* and *Henry IV*, which were published as *Trahedija Makbeta* and *Korol Henri IV* in 1961 in Munich. He also translated Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* and Oscar Wilde's *Ballad of Reading Gaol*.

Another world is the one seen in the poetry of Mykola Shcherbak (born 1916). His poetry is sincere and lucid. His language is one of metaphor and wordplay which reflects the individual's apprehension of the unity of experience in a form of embodied meanings. He is deeply concerned with the question of how time which has passed and bygone experiences can be retrieved and made to live again in the present. He believes powerfully in the values that originate somewhere between heaven and earth and help man to treasure life in its true meaning. He is the author of seven collections of poetry: *Vitry nad Ukrajinoju* (1947, Winds Above Ukraine), *Pjankyj chebrets*' (1953, Heady Thyme), *Shljakh u vichnist*' (1954, A Pathway to Eternity), *Bahattja* (1959, A Camp-Fire), *Virshovana abetka* (1960, An Alphabet in Verse), *Voloshky* (1969, Cornflowers), and *Pakhoshchi sutsvittja* (1982, Aroma of the Blossom Cluster).

Volodymyr Biljajiv (born 1925) is an emotional poet who in broader structural terms tries to call things by their right names. His verse is precise and stimulates the reader's imagination; it grasps the mind and keeps it alert. Biljajiv's poetical world is one in which happiness flashes up inward and outward. The inner depth of his impulses is in their spontaneity while his thoughts are infinitely expandable. The author knows exactly what is happening and tries to redeem the products of his mind and feeling by that faculty, call it love or judgement, which cannot submit to reason but can produce a kind of poetry which is nothing but art. His first collection, *Polittja* (1970, A Time After the Summer), aroused much appreciation of a special propriety of thought, subject, and style, but his second collection, *Po toj bik shchastja* (1979, The Other Side of Happiness), surpassed that appreciation and established him as a sensitive poet able to penetrate the secrets of human happiness.⁷¹

^{*}Continued from Ukrainian Review, No 3 1983

Leonid Poltava (born 1921) began his poetic creativity still in Europe. In 1946 appeared his Za muramy Berlinu (Behind the Walls of Berlin) and in 1978 Iz espans'koho zshytka (From a Spanish Notebook). This collection included poetry written in Spain, Morocco, Mexico, and the United States between 1952 and 1978. Recently he published his Smak sontsja (1981, The Taste of the Sun) written in Alaska. Poltava likes to travel extensively and to write his poetry in various countries by reflecting his impressions and the thoughts caused by changing surroundings. His poetry is exceptionally fresh, easily understood and appealing to the reader.

As a poetess, Hanna Cherin' (resides in Chicago) is a fine artist; she is a penetrating observer of life, and a keen analyst of its moods. Her collection of verse, *Chornozem* (1962, Black Soil) illustrates the poet's personal longing for the tranquil joys of life. Although the content of her verse deals with present-day reality, she derives her poetic resources chiefly from traditional forms. Among her verse collections one may note *Vahonetky* (1969, Wagonettes), *Travnevi mriji* (1970, May Dreams), and *Nebesni virshi* (1973, Celestial Poems), *Slova* (1980, Words, a novel in verse) and *Zelen' morja* (1981, The Green of the Sea). Her *Slova* is considered her *magnum opus* and it is certainly original. It is convincing and easy to read which gathers weight as it goes on so that the words become meaningful by presenting not only the physical sensations in their special way but also a deep aesthetic and moral criterion. At times her words sound ingenious, producing an impressively profound poetry with great depth of feeling.

Marta Tarnawsky is admirably qualified as a poet. The heart of her poetic enterprise, in terms both of the themes she handles and the confidence they inspire, is her philosophical approach to poetry. She prefers to express things in her poetry rather than to submerge herself in emotions. She is the author of two collections-Khvalju iljuziju (1972, I Praise the Illusion) and Zemletrus (1981, Earthquake). The first collection demonstrates the vitality of her poetic gift and proves that she is a strong voice among the new Ukrainian literary generation. The second collection expands her literary horizon and offers a visionary look at the complexity of human life by revealing intrinsically its internal and external features. The true challenge, however, appears in her "Amerykans'kyj tryptykh" (An American Triptych), an impressive part of the above collection that displays her poetical maturity, her love of her national roots, and her relevance for any newcomer to America.⁷² Tarnawsky is also a competent translator of poetry who can overcome ably the difficulty of style and meaning and produce a fresh, mature, and wellaccepted translation in which the reader appreciates the unity of theme. Her translations contribute a fine exercise of poetical mastery and form a good act of mediation for which we in the Ukrainian-speaking world should be most grateful.

The younger generation of Ukrainian poets in the United States forms a modernist group called the New York Group. It consists of Bohdan Boychuk, Emma Andijevs'ka, Yurij Tarnavs'kyj, Bohdan Rubchak, and Patricija Kylyna.⁷³ Most of them left Ukraine as children and completed their formal education in exile. They are in a better position than the older Ukrainian poets because they know other languages as well as their own. World literature is open to them because

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there is no longer a language barrier. They show a strong inclination to experiment in literature in order to make their poetry fresh and spontaneous. They do not ignore the existence of other literatures; they are receptive to influences of all kinds. One of the leading Ukrainian literary critics says, "We would wish that Yurij Tarnavs'kyj (born 1934) could pass through the existentialist school, not as a dilettante, but rather as a profound student, in order that he might get the experience of a true literary man, inspired by a passion for further spiritual search."⁷⁴ The indication that this statement is true is found in Tarnavs'kyj's poetry from the collection *Zhyttja v misti* (1956, Life in the City). In 1978 Tarnavs'kyj published a new collection of poetry *Os' jak ja vyduzhuju* (Here, How I am Getting Well). His poetry is spontaneous; it is based on the rhythm which the poet explores in his material, thought, and feeling. His rhythm rests not on the syllables but on the individual parts of his sentences. This reminds one of the poetry of Eliot, and Whitman.⁷⁵ In his poems Tarnavs'kyj speaks and narrates, but does not sing as was common before for the poet.

Emma Andijevs'ka (born 1931), as Volodymyr Derzhavyn said, is the founder of Ukrainian Surrealism. She developed the surrealistic style in Ukrainian literature with its fairy metaphor and hyperbole. The Ukrainian critic Lawrynenko expressed the wish that Andijevs'ka's surrealistic poetry could be creative, leading ultimately somewhere, and that it be something more than a harmless collection of images and words.⁷⁶ He suggested that it be intimately involved with and act upon life. But Andijevs'ka's second collection of poetry Narodzhennja idola (1957, The Birth of the Idol) manifests her belief in the magic of the word which becomes her fetish. Her later poetry, however, begins to show an increasing movement away from her earlier surrealism as such and toward its more creative aspects. She somehow cannot occupy a place in the godless, demythologized pantheon of the literary consciousness; she leaves it in order to assume the commitments and the suffering of our times. It is true that language is very much inadequate, precarious and provisional and that there is a great distance that separates language from life. Writers are becoming aware that finding their consolation or their solution in the beauty of language is almost impossible. Andijevs'ka is aware of this problem and probably it is one of the reasons for her rebellion, anguish and criticism.

One of the most interesting members of he group is Patricija Kylyna (born 1936). She was born in Montana in the family of Conrad Warren and is not of Ukrainian origin. She associated herself with the New York Group, learned the Ukrainian language and became a Ukrainian poet.⁷⁷ Her two collections of poetry *Trahedija dzhmeliv* (1960, The Tragedy of the Bumblebees) and *Lehendy i sny* (1964, Legends and Dreams) give her a place in Ukrainian literature. Her poetry sounds noble and fresh, and it has some alarming sensations about the profound secrets of existence which add to it a special flavour. She is sometimes too intellectual, especially in her lyrics, for she appears in her poetry as an existentialist philosopher or takes the role of a surrealist who is lost in her thematic labyrinth.

