

HISTORICAL FACTS

D. M. Elchesen



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(Дмитро Ільчишин)

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To
my wife Evhenia — a dedicated and
inspiring co-worker.

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The Inveterate Federalists

The leftist writers of modern Ukrainian history have a propensity to distort, pervert, ignore, color and falsify historical facts in order to whitewash and elevate the socialist Ukrainian People's Republic, also to exalt the venal socialist chieftains who destroyed the Hetman State and paved the way for Communism.

A typical example of deliberate falsification of historical facts is the following quotation (p. 810) from the supposedly highly reputable *Great Ukrainian History* published in 1948 by Ivan Tyktor: "In answer to hetman Skoropadsky's proclamation of the federation of Ukraine with Muscovy (November 14, 1918), an all-Ukrainian insurrection erupted under the leadership of Simon Petlyura".

The authors of *Great Ukrainian History* were intelligent enough to know that this statement was totally false, dishonest and malicious. In view of mountains of evidence to the contrary, only a perverted mind could concoct the falsehood that the insurrection was precipitated by the Hetman's unilateral declaration regarding federation. The insurrection, orchestrated by Lenin through C. Rakovsky and D. Manuisky (see: D. Doroshenko, *History of Ukraine*, Vol. II, pp. 227-228), was neither all-Ukrainian nor national. It was launched by the socialist parties (some were openly pro-Bolshevik) posing under the name of "The Ukrainian National Union". Falsely using the words "Ukrainian", "national" in their name, these parties hypocritically claimed that they alone mirrored the interests of "all the Ukrainian people".

The same *Great Ukrainian History* on the same page records that "the insurrectional army of the Directory, recruited from amongst the peasants of feeble national consciousness whose appetites were whetted by the land reforms, overwhelmingly manifested its pro-Bolshevik sym-

pathies. Without having a proper understanding of the importance of state independence, they demanded above all else the parcelling out of large proprietors' lands without compensation; when the Directory found it impossible to satisfy their demands immediately, they turned sharply against it. The rebel forces of Hryhoriev, Makhno and Zeleny embraced the "soviet" cause; afterwards the more leftist members of the government, led by Vynnychenko, came out with the proposal that Ukraine be proclaimed a soviet republic". This indicates very clearly who was hiding behind the "all-Ukrainian national" label.

Simon Petlyura and his fellow-traitors soon discovered that destroying the Ukrainian State was easy, but building another one in its place was far beyond their capabilities. Their "mighty" "all-Ukrainian national insurgent force" (for destruction) burst like a soap bubble in their faces and evaporated. The socialist "heroes" then fled to the capitalists . . .

In their memoirs the conspirators themselves revealed that they were plotting the insurrection months before the Hetman was forced to announce the hramota concerning federation. Hence the hramota and the insurrection could not have related to each other as cause and effect. The hramota was not the cause but an excuse for the insurrection — invented later as an afterthought.

Only a moron would maintain that the Hetman concluded a genuine, valid federation with Russia. And morons don't stop to ask themselves: When and where was the initial conference concerning federation held? Who represented the Russian side? Who signed the preliminary agreement setting out the terms concerning representation, currency, armed forces, courts, postal matters, foreign relations, etc. which preceded the declaration of federation? When did the federation come into force? When was it ratified by competent authorities on both sides? There are

no answers to these questions because the Hetman's contrahent never existed.

Gen. M. Kapustyansky appraised the issue honestly, truthfully and succinctly: "The Hetman announced the federation only for the purpose of saving the Ukrainian statehood, after learning about the unfavourable attitude of the Western Allies. The French were about to land in Odessa. The Hetman, wishing to save the Ukrainian State at all costs, announced a fictitious federation with a future non-Bolshevik government of Russia to win the Allied favour and help". (Gen. M. Kapustyansky, *Pokhid Ukrainskoyi Armiyi*, Munich, 1946, book 1, p. 14).

For years the Ukrainian socialists were engrossed with the idea of federation with Russia — became saturated to capacity with federation. They were forever lapping it up. Federation with socialist Russia was their fondest dream, their highest ideal. It was closest to their hearts. They fought for it. Federation was perpetually on their minds. Every socialist meeting, every convention, every congress, every public gathering passed resolutions demanding federation with socialist Russia. All four Central Rada Universals were steeped in federation.