Bohdan Boychuk (born 1927) has several collections of poetry Chas bolju (1957,

The Time of Pain), Spomyny ljubovy (1963, Recollections of Love), and Virshi dlja Mexiko (1964, Poems for Mexico), Mandrivka til (1967, The Journey of Bodjes), Podorozh z uchytelem (1976, Journey With the Teacher), and Virshi, vybrani i peredostanni (1983, Selected and Next-to-Last Poems). Boychuk is neither a philosopher nor a confessional poet. But these two categories are present in his verse. He is a visionary and he sees beyond the surface of the human condition and tries to reshape his sense of reality into poetic images which constitute the bulk of his creative work. The birth of Boychuk as a poet was not an easy one. At first the critics rejected him for "fashionable pessimism" and for "a lack of elementary literary taste."78 Only his heroic determination, his character and his will kept him on the poetic surface. His theme is love which for him is almost a religion. that he takes to the mysterious heights of the ritual. In his love one finds the eternal puzzle which unites happiness and pain, birth and death, the puzzle that has perturbed many great poets of the tragic lyric. His collection Virshi dlja Mexiko has balanced metaphor and rhythm; his verses are full of energy and colour and carry in them something exceptionally interesting that attracts the attention of the reader — this is the fusion of lyricism with monumentalism.⁷⁹

Bohdan Rubchak's (born 1935) poetry is characterized by its lyricism, combined with the philosophical thinking and use of accurately selected words that are required by the situation. He likes to limit himself in his poetic verses because he finds the condensed form the safest and most beautiful one. He is perturbed by the process of dehumanization of life in our century which appears in man and in civilization. In his mind he dehumanizes not only the sphere of good but also the sphere of evil and its character. In addition Rubchak portrays the tragedy of the young force in its confrontation with deadly reality. In all three of Rubchak's collections⁸⁰ one notices the motifs of empty people and of devastated land that are so characteristic for Western modernists. This is the disease of our time which makes the creation of poetry difficult. But as the Ukrainian critic Lawrynenko has already said "One wants to believe that the poet will move out from the obscurity of the 'Great Night' onto the path of his own possibilities and the synthesis."⁸¹

The modernistic trend in Ukrainian poetry in Brazil is promoted by Vira Vovk, author of several collections of poetry and the faithful translator of Ukrainian poetry into Portuguese.

The present work will be far from complete without mentioning the poetic collections of Volodymyr Janiv (*Zhyttja* [1975, Life]), Iryna Dybko (*Po stezhkakh dushi* [1976, Along the Pathways of the Soul]), Vasyl Onufrijenko (*Zemlja nezabutnja* [Unforgettable Land]), Ivan Kmeta-lcznyavs'ky (*Zahravy vechirni* [1976, The Evening Glows]), Marija Holod (*Chotyry porv roku* [1978, The Four Seasons]), Tetjana Shevchuk (*Na prestil majbutnikh dniv* [1978, To the Throne of Future Days]), Bohdan Bora (*Buremni dni* [1982, Stormy Days]), Wasyl Jaszczun (*Dijsne i mrijne* [1981, The Real and the Dreams]), Bohdan Chopyk (*Poezija* [1983, Poetry]), etc.

Ukrainian poetry in exile has been greatly enriched by the publication of new collections of works by Volodymyr Svidzins'kyj (*Medobir* [1975, Honey Yield]), Vasyl Grendzha-Dons'kyj (*Tvory*, vol. I [1981, The Works], and *Tvory*, vol. II [1982]), and Oleksa Stefanovych (*Zibrani tvory* [1975, Collected Works]). Recently there appeared also two anthologies of poetry, one in Canada

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(Antolohija ukrajins'koji poeziji v Kanadi, 1898-1973 [1975, The Anthology of Ukrainian Poetry in Canada: 1898-1973]), compiled by Yar Slavutych, and one in Australia (Z-pid evkaliptiv [1976, From Underneath the Eucalypti]).

In 1954 in New York, Ukrainian writers abroad organized their Ukrainian Writers' Association in Exile — "Slovo". At present, its Canadian Branch is in Edmonton. This association is the continuation of MUR which existed in Europe before the great exodus of Ukrainian artists beyond the ocean. Since 1962 "Slovo" has published nine volumes of its own almanac. The other most important and most prolific Ukrainian literary journals in the West are Suchasnist (Contemporary Times) and Mitteilungen in Germany, Vyzvol'nyj shljakh (Liberation Path) and The Ukrainian Review in England, Ovyd (Horizon), Dzvony (The Bells), Kyjiv (Kyiv), Ukrajins'ka khyha (The Ukrainian Book), and Harvard Ukrainian Studies in the United States, Novi dni (New Days), the almanac Pivnichne sigivo (The Northern Lights), and Journal of Ukrainian Studies in Canada. The journals Ovyd, Dzvony, and Kyjiv in the United States and the almanac *Pivnichne sjajvo* in Canada ceased to appear between 1964 and 1981. These journals and almanacs offer Ukrainian poets the opportunity to publish their verses as well as their literary criticism that is so essential for the growth of poetry, its innovations, and its importance for Ukrainians abroad who want to preserve their language and its cultural heritage.

The manifestations of Ukrainian poetry in exile are not of minor nature and cannot be ignored. They are dictated not only by a nostalgia for the homeland but by a drive to create freely, an opportunity lacking in Soviet Ukraine. The Ukrainian poets abroad do not have to conform, do not have to write paeans; they are free to remain masters of whatever artistic form they prefer in order to make their works truly creative. Ukrainian authors in exile do not believe in any dividing lines; they carefully study Western and Soviet literary trends. Ukrainian writers at home, whenever they are able to remain the masters of artistic form and produce flashes of genius, are studied, recorded, and admired. No one tries to reject them or to deny them their artistry, their manifestations; on the contary, when they are not admired, they are at least treated with sympathy and understanding. The leading Ukrainian literary critic and translator, George S. N. Luckyj, writes about Ukrainian poetry under Soviet rule:

Yet the real innovations in poetry came from a group of poets who without any formal affiliation were often referred to as "Shestydesyatnyky" ("the 1960-ers"). What they had in common was a desire to turn away from political ideology and toward universal themes. In both language and style, their poems were much more sophisticated than those of their immediate predecessors. At their best, they equaled the leading young Russian poets, whose influence was visible not so much in specific instances but in the general revival of poetry as an art in the Soviet Union.⁸²

Yet the Soviet literary critics treat Ukrainian poets abroad as "emigrantnationalists," ignore their achievements, reject them as artists and even as human beings. They exclude from Ukrainian literature the works of Ukrainian poets abroad because their works are "absolutely foreign and idoleogically opposed"⁸³ to Soviet literary trends. This official attitude of the rulers of Ukraine has encouraged Ukrainian underground literature⁸⁴ which in some cases is defiant and nationalistic but mostly pleas for more creative freedom and the abolition of Russification supported by the Kremlin.

In recent years many outstanding poetic works of Ukrainian underground literature have been published in the Free World. Here to mention are Oles' Berdnyk's Blakytnyj koval' (1975, The Blue Blacksmith), Vasyl' Stus's Svicha v svichadi (1977, A Candle in a Mirror), Mykola Rudenko's Ja vil'nyj (1977, I am Free), Prozrinnja (1978, Enlightenment) and Za gratamy (1980, Behind Bars), Mykhajlo Osadchyj's Quos Ego (1979), and Lina Kostenko's Marusja Churaj (a historical novel in verse). There is also the poetical work of Svjatoslav Karavans'kyj Sutychka z tajfunom (1980, The Encounter With the Typhoon) and Humorystychnyj samvydav (The Humorous Samizdat) which are, however, to be mentioned separately since the author has been rescued by the American government and brought to the West. His poetry is traditional with distinct revolutionary motives depicting the fight for justice in society. The Sutychka z tajfunom is full of hatred of Red Moscow which he calls a criminal Moloch.

Thus at present we have in Ukrainian literature two separately functioning literary entities: on the one hand, the Soviet-controlled literature in Ukraine, which is forced to adjust its old values and traditions to the demands of socialist realism; on the other hand, Ukrainian literature in exile which, despite the fact that it is torn from its roots and marred by homesickness, exists and functions within the range of Ukrainian cultural and literary-traditional developments and those of the Western World. The literary sprouts of the New York Group are encouraging and promising because they definitely help Ukrainian literature in exile to preserve its identity and its ethnic values in this period of endurance when the Soviet system in Ukraine destroys Ukrainian humanistic values, national identity and even denies the Ukrainian language the right to be the master tool in the resurgence of Ukrainian poetry and art.

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Ivan MIRTSCHUK

HISTORY OF UKRAINIAN CULTURE

(Part 9)

Theatre

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE UKRAINIAN THEATRE

The theatre is an expression of aesthetic sense in which the fine arts such as music combine to form a single work of art. During the course of its 300 year-old history the Ukrainian theatre has borne three inherent traits which give it a special place in the framework of European culture.

At first the Ukrainian theatre played a very important role in national politics. In the struggle of the Ukrainian people forced on them by their neighbours it was the strongest, at times even the only popular weapon in the struggle to preserve the Ukrainian language, Ukrainian folklore and the Ukrainian national identity. Sadly, the political plight of Ukrainians even now is such that the theatre will have to play perhaps a similar role today in the liberation struggle as it did in the past.

When the Jesuits in keeping with their policy introduced the Polish theatre into Ukraine at the beginning of the 17th century in the form of the Latin drama, the Orthodox population resisted and established a theatre in its schools to foster its own culture and effectively counter hostile propaganda. Indeed, it is not long since the second half of the 19th century, though under Russian occupation, that the theatre enabled the Ukrainian word to resound and was the only place where the Ukrainian people were able occasionally to express themselves freely, unhindered by the proscriptions of the Russian censor. The tsarist government used the same methods of repression on the Ukrainian theatre as it had already inflicted on the national literature and all public life in Ukraine. Consequently the Russian censorship limited the repertoire of the Ukrainian theatre merely to plays on peasant life prohibiting plays on other subjects (e. g. from the history or life of the intelligentsia). Nevertheless, even this strangulation was unsuccessful. After five years of an enforced apparent death the Ukrainian theatre arose in a new realistic folklore form in order to continue its historic mission. The masses were enraptured by the performances of the Ukrainian actors. Though these performances were perhaps primitive by European standards the people knew only too well that here under the protective wing of Melpomene there was an important refuge of national life and a sturdy bulwark in the struggle for existence. Even Ukraine's enemies viewed the role of Ukrainian theatre from this aspect. As in the 1880's and 1890's Ukrainian theatre was undergoing a remarkable development after enjoying considerable artistic success and was celebrating its triumph both in Ukraine and the main Russian cities and was even to perform in the Tsar's palace. Governor General Drenteln ruler of almost half of Ukraine banned all Ukrainian performances in his sphere of influence. In reply to all pleas that the Tsar himself showed a lively interest in Ukrainian theatre and that its performances were arousing enthusiasm even in Moscow and St. Petersburg where it met no obstacles, the clever governor declared that in St. Petersburg Ukrainian theatre was only theatre, whereas in Ukraine it was primarily political. He was, of course, right however, he was mistaken in the assumption that the development of a nation numbering millions could be halted by such coercion. It is indeed this national political aspect of Ukrainian theatre that must be taken into consideration if its development and achievements in the last three centuries are to be properly understood.

Another particular feature of Ukrainian theatre is the fact that since its very beginnings until the last few decades it has been a "Folk Theatre"; not only in the sense that the broadest strata of the population are portrayed in the plays and occupied the work and life of Ukrainian artists but also because in harmony with the social structure of the Ukrainian people and partly under pressure from foreign rulers it became primarily a peasant theatre. In the 17th and 18th century the main protagonists in the intermedia were either peasants or kozaks, the simple folk. Kotlarevskyj's musical comedies from the beginning of the 19th century still being performed today on many Ukrainian stages, though in new versions, continue to hold the interest of the public and also contain scenes from folk life. When in modern plays representatives of other classes such as the bourgeoisie or intelligentsia enter the proceedings, their relationship or rather bond with the peasant masses is unmistakeable. There are exceptions to this general rule, however, these individual cases are not products of the Ukrainian spirit but foreign usually Russian or Polish themes or subject-matter. Consequently, until recently, Ukrainian theatre was mainly folk theatre. This in no way implies that Ukrainians did not understand modern drama in foreign languages. Both in the school drama of the 17th century and on the other stages of the so-called servant theatres of the magnates and of course later in the 20th century great interest was shown in foreign plays. The major plays of dramatic art were performed in Ukrainian theatres with great care and often brilliant casting. Ukrainian productions in this field regardless of their period have always demonstrated an inner spiritual bond with the peasant masses.

Although we are speaking of the 300 year history of the Ukrainian theatre this does not mean to say that before this period theatrical art was unknown in Ukraine. According to Antonovyč we have every ground on which to assume that in the pre-Christian era 'plays' were performed in conjunction with wedding customs or midsummer day celebrations. After the country became Christian, people acted out the main church festivals, the nativity and passion. However, since the period beginning with the birth of Ukrainian theatre to its relative maturity in the 17th century has yet to be properly researched, by scholars, and remains obscure, we have had to concentrate only on the last 300 years.

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THE FIRST PERIOD OF DEVELOPMENT

This period can be divided into three main phases. The first occurred in the 17th and 18th century when the actors were students who travelled the country performing at various locations. This was followed by the 19th century phase when Ukrainian theatre had matured into a national institution using only trained professionals as actors. The third phase encompasses the present, the time since the 1917 Revolution when the Ukrainian theatre despite its basic tendency turned more and more to the West and through experimentation introduced new elements to European Drama. The so-called "Servant Theatre" marked a singular transition from the first to the second phase. This type of theatre was to be found at the turn of the 18th century in the halls of Ukrainian landowners. The actors were members of the family of the landowners or specially trained servants. Later professional actors were brought from France and Germany to perform French and German plays.

As we have already said, the school drama dominated the first period of Ukrainian drama. Towards the end of the 17th century the Jesuits introduced the Western European religious drama to Ukraine with its passion plays and Christian mysteries. The Latin language of these plays was in time replaced by the vernacular and the religious themes became more secular. The religious drama was nurtured in the Jesuit Colleges inside Poland which had annexed Ukrainian national territory. The first examples of this art have been preserved for posterity by the famous Lviv Brotherhood School. These examples of the oldest school dramas are very primitive and usually only in dialogue form. They were performed at Easter or on other major feast-days either in the Brotherhood school or church courtyard. In addition to these dialogues invariably based on religious themes we have in our possession today examples of intermedia and interludes whose aim was to refresh the audience after the serious main action by lively, realistic insertions. Two such examples by J. Gavatovyč dated 1619 surpass the previous primitiveness.

The transition from the dialogue to a developed form of drama was marked by the 17th century play "Concerning the Destruction of Hell". Written in verse using living colloquial speech it had a large cast with Christ appearing on the stage as the chief protagonist. The plays of the Kyiv Cycle written in the 18th century at the once renowned Mohyla Academy in Kyiv also bear a transitionary character. A very gifted dramatist at the end of the 17th century, Danylo Tuptalo, (monastic name Dmytro Rostovskyj, 1651-1709) author of two plays which have been passed down to us, deserves special mention in this context. The school drama born out of necessity to counter the influence of the Jesuit schools became in time an important focal point of dramatic art whose influence spread to the north and east.

Theophan Prokopovyč later Peter the Great's aide and a famous scholar at the Mohyla Academy completely reformed the school theatre. In his theory of poetry ("de arte poetica") Prokopovyč laid down firm dramatic rules to serve as guidelines for the new form of drama which he called tragic comedy. His play dedicated to Hetman Mazepa entitled "Vladymyr" left a more lasting impression than his theories. The play became a model for dramatists of the period. Its rules were so slavishly imitated by later playwrights such as T. Trochymovyč, M. Dovhalevškyj, G. Konyškyj, J. Sčerbačkyj and others that the entire branch of art compressed into such rigid forms slowly atrophied and went into decline.

Many researchers hold the view that the theatre in Ukraine did not develop through gradual changes from one form to another but that various modes such as simple dialogues and complex tragic comedies became juxtaposed, neither supplanting the other. During the Baroque period intermedia were not popular while exalted tragic comedies were held in esteem and lofty ostentatious dramas with lively interludes forming part of the main proceedings. It was from these general conditions that drama grew with all its variations, from the short stage pieces of D. Rostovškyj to the five act tragedies of Prokopovyč, Trochymovyč and Scerbačkyj. The Renaissance and Rococo periods produced excellent intermedia by Gavatovyč, and Dovhalevskyj and Konyskyj respectively. The graceful Rococo period moved away from the tragic comedy which presently disappeared and preferred light intermedia which gave rise to the nativity plays.