The socialists would have everyone believe that the moment the Hetman's hramota was published they instantly renounced federation. In a flash it became odious to them. Seeing their newborn decency outraged they immediately grabbed for their guns to "answer the Hetman with an all-Ukrainian national insurrection"! Today they act as if their federative past never existed. But they cannot erase historical facts.

Subsequent events proved that the socialists did not cast off their life-long convictions, loyalties, attitudes and beliefs. They wrecked the Ukrainian State to achieve their ultimate goal: a federation of Ukrainian and Russian republics.

A matter worthy of note is the fact that Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky and his family remained exemplary, unblemished, dedicated Ukrainian patriots throughout their lives, while Vynnychenko, Hrushevsky, Petlyura and a host of other socialist "heroes" ended up as turncoats, Russophiles, Polonophiles, traitors. These are historical facts.

Hrushevsky

We know Hrushevsky from various periods of his life.

1) A learned professor, author of a history. No one is infallible, hence modern historians have certain reservations with regard to this history. His learning did not prevent him from appraising Hetman Ivan Mazepa negatively . . .

2) Head of the Central Rada. He is credited with co-producing the federative Universals. Dedicated to preserving the power and indivisibility of Russia. He approved the liquidation of all military formations, including the 1st Corps which left Ukraine entirely defenceless.

3) Hrushevsky the Social-Revolutionary. Spurned by everybody because of his childish conduct. He was left out of the Directory. His closest associates — Vynnychenko, Petlyura and other leaders were disgusted with him.

4) Hrushevsky the turncoat. He demonstrated his incredible naivety by voluntarily returning to Ukraine — into the enemy camp. Thousands followed his example and all, after being used, were liquidated — including Khrystyuk — by the Bolsheviks. The fact that a leader returned to the enemy influenced, understandably, the whole emigration.

Hrushevsky's accomplishments, obviously, are such that it is better not to mention them. (Victor Vakulovsky).

“I am deeply convinced that Hrushevsky is a political muscophile”. (Dr. D. Dontsov. *Rik* 1918, p. 33).

Early promoters of independence

In 1912 a group of emigres from Greater Ukraine, together with a group from Halychyna, upon adopting the principles of Ukrainian independence, formed a Ukrainian Information Committee to propagate the Ukrainian cause abroad and to publish its own organ “Liberation”. These efforts were initiated by Vyacheslav Lypynsky. The publication did not materialize, but the Ukrainian political emigres, scattered throughout the various European centres, communicated with one another regarding common informative action. This understanding proved to be very useful to the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine during the initial stages of its activities. In the years immediately preceding the war more and more information about Ukraine appeared in foreign publications.

The Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, whose objective was the promotion of Ukrainian independence, was in-

augurated in Lviv August 4, 1914. At the end of August the Union moved its headquarters to Vienna where it established its organ *Visnyk*. The first issue, dated October 5, 1914, contained the Union's "Platform", which informed the public that the Union included all those political persuasions that stood for Ukrainian state independence and linked the realization of their national-political and economic aspirations to the defeat of Russia in the war. The form of government for the independent Ukraine advocated by the Union was a constitutional monarchy with a democratic system of government, unicameral legislative body, civic, linguistic and religious freedoms.

Prominent personalities in the Union included Dmytro Dontsov, Oleksander Skoropys-Yoltukhovsky, V. Doroshenko, A. Zhuk, Marian Melenevsky and Mykola Zaliznyak. (O. Skoropys-Yoltukhovsky. *Moyi Spomyny*. Khliborobska Ukraina, Vol. 2-4, pp. 205, 235).

The idea of Ukrainian independence was not new or unknown in Ukraine. Concerned patriots nurtured and propagated it against great odds. While Mikhnovsky Lypynsky, Skoropys-Yoltukhovsky, Doroshenko, Dontsov preached Ukrainian independence, Simon Petlyura preached loyalty to the Russian empire. With the advent of the Central Rada he was joined by Hrushevsky, Vynnychenko and other socialists in advocating federation with Russia.

Petlyura negotiated with regard to federation

A lecture entitled "Monarchy or Republic" was delivered March 2 this year[1935?] in the Knights of the Iron Cross Union reading hall in Paris. When during the discussion a reference was made to the 1918 Hetman's hramota regarding federation, Lieutenant F. Krushynsky, S. Petlyura's adjutant, who was present at the lecture, regretted that this reference had been made because it was politically erroneous. Lt. Krushynsky declared that "Petlyurites" should not be indignant over this matter because at one time "Sir Otaman" Andriy Livytsky himself was commanded by Petlyura to negotiate with Gen. Wrangel regarding federation with Russia. As Petlyura's adjutant, Lt. Krushynsky signed all of Livytsky's authorizations in this respect. He is still in possession of all these papers. Lack of funds prevents him from publishing these documents in book form. (Correspondence by S.M., Paris, to *Khliborobsky Shliakh*). This item appeared in the *Ukrainian News*, Edmonton, Alta., April 10, 1935.

Tyutyunyk dreamed of federation

Otaman Yurko Tyutyunyk (eulogized in verse and song by the Bandurist ensemble), helped to destroy the Ukrainian Hetman State "because of federation". Several months later, as commander of the republican forces in Kyjiv he issued an appeal "to the intelligentsia of Ukraine" with regard to "honest federation with the neighbours". The same Tyutyunyk issued a proclamation, in the Muscovite language, directed to Denikin's Muscovite czarist army in which he stated, among other things, that "a federation of people of Eastern Europe will yet play a role in human history". These facts were narrated by Tyutyunyk himself in his book *Zymovy Pokhid*, 1923, p. 91.

Petlyura chose Russia

At the outbreak of World War I Simon Petlyura, editor of "Ukrainskaya Zhyzn" in Moscow, issued a declaration on behalf of all "organized conscious Ukrainians". In his declaration Petlyura, then an ardent Russian patriot, stated that, as between Russia and Austria, Ukrainians have only one choice: Russia. Ukrainians, he said, should do their duty towards the state honestly and faithfully. He noted that in this war "the Ukrainians will shed their blood alongside other citizens of the state for their common fatherland".

Petlyura's declaration of loyalty to the Russian empire was completely ignored by the government, which applied itself more vigorously than ever to stamping out every trace of "Mazepanism" (Ukrainianism).

Progressives advocated federation

The Russian-spawned Ukrainian socialists, creators of the Central Rada, consistently gravitated towards unity with the Russian socialists. Their ultimate aim was a republic federated with a socialist Russia, not an independent, sovereign Ukrainian state. This historical fact is substantiated by quotations that follow.

In December, 1916, the Council of the Ukrainian Progressive Association, one of the groups that brought the Central Rada into existence in 1917, issued a declaration enunciating its political credo as follows: ". . . we, the Ukrainian progressives, support the principle of autonomous regimes for the states with which we have been joined by the events of history; we understand the state to be a confederation of equipollent nations having equal rights, neither oppressing nor oppressed. Hence we have been fighting and shall continue to fight for a democratic Ukrainian autonomy, guaranteed by the same confederation of peoples of equals, for full guarantees of cultural-national values and political rights of the Ukrainian people, for

better ways of independent development and of achieving economic progress, and we believe that the only simple way to achieve these objectives is nationalization of all forms of private and public life: school, law courts, church, administrative and public institutions, self-government organs, etc. In pursuing these aims we are seeking partners among concordant elements in the stateless nations of Russia, as well as representatives, unfortunately few in number, of the Russian community who share our demands for autonomous-federative state structure on a democratic foundation”.

Hrushevsky rejected independence

Following the outbreak of World War I a group of Ukrainian émigrés in Lviv, after coming to an understanding with Ukrainian leaders in Halychyna (mainly with K. Levytsky), decided to organize an “Association for the Liberation of Ukraine” as a non-partisan political organization of Ukrainians under the Russian rule to propagate the idea of Ukrainian independence. The Association was formally founded on August 4, 1914, by Volodymyr Doroshenko, Dmytro Dontsov, Mykola Zaliznyak and Andriy Zhuk. Shortly afterwards they were joined by Oleksander Skoropys-Yoltukhovsky and Marian Melenevsky.