It is difficult to say when exactly the custom spread in Ukraine whereby plays were performed in the halls of the wealthy landowners. No doubt, by the 18th century in parallel with the school dramas plays were peformed in the palaces of some landowners which were fashionable in the European theatre. The custom of the magnates of right-bank Ukraine to keep orchestras, ballet and opera ensembles and choirs for their own entertainment presently spread to left-bank Ukraine, thus significantly contributing to the development and promotion of this form of Ukrainian theatre. At the turn of the 18th century, the theatre of the magnate D. Syraj from the village of Spiridonova Buda in Černyhiv Province won particular fame. Its actors even performed before the pampered audiences in the main Ukrainian cities.

THE UKRAINIAN THEATRE IN THE 19th CENTURY & AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 20th CENTURY

The second major phase in the history of Ukrainian theatre running from the beginning of the 19th century to the end of the First World War began with the performance of a comedy with songs taken from folk life entitled "Natalka Poltavka". Its literary and dramatic-technical merit made it at the time a classic masterpiece of Ukrainian theatre. The author I. Kotlarevskyj was able to create such an effect on the audience with his musical comedy because he not only possessed a rich literary talent but as director of the Poltava Theatre had a great deal of stage knowledge. The considerable success of "Natalka Poltavka" is attributable more to the fact that its creator managed to portray typical character traits of his people in the protagonists who were not products of his fantasy but genuine human beings from everyday life. These qualities have immortalised the comedy giving it a permanent place on the Ukrainian stage to this present day.

After this fortunate prelude Ukrainian theatres suddenly sprang up every-

where. Gifted actors volunteered their services; they included M. Ščepkin (1788-1868), K. Solenyk (1811-1851), J. Dreisich (1791-1888) and the brilliant reformer of the Ukrainian theatre at a later stage M. Kropyvnyckyj (1841-1910) who deserve special mention. The repertoire of the Ukrainian theatre was soon enriched by the contributions of the most talented writers of the first half of the 19th century such as H. Kvitka, T. Shevchenko and later M. Kostomariv. The most suitable themes for treatment at the time were typical scenes from folk life set against the background of the Ukrainian landscape or events from Ukrainian history especially the heroic deeds of the Ukrainian Zaporizhian Kozaks. In this way the Ukrainian theatre showed the Ukrainian people their individual nature, portrayed scenes from their former greatness, the building of their own state thereby fulfilling outstandingly its already mentioned political role.

The national enlightenment brought by the Ukrainian theatre could not escape the Argus-eyed tsarist government bent on the russification of all the peoples living in the vast empire. In 1876 a secret circular was sent to all government offices banning the use of the Ukrainian language both spoken and written which included the theatre. This heavy blow which threatened to extinguish the embers of national consciousness in Ukraine did not achieve its aim. Indeed, the development of the Ukrainian language was severely hampered, however, to completely remove it from reality was even beyond the means of the tsarist government. The first position to be regained by Ukrainian was the stage. As a result of the pressure of public opinion, the prohibition against Ukrainian in the theatre was lifted within five years. Subsequently, Ukrainian theatre the only mouthpiece of natio al life developed in leaps and bounds. Highly talented actors offered their set uces to the Ukrainian theatre which they had not done to the Russian folk theatre. Even the fastidious theatre critics in St. Petersburg commented that the celebrities of the Ukrainian stage would not have lost any of their grandeur had they also performed in the Russian theatre. We quote the most important actors and actresses: M. Kropyvnyckyj, M. Zankovecka (1860-1934), P. Saksahanskyj (1856-1936); important dramatists such as M. Starvckyi (1840-1904) and the eminent producer I. Tobilevyč (1845-1907). The composers Niščynskyj and Lysenko used the newly arisen theatre as a forum for their ideas.

As if by the magic of a goddess sympathetic to the Ukrainian people Ukrainian theatre reached such heights, produced such a rich repertoire of folk plays and attained such perfection of performance that it could not be surpassed either by Russian or any other folk theatre in this sphere. The Ukrainian acting troupes were known in Russia as "the Meininger" (the Meininger Theatre had reached the pinnacle of fame at this time in Germany) The success won by the Ukrainian theatre was justified. Just as the Meininger, the Ukrainian theatre won outstanding success by its endeavour to achieve harmonious production and consummate stylistic accuracy in costume and decoration. Behind this purely artistic success was concealed the complete triumph of the national idea. The Ukrainian language which had been completely banned spread unexpectedly all the more so thanks to the guardianship of the folk theatre. The sound of the Ukrainian word and the Ukrainian folk song, the beauty of folk costume, the magic of the landscape and the poetry of folk costumes which were supposed to have been eradicated from everyday life, all appear as if by magic before the audience who might otherwise slowly forget that they were the children of Ukraine. The consummate beauty of the native environment arose under the bright lights of the theatre wielding a correspondingly strong influence. The dozens of acting troupes travelled the broad expanses of Ukraine awakening the dormant national consciousness of both the simple people and the partly denationalised nobility. However, the increased influence of the Ukrainian theatre on the masses did not escape the vigilance of the Russian authorities. Once again this led to persecution and made the path of every Ukrainian actor a veritable *via dolorosa*. Nevertheless even such means and methods employed by the oppressors were unable to achieve success. In spite of every obstacle, censorship repertoire restrictions, the ban on translations from foreign languages and the impossibility for years of visiting the larger cities of Ukraine the Ukrainian theatre prospered in every respect and overcame all obstacles in its path.

Until the 1905 Revolution Ukrainian theatre was a travelling theatre. Actors journeyed over Ukraine with their folk play repertoire and went abroad to Moscow, Byelorussia the Trans-Caucasus and even Siberia. New possibilities opened up after the Russo-Japanese War and the ensuing upheavals. Every previous restriction fell at one blow while producers could go beyond the scope of peasant life turning their attention to the repertoire of the Western European stages.

It was easy in different political conditions to remove previous prohibitions, however, it was not so easy for the often brilliant actors of peasant or kozak roles to suddenly act modern character roles. There was a long period of preparation before old habits, which had become second nature by too frequent usage, were cast aside and new acting methods adopted. This had already been achieved to a limited extent before the First World War. It was partly fulfilled after the two Russian Revolutions in 1917 but was only achieved in full in the short period of Ukrainian statehood in 1918.

THE PERIOD OF INDEPENDENT STATEHOOD

At the time there were only two theatres in Kyiv. They strove by their whole performance through the actor ensembles and their leaning towards Western European theatre to win over the popular masses. The "Young Theatre" won outstanding success with its performance of "Oedipus Rex", preparations for which took almost two years. L. Kurbas the producer and soul of the company was acclaimed for his portrayal of the main role. However, the chief reason for the success was not the individual actors but the production and choruses. The "Young Theatre" excelled in versatility, energy, youthful inspiration and honest industry. There were also the obligatory shortcomings. The second modern stage the "State Theatre" directed by A. Zaharov must be viewed as the official representative of drama in the new state. It worked by the skilful, carefully thought out command of all available facilities. Its performances made up for what they might have lacked in energy by sound production.

After the occupation of Ukraine by the Bolsheviks the theatre was fettered as throughout the Soviet Union by the grandiose propaganda machine. The situation is no different today. The theatre had to be deprived of every conceivable opportunity to develop in order to serve the general aim of promoting supranational communist ideas. The Ukrainian theatre was quickly expanded to serve this end. In a few cities civic operas and theatres continued. The folk plays were completely removed from the repertoire and replaced by nationally indifferent civic dramas dealing with the interests of the working classes. At first, patriotic Ukrainian producers and actors tried to foster the national spirit underneath the obligatory external forms and protect it from extinction. However, in spite of the artistic successes the pressure of official policies weighed down on them more and more. In time, they were removed and replaced by willing hacks of the authorities. The change which occurred can be summarised shortly as follows: the Ukrainian theatre under Bolshevik rule became a theatre in Ukraine.

In spite of the gradual, enforced change of position the Ukrainian theatre was able in the first years of Bolshevik rule to preserve part of its individual character. The "Berezil Theatre" which grew out of the "Young Theatre" changed into an experimental stage. Under the direction of L. Kurbas it concentrated primarily on world literature. Kurbas was an enthusiast of the Expressionist Theatre and its most important representative in the West, the world-famous producer Max Reinhardt, whose first production he saw and marvelled at during his student days in Vienna. His ensemble went on after the success of "Oedipus Rex" to perform expressionist plays such as Georg Kaiser's "Gas", Ernst Toller's "Maschinenstürmer" and "Masse Mensch" and to stage Upton Sinclair's "Jimmy Higgins" Kurbas himself wrote the play "Ruhr" in the spirit of the latter.

We must stress at this point that there was a considerable difference between the interpretations of the Western European expressionists and the style of "Berezil". However unusual it may appear, the German expressionists underlined emotional disturbances beyond the control of consciousness while "Berezil" emphasised the rational ingredients. The mystical tone of the former was transformed into mathematical precision by the latter. A change of face of this kind might perhaps be traced back to the influence of Bolshevik reality. This view also applies to the production of such classics as Shakespeare's "Macbeth", Schiller's "Fiesco", Merimée's "Jacquerie" and Victor Hugo's "Le Roi s'amuse".

In 1926 the theatre moved to Kharkiv where it enjoyed its golden period. Kurbas strove to create a particular Ukrainian style which he based on the traditions of the Kozak Baroque period. He was denounced as an abominable sinner by the Communist Party and in 1933 a purge was launched against him. Kurbas was subsequently arrested and liquidated. The theatre was again renamed, this time after the national poet Shevchenko. The actors had to obey party directives.

"Berezil" gave the writer M. Kuliš (1892-1934) the opportunity to bring his dramatic talent to full fruition. In his much noted play "Narodnyj Malachij" he demonstrated the incompatibility of the ideals of the Ukrainian national movement with basic principles of communism. Hated by the communist party in Ukraine he wrote his last work "Sonata Pathétique" in which he successfully combined the old forms of the Ukrainian nativity play with the methods of expressionist drama in a happy synthesis. It was performed in Russian translation in the Moscow "Kamernyj Teatr". The official critics immediately deciphered the true intentions of the play which was then removed from the repertoire after the first performance. Kuliš was arrested and died in exile. Ukrainian culture lost a great dramatic talent and the most important creative colleague of L. Kurbas.

The second major theatre on Ukrainian territory in the Soviet Union, the "Franko Theatre", initially paid homage to Western European Modernism performing plays by Vynnyčenko, Hauptmann, Sudermann, Halke, Ibsen and Wilde. Subsequently, by order from above it was forced to work under the tenets of Socialist Realism.

As regards the provincial stage, special mention should be given to the theatre working under the spiritual guidance of the actress M. Zankovečka which fostered Ukrainian dramatic technique. At the beginning of the Second World War there were 127 theatres in Ukraine with the following designations: drama—92; opera — 7; operetta — 4; puppet-play — 21; miniatures — 3. The language distribution was: Ukrainian — 98; Russian — 19; Yiddish — 6; Polish — 2; German — 1; Bulgarian — 1. These statistics taken from Bolshevik sources should be viewed with caution. They contain very small ensembles who performed mass plays in the large factories.

THE ROLE OF THE THEATRE IN WESTERN UKRAINE

In the regions of Western Ukraine the Ukrainian theatre was at first unable to establish itself on account of the extreme pressure of Polonisation and insurmountable difficulties caused by the Polish authorities. It was only after the annexation of Halychyna (Galicia) by Austria in 1772 that the first attempts at theatre were made, at the Greek-Catholic Seminary in Lviv by its pupils (with, of course, no female parts). Ukrainian theatre with secular actors first came into being in the eventful year of 1848 in Halychyna and the whole of the Austrian Empire. The part played by it in the national renaissance of the Ukrainian people in the western territories was identical to that of its counterpart inside the Russian Empire. The difficulties faced by the actors and producers were no less, they were merely of a different kind. In Western Ukraine the danger came not from the Russian censor or the all-powerful governor general but first and foremost from the lack of material support. The Ukrainian populus in the Austrian Empire did not have the reserves of capital with which to give proper support to the theatre while the Polish influence in the central government was so considerable, that it could thwart any offer of financial assistance. The following is an illustration of this state of affairs. A tax-paying population of four million Ukrainians in the Hapsburg Empire did not have a single established theatre. The Ukrainian theatre until the First World War was forced to lead a wandering life. It is understandable that after

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the downfall of Austria-Hungary in 1918 and the annexation of Halychyna by Poland that the position of Ukrainians did not improve but, on the contrary, worsened. When the Ukrainians in Lviv attempted to build a theatre at their own expense on a previously purchased site the Polish authorities prevented them from doing so.

In 1939 the Western Ukrainian territories were ceded to the Soviet Union after the Ribbentrop Pact. Two years later they were under German occupation. In 1944 after the retreat of the German army they were engulfed by the Red Army and reannexed by the Soviet Union under whose occupation they remain today.

The repertoire of the Western Ukrainian Theatre until the end of the 19th century consisted mostly of folk plays. Since it was forced to lead a nomadic existence and could only visit the smallest towns of Halychyna and Volhyn its influence on the people was more extensive and sustained than the artistic influence of the more important civic theatres. Through its simplicity and realism it awoke in the Ukrainian peasant masses the awareness of a need for theatre. Thanks to this beneficial if also laborious work of the Ukrainian artists, amateur theatres sprang up in Halychyna and throughout Ukrainian territory in almost every village. They mainly united the youth and were highly educational. The stiff resistance put up by Western Ukrainians in the struggle against the Poles and the tenacity with which they defended their positions against even the hardest onslaughts of the opponent, must be traced back to the national-political role of the Ukrainian theatre. Thus even the lack of a permanent theatre, an evil in the sense of dramatic development was in the final analysis a blessing to the entire nation.

Returning to the repertoire of the Galician theatre we note that even it showed a trend towards modernisation and europeanisation. Even before the First World War it staged Western European dramas and operas. However, it only achieved a high level of artistic accomplishment after 1920 when two gifted producers O. Zaharov and V. Blavackyi (1900-1954) moved to Lviv from Eastern Ukraine. During the German occupation under the so-called governor-generalship the Ukrainian theatre began to blossom again supplemented by hosts of artists from Eastern Ukraine. Fleeing from the Bolshevik menace, the Ukrainian intellectual elite together with Ukrainian artists came mostly to post-war Germany where before finally migrating overseas, the Ukrainian theatre sought by its fine performances to console the Ukrainian exile community. After leaving Germany Ukrainian actors and producers continued their work in their new domiciles.

Translated by W. Slez

(To be continued)

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Documents and Reports

COLUMNIST COMPARES AFGHANISTAN TO UKRAINIAN GENOCIDE OF 1933

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In a "Washington Post" column on January 5, 1984, columnist George Will describes the unhumane strategy employed by Soviet tacticians against Afghan freedom fighters, and equates the indiscriminate violence against civilians to the artificial Ukrainian famine. "The Red Army has now been engaged against the freedom fighters longer than it was against the German *Wehrmacht*. But what is being done in Afghanistan in 1984 is more akin to the Ukrainian genocide of 1933. Then, as now, Soviet ruthlessness prevailed, and the West's denial reflex kept the unpleasant business out of most minds."

The tragic account of the Afghan struggle details an unlimited and brutal war against an entire population, a war where the intended victims are civilians. Hundreds of thousands of mines have been laid. Writes Will: "The mines are designed to maim — or kill lingeringly. Soviet tacticians know that wounded persons are a drain on the community."

The column states that the Soviet regime has decided that the only way to win in counterguerilla warfare is to use a "kind of ruthlessness that only a totalitarian regime will practice." Guerillas fight with the aid of a local population, and rather than seeking to gain the support of the Afghan people, the Soviets have decided to destroy them. "Not content with causing random suffering among those who do not watch their step, Soviet forces booby-trap household artifacts, such as clocks, in villages they sweep through. They also scatter booby traps made to resemble pens or red toy trucks." According to the executive director of "Doctors Without Borders," Dr. Claude Malhuret, "Their main targets are children, whose hands and arms are blown off."

Similarly, in 1933, Moscow considered it easier to eradicate the civilian population aiding the resistance to Russian communist control of Ukraine than to attempt the impossible task of winning its support. Forced starvation and execution were the weapons used then; mines and chemical warfare are the weapons used in Afghanistan today. Different weapons — same objectives.