At the end of August the Association moved its headquarters to Vienna. In its “Platform” which appeared in the first issue of its organ. “Visnyk Soyuza Vyzvolennya Ukrainy”, October 5, 1914, the Association stated that it represented all those political aims and aspirations that are based on state independence of the Ukrainian people. The national-political objective of the Association was the state independence of Ukraine. The independent Ukrainian state was to be “a constitutional monarchy, with a democratic internal regime, unicameral legislative body, civil, language

and religious freedoms for all nationalities and denominations, and an independent Ukrainian church”.

Prof. M. Hrushevsky, an avowed federalist, consistently rejected the idea of a total Ukrainian independence. He was also hostile towards the Association for the Liberation of Ukraine. He assailed it as early as November, 1914, and on a number of occasions made it quite clear that the Central Rada would have nothing to do with the Association. And it didn't, because they were going in opposite directions: the Central Rada was leading Ukraine into a federation with socialist Russia while the Association worked for Ukrainian independence.

M. Hrushevsky and his Central Rada associates lost no opportunity to promote Ukrainian federation with socialist Russia.

A convention of the Kyjiv region co-operative held March 27-28, 1917, passed a resolution declaring that “only a democratic federative republic in Russia with Ukrainian national-territorial autonomy and guaranteed national minority rights will secure the rights of our people”.

Presiding at the convention were the Central Rada luminaries Prof. M. Hrushevsky, P. Khrystyuk and Kh. Baranovsky.

Ukrainian awakening channelled into federation with Russia

The giant Ukrainian manifestation in Kyjiv on April 1, 1917, was a truly inspiring demonstration of Ukrainian national awakening. The majestic, imposing celebration by far exceeded the greatest expectations of its organizers. Over a hundred thousand people took part in the parade with more than 320 persons carrying the national (blue and yellow) flags. Marching in the parade were tens of thousands of armed Ukrainian servicemen, as well as students, workers, high school students, officials of various



Immediately after the outbreak of the Russian revolution the Ukrainian people wanted to get out forever from that prison of nations and live a free life in their own independent Ukrainian state. The will of the people was clearly demonstrated at the various congresses and manifestations such as the First Ukrainian Manifestation, shown above, held already in March, 1917. The parade was headed by great many yellow and blue national flags and placards with inscriptions such as "Long live free Ukraine", "Long live independent Ukraine", "Long live kozak Ukraine", etc. Public enthusiasm was phenomenal. It was deliberately extinguished by the self-styled socialist chieftains who were loyal to Marxist delusions. They paid no attention to the will of the people. Instead of proclaiming the Ukrainian independence as the people expected, they firmly clung to the "indivisible" Russia to the very last moment. They voluntarily remained in their prison although its gates were wide open.

(Photo: the Ukrainian World, 1968).

state and community bodies, prisoners of war from Halychyna, children from Ukrainian shelters . . . The marchers paused at the city дума building where they were greeted by civic and military dignitaries, then proceeded to their destination: the Hetman Khmelnytsky monument at

St. Sophia Square where, amidst church banners and with church bells ringing, the clergy came out from St. Sophia to meet the enthusiastic assembly. The square was teeming with national flags, reflecting the intense national feeling of the multitudes. A mass was celebrated "for the martyrs of Ukraine who gave their lives for the freedom of their native land".

During his speech in front of the Duma building Prof. M. Hrushevsky called upon the multitude to take an oath upon the portrait of Taras Shevchenko that they would not rest their hands until autonomy was won. All fell on their knees and took the oath.

At St. Sophia Square Prof. Hrushevsky delivered another speech in which he stated that "the time has come to establish the sovereignty of the people and assert state rights to Ukraine in union with other peoples of Europe in a federative Russian republic". (M. Zhuchenko. *1917 hod an Kievshenye*, p. 18).

The Central Rada leaders' first loyalty was to socialism and federation with Russia; Ukraine came next. Had they been "conscious Ukrainians", as some pretended to be, they would not have been totally blind to the spontaneous display of patriotic passion and enthusiasm that was flaming all around them. True Ukrainain leaders would not have deliberately wasted the greatest opportunity in centuries to lead and direct this great force in a struggle for a sovereign Ukrainian State.

Russian loyalists

A congress of the Ukrainian Progressive Association held in Kyjiv March 25 and 26, 1917, chaired by M. Hrushevsky, passed the following resolutions:

1. The Congress of the Ukrainian Progressives recognizes and pledges to support the Provisional (Russian) government.

2. Instead of the old name, "Ukrainian Progressive Association", the Congress adopts a new name which is consonant with our basic principles: "Union of Ukrainian Autonomists-Federalists".