K. Chumachenko

HERITAGE FOUNDATION REPORT ON THE UN CALLS FOR RECOGNITION OF INDEPENDENCE OF UKRAINE AND BALTIC COUNTRIES

UNIS, Washington, D.C. The Heritage Foundation's United Nations Assessment Project Study released a "Backgrounder" report on November 22, 1983 which analyzes Moscow's misuse of the UN, and discusses the role of Ukraine in the UN and its colonial status within the USSR, calling for UN recognition of the independence of Ukraine, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. The Heritage Foundation is a conservative think-tank in Washington.

The report, entitled "Moscow's UN Outpost," was prepared by Policy Analyst Dr. Juliana Geran Pilon, with the assistance of former UN Under-Secretary — General Arkady Shevchenko, who defected in 1978. It proves that the Soviet Union, unlike the United States, has managed to make the UN serve its own purposes, through the effective use of the UN machinery and extensive contact with UN affiliated non-governmental organizations and the media.

According to Dr. Pilon, the USSR delegates routinely and falsely accuse the US, South Africa and Israel of not supporting decolonization. South Africa's role in Namibia, says Dr. Pilon, "pales beside the USSR's genocide in Ukraine or its annexation of the Baltic States — yet the label of "colonialism" is never applied in these contexts." In her footnote she adds, "To recognize once again the colonialist nature of the Soviet Union, on July 26, 1983, President Reagan sent a statement to UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar charging that the Soviet Union violates these nations' right to self-determination. In the *Memorandum Concerning the Decolonization of the USSR* submitted to the 35th General Assembly by the Ad Hoc Committee Consisting of the World Councils of Byelorussians, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Turkestanis and Ukrainians in October 1980, there is an excellent summary of the Soviet policy of Russification and colonization."

The UN has always been utilized by Moscow as a propaganda instrument. The reports quotes Josef Stalin addressing a secret Communist Party meeting at the time the UN was being organized: "We do not need the UN. What we need is a stage from which we can express any opinion we want"

Besides the abuse of the UN as a propaganda instrument for such issues as colonialism, disarmament, peaceful coexistence and other issues which appeal to the Third World, such as racism, aggression and development, the Soviets take advantage of espionage and recruitment opportunities. The report cited the head of the FBI's New York division as saying that there are about 1,100 communist bloc officials in New York. About 30% of Soviet UN employees are skilled KGB officers, while the others are also believed to be involved in intelligence related activities. More important than espionage, however, is the recruitment of other employees to provide information.

Though Moscow has the overwhelming support of the "nonaligned" nations, it has not contributed its financial fair share. "Counting assessed and voluntary contributions, the USSR — including the Ukrainian and Byelorussian shares — in 1981 paid only 4.21% of the costs of the UN system. Of assessed and peacekeeping outlays, the Soviet Union paid only 10.66% in 1980; in contrast, the US paid 31.42%. To make matters worse, the Soviet Union is about \$200 million in arrears in its payments to the UN.

The Heritage Backgrounder report makes the following conclusions: 1. The US and its allies should oppose in the strongest terms every Soviet attempt to compromise the impartiality of the Secretariat; 2. Reports of cooperation with governments by Secretariat employees — in violation of Article 100 of the UN Charter should be investigated and punished; 3. All cases of employee harassment and discrimination on political grounds should be vigorously opposed by Western members; 4. Soviet violations of UN procedures — misuse of rules, altering documents, stalling reports, manufacturing statistics — should be condemned; 5. The FBI should be reinforced to enable it to cope with the large number of Soviet-bloc diplomats. The US should attempt to reduce the size of the Eastern bloc and communist missions in New York; 6. The US should press for UN recognition of the recognition of the independence of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Ukraine.

Dr. Pilon also recommends John C. Etridge's Library of Congress Congressional Research Service study, "Ukraine and Byelorussia in the UN Background and Arguments For and Against Expulsion," November 5, 1971, as a good analysis of the Soviet Union's three UN votes.

TALLY ON AD-HOC COMMITTEE PASSES 100

UNIS-Washington, D.C. The Ukrainian Congress Commitee of America and the Joint Baltic American National Committee are pleased to announce the Ad-Hoc Committee on the Baltic States and Ukraine has topped the 100-member mark with the recent addition of two new congressmen, Dan Burton (R-IN) and Sherwood Boehlert (R-NY)

The Committee, chaired by Representatives Don Ritter and Brian Donnelly, is a bipartisan caucus which focuses attention on issues of concern to American citizens of Ukrainian, Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian heritage, particularly the plight of Ukrainians and Balts in the Soviet Union. It was formed in 1981.

"We are extremely pleased with the growing numbers on the Committee. This has been one of our goals for the first session of the 97th Congress and we are gratified for the continued bipartisan support for Baltic and Ukrainian issues in Congress," said Congressman Brian Donnelly, one of the founders of the Committee.

Among its many activities, The Ad-Hoc Committee has supported resolutions on behalf of dissidents, and issues like the Ukrainian famine and separate designations for the Baltic countries on Defense and State Departments maps; sponsored briefings on human rights; and hosted receptions to commemorate important dates.

The Ukrainian National Information Service, the Washington office of the UCCA, and Joint Baltic American National Committee, the public relations office for the Estonian American National Council, the American Latvian Association and the Lithuanian American Council, have been actively recruiting members. Working on a special project, three student interns at JBANC were particularly effective at adding members over the past summer.

Both organizations wish to heartily welcome the new members of the Ad-Hoc Committee. A complete list of the Ad-Hoc Committee on Baltic States and Ukraine is given below:

AD-HOC COMMITTEE ON BALTIC STATES AND UKRAINE

ARKANSAS:

Hammerschmidt, John

CALIFORNIA:

Dreir, David Dymally, Mervin Fiedler, Bobbi Lagomarsino, Robert Levine, Mel Lowery, Bill Moorhead, Carlos

CONNECTICUT:

Gejdenson, Sam Johnson, Nancy Kennelly, Barbara Morrison, Bruce

DELAWARE:

Carper, Thomas

FLORIDA:

Pepper, Claude Young C.W. Bill

ILLINOIS:

Annunzio, Frank Corcoran, Tom Crane, Daniel Crane, Philip Durbin, Richard Hyde, Henry Lipinski, William O'Brien, George Porter, John Russo, Marty Simon, Paul

INDIANA:

Burton, Dan Hall, Katie

MARYLAND:

Mikulski, Barbara

MASSUCHUSETTS:

Conte, Silvio Donnelly, Brian Early, Joseph Frnak, Barney Markey, Edward Mavroules, Nicholas Moakley, Joe Shannon, James Studds, Gerry

MICHIGAN:

Broomfield, William Conyers, John Crockett, George Dingell, John Hertel, Dennis Levin, Sander Siljander, Mark Wolpe, Howard

NEW JERSEY:

Courter, James Dwyer, Bernard Florio, James Forsythe, Edwin Guarini, Frank Howard, James Hughes, William Minish, Joseph Rinaldo, Matthew Roe, Robert Smith, Christoper Torricelli, Robert

NEW MEXICO:

Lujan, Manuel

NEW YORK:

Ackerman, Gary Addabbo, Joseph Biaggi, Mario Boehlert, Sherwood Carney, William Fish, Hamilton Ferraro, Geraldine Green, William Gilman, Benjamin Horton, Frank Lent, Norman McGrath, Raymond McHugh, Matthew Nowak, Henry Ottinger, Richard Scheuer, James Solomon, Gerald Stratton, Samuel Weiss, Ted Wortley, George

OHIO:

Eckart, Dennis Frighan, Edward Kaptur, Marcy Kasich, John Oakar, Mary Rose Stokes, Louis

PENNSYLVANIA:

Borski, Robert Coughlin, Larry Gekas, George Kostmayer, Pete Ritter, Don Yatron, Gus Walgren, Doug

SOUTH DAKOTA:

Daschle, Thomas

TEXAS Frost, Martin

VIRGINIA:

Robinson, J. Kenneth

WASHINGTON:

Bonker, Don Lowry, Mike

WASHINGTON, D.C.:

Fauntroy, Walter

WISCONSIN:

Aspin, Les Moody, Jim Roth, Toby

SENATORS:

Rudy Boschwitz, Minnesota John Heinz, Pennsylvania Donald Riegle, Michigan

Book Reviews

ANDROPOV — New Challenge to the West: A Political Biography by Arnold Biechman and Mikhail S. Bernstam, (New York: Stein and Day, 1983), 268 pages, \$16.95.

Beichman and Bernstam have given us a book which indeed presents Andropov and the USSR as a new challenge to the West. The biography shows the rise to power of Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov as it intertwines with the political and social history of the USSR. Convincingly the authors show Andropov's career as pre-determined by the outcome of the power struggles in the upper echelons of the Soviet political machine (pp. ix). At the end of this book one is awed by the omnipotence of "the Brotherhood", the ever present Patron-Client relationships; and, the interpenetration of corruption in the structure and politics of Soviet society.

In his Introduction to the biography, Robert Conquest warns that the much heralded liberal views and western tastes of Andropov can be mis-represented and mis-understood in the West. For this reason, the book should be read. It serves not only as an indictment on Andropov's reputation as a master plotter, but it shows him as a ruthless, relentless, ingenious *apparatchik* and subservient Party careerist with the right connections. The authors feel he came to power in 1982 "determined to change nothing ". (p. 200).

There are three major contributions made in this biography. First, it debunks the image-making of Andropov; and, his "official" refurbished *curriculum vitae* is challenged, at least, eleven times. Second, Soviet politics are placed in the context of a tradition of Patron-Client relationships. Nearly one-fourth of the book discusses "the Brotherhood" — a trained network of high and middle level *apparatchiks* dedicated to the preservation of privilege and patronage. Andropov's protectors as he advanced within the hierarchy were Patoliochev, a Stalin associate; and, Suslov, Party ideologist. The authors feel that the "acid" test is yet to come; since, in their estimation Andropov is a "politicaal transitionalist" (p. 194). Due to his inability and/or inexperience in dealing with the Soviet economy, they predict he will be succeeded by an economic manager or, a Red Army general; the latter understanding the interrelationship between Arms, Agriculture and Economics.

Finally, Beichman and Bernstam attempt to prioritize the problems requiring solution in the 1980's. The USSR is faced with industrial and capital investment problems; agricultural inabilities; demographic desparities; military frustration and rising reaction to internal reformation (p. 199). How Andropov and the USSR solve these problems will be the new challenge to the West.

The authors have given us insights beyond those of the media coverage as to who Andropov is. What type of rule there will be remains unanswered. However, coupled with this biography is an uncanny grasp of the harshness of Soviet reality; and, it is not as one wants it.

Atlanta, Georgia

STEPHEN P. HALLICK, JR.

SOVIET-RUSSIAN "PARADISE" IN UKRAINIAN TESTIMONY

Letters from the Gulag: The life, Letters and Poetry of Michael Dray-Khmara. By Oksana Dray-Khmara Asher. Robert Speller and Sons Publishers, Inc. New York (1983). 164 pages. Ill. \$15.

Mykhaylo (Michael) Dray-Khmara (10.10.1889-19.1.1939) was an outstanding Ukrainian poet, prolific literary critic and noted Slavic philologist. Pupil of Volodymyr Peretz he graduated from the University of Kyiv in 1919. Together with Mykola Zerov, Pavlo Fylypovych, Oswald Burghardt (Jurij Klen) and Maksym Rylskyj he belonged to the literary group of 1920's known as Ukrainian Neo-classicists. In 1926 he published a volume of poetry entitled *Prorosteń* (Sprout) and a monograph on Lesya Ukrainka. He translated Verlaine, Baudelaire, Bahdanovich, Mickiewicz, Pushkin a.o. into Ukrainian. In 1964 a book of his poetry *Poeziji* appeared in New York, followed by an extensive res earch volume about his life and work: *Mykhaylo Dray-Khmara* (Memoirs of the Shevchenko Society, v. 197 New York-Paris-Sydney-Toronto, 1979). The undersigned had the privilege to publish Oksana Dray Khmara Asher's monograph *Draj-Chmara et l'école "neo-classique" ukrainienne* in his *Readings in Sla vic Literature*, v. 11 (The University of Manitoba: Department of Slavic Studies, Winnipeg-New Yorł 1975).

The book under review consists of four main parts, viz.: Part I— Who was Michael Dray-Khmara?; (pp. 1-19); Part II— My mother's story (pp. 20-63); Part III— My father's letters (1936-38)(pp. 64-142 and Part IV — Dray-Khmara as a poet (pp. 143-155). Conclusion, footnotes and index complete the volume. There are several family pictures dispersed on pp. 8, 14, 16, 94, 159.

While the tragic fate of Dray-Khmara — his incarceration by the Soviet Russian government, forcec exile in the Far East and his death in one of the *gulags* — as well as his literary output are known from the above mentioned books, written in Ukrainian and French, the *novum* of the present publicatior are letters from Siberian *gulags* in the English translation and the reminiscences of his wife Ninea-Khmara, at present living in New York.

Dray-Khmara's thirty letters reveal the magnitude of his solitary sufferings in the Far East Soviel gulags. They convey very vividly all the horrors of the Soviet-Russian political system, especialoly when it is inflicted upon a creative individual human being deprived of freedom of expression, and opportunities to continue his literary activities. In addition there were no normal conditions regarding his correspondence with the nearest ones; isolation from the outside world; finally, hunger, cold. land backbreaking physical work — all that killed Dray-Khmara's will to live and create long before his actual death. As *documenta temporis* Dray-Khmara's letters present a sad testimony to the inhuman treatment of humans in the Soviet-Russian "paradise".

Nina Dray-Khmara's reminiscences about her husband and his friends/foes offers an emotionally loaded, bitter and subjective account of happenings before and after arrest of her husband on the night of September 4, 1935. The Kyiv marriage bureau informed her of Dray-Khmara's death on January 19, 1939. Mrs Dray-Khmara recollects her subsequent experiences with the Soviet–Russians in Kyiv and during her forced exile to Belebej in Bashkiria (1937-39).

J.B. Rudnyckyj* University of Manitoba

Orest Subtelny, The Mazepists. Ukrainian Separatism in the Early Eighteenth Century,, New York: East European Monographs, Boulder distributed by Columbia University Press, 1981, 280 pp., \$20.

In connection with his research in early 18th century in the archives in Poland, in France, and in Vienna, Prof. Subtelny has performed a major feat of historical research in the presentation of thias work. His treatment of the topic reveals an unusual familiarity with the sources in several languages.

Bibliography: J.B. Rudnyckyj: *Repertorium Bibliographicum* 1933-1963 (Winnipeg 1964); *Scripta manent* Vol. 1. 1965; Vol. 2, 1975 Vol. 3, 1980; O. Woycenko J.B. Rudnyckyj-Septuragenarius Ottawa 1980.

^{*}Prof. J. B. RUDNYCKYJ'S "GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY" of publishing activities.

The year 1983 marked the 50th aniversary of Prof. J.B. Rudnyckyj's first articles published in Lviv, Ukraine in 1933, RUDNYCKYJ Jaroslav Bohdan (*28.11 1910 Peremyši), Founding *Head* and *Professor emeritus* of Slavic Studies University of Manitoba, M.A. (1934) and Ph. D. (1937) University of Lviv, Ukraine; in Canada since 1949; founding member and former President of Canadian Association of Slavists; Canadian Linguistic Association, Canadian Institute of Onomastic Studies, International Canadian Academy of Humanities and Social Studies; Ukrainian Mohylo-Mazepian Academy of Sciences, and other learned societies; Honarary member of International Centre of Onomastic Sciences in Louvain, Belgium; Consultant of the Library of Congress, Washington (1956, 1977-79) and National Library in Ottawa (1980-81); Member, Royal Commissions on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1963-1971); member of Ukrainian National Government in Exile (1978-1984), Director, Canadian Citizenship Federation (1967-1984), author of An "Etymological Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language" (2 volumes, Winnipeg-Ottawa 1962-1982), and several other books including 7 vols. travelog, hundreds of articles and reviews in English, French, German, Ukrainian, Russian, Polish and other languages.