3. The Congress shall strive, by all possible ways and means, to achieve Ukrainian autonomy; it shall make every effort to clothe it with the greatest possible authority, and refer it to the Constituent Assembly of all Russia for its final approval.

4. In the statute creating the Ukrainian autonomy, protection of the rights of national minorities shall be provided for.

Autonomy within Russia

At the outbreak of the Russian revolution a conference of the Ukrainian social-democrats under the chairmanship of V. Vynnychenko resolved, among other things, to support the federative principle of the Russian republic. With regard to Ukraine, "the conference of the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Labour party once again firmly makes the long-standing demand: the implementation of Ukrainian autonomy as the first and most pressing problem facing the Ukrainian proletariat as well as the whole of Ukraine at the present moment".

Participating in the conference, besides Vynnychenko, were such "labourers-proletarians" as D. Antonovych, M. Porsh, M. Tkachenko, S. Petlyura, and others.

Representatives of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour party were also allowed to take part in the conference.

Some representatives!

"Catchwords calling for Ukrainian independence appeared soon after the outbreak of the revolution. At the very first Ukrainian demonstration in Kyjiv more than ten placards carried slogans such as "Long live independent

Ukraine", or "Long live independent Ukraine with a Hetman at the head". In the beginning, until the socialists seized leadership, the Ukrainian military movement made a definite start towards independence. However, the official representatives of the Ukrainian movement themselves, headed by Hrushevsky, spoke of independence as something quite unnecessary. They openly supported autonomy". (Autonomy within the Russian federative republic. — D.M.E.). D. Doroshenko. *History of Ukraine*, vol. 1, p. 56.

Russian apron strings were strong

A constituent assembly of the Ukrainian Socialist-Revolutionary party, held April 4-5, 1917, called for "immediate implementation of a broad national-territorial Ukrainian autonomy which would safeguard the rights of national minorities, immediate convocation of a territorial Ukrainian Constituent Council to lay down the basis and form of the autonomy and to make preparations for elections to the All-Russian constituent assembly".

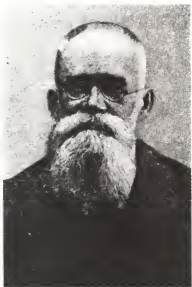
The assembly concluded that the best form of government for Ukraine was a federative democratic republic.

Leaders led to federation

Strong patriotic sentiments upholding the independence of the Ukrainian state surfaced within a month after the Russian revolution.

The promising Ukrainian armed forces movement came into being and continued to develop under the Ukrainian independence slogans, but the socialists soon took over the leadership of the movement and planted the germs of federalism, disintegration and disaster.

It should be remembered that the official leaders of the Ukrainian movement, headed by M. Hrushevsky, considered Ukrainian independence to be unnecessary and undesirable.



Prof. Mykhaylo Hrushevsky

In his brochure *Zvidky pishlo ukrainstvo i do choho vono yde* (Kyjiv, 1917), Prof. Hrushevsky emphasized several times that Ukrainians were not thinking about independence: "Ukrainians have no intention of separating Ukraine from Russia. If that had been their intention they would have advanced such ideas sincerely and openly because nowadays they would have been taking no risk". (p. 12). Hrushevsky continued: "Ukrainians have no intention of breaking away from the Russian republic. They wish to remain in a voluntary, free union with Russia". And again: "Ukrainians have no desire to separate, to keep apart from Russia". (p. 14).

Federation, not independence

The Ukrainian National Congress, representing a great variety of military, political, economic and cultural-educational organizations and institutions, held in Kyjiv April 19-21, 1917, deliberated political questions exclusive-

ly. Prof. M. Hrushevsky, who delivered the opening address, was elected honorary chairman of the Congress.

The main theme of the Congress was a demand for autonomy and federation, with considerable attention given to national minorities (Russian, Jewish, Polish). Proponents of Ukrainian independence (F. Kolomyichenko) were also heard, but their voices were not attuned to the general mood of the Congress which passed resolutions manifesting its loyalty to and confidence in the Provisional Russian government.