Prof. Subtelny's book throws light on a portion of East European history that recieves little attention in the Western historiography. His work is of special significance in that it provides an extraordinarmy insight into the relationship between Peter I, Charles III, Mazepa, and his followers — the Mazepists. In his scholarly, objective, and very informative work, the author acquaints the reader with the historical background in Ukraine in the context of the political situation in East Europe at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th centuries. The question of the Ukrainian-Russian conflict initiated by Hetman Ivan Mazepa (1639-1709) was usually throughout the 19th and the 20th centuries distorted or misrepresented, because the Hetman had committed an "unpardonable sin" — he had tried to withdraw Ukraine from Russia. It is no wonder that "the opponents of the evolving Ukrainian national movement in the Russian empire habitually referred to Ukrainian activists as Mazepists and labeled their movement *mazepynstvo*. "The identification was meant to be derogatory," writes Prof. Subtelny.

Mazepa is not only a controversial personality in East European history because of his alliance wi th the Swedish King against the Tsar, but he was also one of the most influential figures in the emerging Russian Empire. One of the most debated issues in European historiography is the question of whether or not the Hetman had the right to abandon the Tsar and conclude a secret alliance with Charles XII. Many historians do not analyse correctly the relationship between the Tsar and the Hetman either because of the tendentiousness of sources or lack of them.

Mazepa in principle was neither a Russophile nor a Russophobe although he knew the tragic development of Ukrainian-Russian relations. In fact, he considered coexistence with Russia possible on the basis of the agreement of Perejaslav in 1654. This was the political reality which he inherited from his predecessor and it was his understanding that the *conditio sine qua non* of any Ukrainian policy was the benevolent, or at least neutral position of the Russian government towards Ukraine.

Because of his loyalty and brilliant tactics, Mazepa succeeded in Moscow. He was not only trusted, but also respected. With the support of Moscow, he was able to cope with the opposition of some officers and with social dissatisfaction with his administration. He also hoped, with the help of Moscow, to consolidate Ukrainian lands within the framework of the autonomous Ukrainian Military Republic (The Hetmanstate). In 1704 he recovered the territory on the Right-Bank Ukraine, despite Polish attempts to annex it to the Polish crown.

When the Great Northern War began, the relations between Peter I and Mazepa were cordial. In fact, on the Tsar's recommendation Emperor Joseph I, granted Mazepa the title of Prince of the "Holy Roman Empire" on September 1, 1701. Although Ukrainian interests were very remote from Russian ones, Mazepa served faithfully and carried out the Tsar's orders.

Mazepa and the Cossack officer-corps (*starshyna*) intended to maintain and defend their rights. Mazepa considered himself a faithful vassal of the Tsar, who in turn was obliged to guarantee and honour the basic provisions of the agreement reached in Perejaslav.

Despite the Tsar's favours, there were serious indications that Peter I, wanted to abolish the aut onomy of Ukraine and oust Mazepa from office. When the Tsar refused the Hetman's request for military aid against a possible Swedish attack, the Tsar expressed his refusal: "... I can give you neither ten thousand nor even ten men. Defend yourself as best you can" (p. 25). However, many of Mazepa's regiments were engaged in the Tsar's service elsewhere and the remaining troops were insufficient for the defence of Ukraine. The tsar's refusal to defend his faithful vassal meant that Peter violated the Agreement of Perejaslav — the basis of loyalty to him. Consequently, this agreement was no longer binding, because this contractual arrangement had been an act of mutual obligation. If the vassal, who was loyal, faithful and obcdient to his lord, "had good reason to believe that his lord was breaking his obligations," argues Prof. Subtelny, "he has the right — the jus resistendi — to rise against him to protect his interests. Thus, in theory, the lord as well as the vassal could be guilty of disloyalty. Throughout Europe, the contractual principle rested on the prevailing cornerstone of legal and moral authority -- custom. The German Schwabenspiegel, one of the primary sources for customary law in East Central Europe, provided a concise summary of the principle: "We should serve our sovereigns because they protect us, but if they will no longer defend us, then we owe them no more service," (p. 26).

In addition, argues Prof. Subtelny, in the event that Peter I and Augustus II would win the war, the Tsar would return the Right-Bank of Ukraine to Poland, and if Charles XII and Stanislaw Leszczynski had won the war, the Poles would regain all of Ukraine. In either case Ukraine would be the loser. Either Mazepa could remain faithful to the Tsar and see Ukraine invaded and plundered by the Swedish Army or he could negotiate for Swedish protection. Confronted by such a situation, Mazepa

decided to establish contacts through Leszczynski with Charles XII "so that they would not treat us a: the enemy and ravage poor Ukraine with fire and sword" writes Prof. Subtelny. In fact, Mazepa's goa was to establish an independent Ukrainian state.

Mazepa was not the only one who tried to protect the rights and privileges of his country. For example, Johann Reinhold Patkul from Livonia rebelled against the Swedish King (1697); the Transylvaniar Prince Ferenc Rakoczi II led an uprising against the Hapsburgs (1703-1711); Stanislaw Leszczynski representing the republican traditions of Poland, aided by the Swedes, fought against the autocratically minded Saxon-Polish King Augustus II; Demetrius Kantemir, *Hospodar* of Moldavia, a vassal of the Porte, aided by the Tsar, rebelled against the Sultan (1711), rightly remarked the author.

After Mazepa's death, the Cossacks, who had fled to the Turkish Territory, elected his chancellor, 1 Pylyp Orlyk (1672-1742) as their new Hetman and did not give up their hope of liberating Ukraine from Russia with the aid of Sweden and the Porte. The Porte, fearful of Russian expansion joined the Swedish King in the war against the Tsar. Most feasible but least popular among Mazepa's followers was the plan to establish a Ukrainian state on Right-Bank Ukraine under Ottoman protection. However, according to Prof. Subtelny, there were two reasons why this plan did not materialize. First, the Swedish King objected to the idea of an Ottoman protectorate. In fact, he considered Hetman Orlyk to be his vassal and forbade him to negotiate with the Porte (". . . The Porte is hardly willing or able to liberate your fatherland from Muscovite yoke . . ." p. 91). Secondly, in Orlyk's view, the Turkish protectorate was more dangerous in the religious sense of letting the "infidel" within the Christian fold than in purely political and military terms.

In summary, writes the author, that Orlyk's anti-Muslim prejudices, Ottoman's unwillingness to force the issue and the stubborn opposition of Poles, repeatedly blocked the project of creating a Ukrainian state on the Right-Bank Ukraine. However, "compared to what later generations of Ukrainian émigrés were able to accomplish, Orlyk's achievements were considerable. He and his son, Hryhor — General in the French Army, were in close personal contact with Charles XII, Louis XIV, August II, Stanislaw Leszczynski, Sultan Mahmud I, Khans Devlet and Kaplan Girei, not to mention their most important ministers and advisors," concludes the author.

There are, however, a few isolated inaccuracies such as: The Hetman of the Right-Bank-Ukraine was not Ivan (p. 17), but Pavlo Teteria; Mazepa received the newly established *St. Andrew Orden* not in 1702 (p. 20), but in 1700 and the Polish Orden "*Bialy Orzel*" from August II, not in 1705 (p. 224), but in 1702. The Hetman was granted the title of the Holy Roman Empire not in 1708 (p. 24), but in 1707. In autumn of 1705 Stanislaw Leszczynski did not send a priest (p. 27), but a nobleman, Franciszek Wolski. B. Kentrzynskyi's *Mazepa* was not published in Lund 1966 (p. 225), but in Stockholm 1962. The author assumes that ". . . with the help of European, especially French diplomats, whose governments were worried by Russian expansion, tensions between the Porte and Moscow were pushed to the Porte. The earlier assumption that this war was the result of French intrigues, as S.M. Soloviev maintained, is outdated.¹ These are minor points, however.

Prof. Subtelny's research on the subject has been accurate, perceptive and he has made a great contribution to Ukrainian Scholarships of this period by his book. He has examined a large volume of sources and literature.

One may be grateful to the author for systematically recording the material, some of it is difficult to come by, and for publishing the text of several documents.

Finally, it should be said that Prof. Subtelny has been able to achieve both depth and interest for a professional as well as for an non-professional reader.

Theodore Mackiw The University of Akron

^{1.} Leonid N. Nikitorov, Russko-angliiskie otnoshenia pri Petre I., Moscow 1950, pp. 86-87. Cf. Ilse Jacob, Beziehungen Englands zu Russland und Tuerkei in den Jahren 1718-1727, (Dissertation), Basel 1945, p. 35.