The first two resolutions passed by the Congress read:

"1. In accordance with historical traditions and the present needs of the Ukrainian people, the Congress recognizes that only national-territorial autonomy is able to satisfy the needs of our people and of all other peoples living on Ukrainian soil.

"2. The autonomous regime in Ukraine, as well as autonomous regimes in other regions of Russia, will find a full guarantee in the federative state structure of Russia, hence this Congress recognizes a federative democratic republic to be the only suitable form of government in Russia, and one of the main principles of Ukrainian autonomy: a full guarantee of national minority rights."

* * *

Late in April, 1917, a meeting of Ukrainian servicemen of the 228 infantry regiment in Katerynoslav passed a resolution demanding Ukrainian autonomy within federative Russia.

During the May day celebrations the whole Katerynoslav garrison paraded under the yellow-blue banners (national colors).

* * *

As soon as word about the revolution reached Kharkiv, the local Ukrainian community called a meeting and passed resolutions demanding the use of Ukrainian language in the courts and schools. The meeting declared

itself in favour of Ukrainian autonomy within a federative (Russian) republic.

A sharp conflict between the Ukrainian moderates and the socialists erupted at a hubernal convention at Kharkiv on April 29, 1917. During a vicious attack on Ukrainian nationalism, a socialist delegate, V. Koryak, called the Ukrainian national flag "a yellow and blue rag".

Hurrah for federation

A congress of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' deputies, held May 6, 1917, in Kyjiv, elected a Russian Socialist-Revolutionary, P. Nezlobin, as chairman. Other members elected to the presidium were all Russian Socialist-Revolutionaries and Social-Democrats. The Ukrainians proposed that M. Hrushevsky be named an honorary chairman. He was so named.

Nezlobin concluded his speech with these words: "Long live the democratic republic!", whereupon the soldiers and workers shouted "hurrah", and the peasants: "long live the federative republic!"

* * *

The Kyjiv hubernal congress of the Peasants' Union on May 10, 1917, presided over by a Central Rada member, Socialist-Revolutionary P. Khrystyuk, and addressed by another Central Rada member, M. Stasyuk, endorsed the demands of the Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' congress with regard to autonomy and federation.

Analogous Peasants' Association congresses were held during May and June in Kherson, Poltava, Chernyhiv and Katerynoslav regions and in Podillya where, among other things, similar demands (autonomy and federation) were approved.

* * *

The All-Ukrainian Peasants' Congress, held in Kyjiv June 10-16, 1917 elected a 133-member Council of Peasants' deputies which, as a body, was accepted as an in-

tegral part of the Central Rada. The Congress gave full support to the Central Rada and its policies and urged that the Rada draw up a bill regarding autonomy in Ukraine and a federative-democratic order in all of Russia, and that it convene a meeting of representatives of other peoples who were also striving to attain a federative-democratic order.

The honorary chairman of the Congress was M. Hrushevsky.

The voice of independence shouted down

Late in May a ten-member delegation representing all factions comprising the Central Rada travelled to Petrograd to present to the Provisional government and to the Soviet of the Workers' and Soldiers' deputies a submission (totally ignored by the Russian socialist press) listing a series of requests concerning autonomy, education, prisoners of war, finances, etc. It was emphasized in the introduction to the submission that the Ukrainian nation was the most democratic of all because it didn't even have its own bourgeoisie. The submission assured the shaky (at that time) Russian government that the Central Rada alone was in a position to maintain order in Ukraine, to prevent anarchy and guard against separatist aspirations. The Central Rada stood for "one indivisible Russia".

The Central Rada delegation's journey to Petrograd was debated at the All-Ukrainian Peasants' Congress. A controversy erupted over the basic issues of autonomy and independence. A. Stepanenko proposed that Ukrainian delegates to the All-Russian Peasants' Congress be recalled, that Ukrainian people be proclaimed masters on their own soil, that the Central Rada be declared a provisional Ukrainian government, that a Ukrainian constituent assembly be convened, that formation of the Ukrainian army be vigorously pursued, in a word — that Ukraine be separated from Russia and become an independent state. Stepanenko also proposed that all taxes collected from the Ukrainian population be directed to the Central Rada treasury. Not one of the speakers supported him. Hrushevsky, Kovalevsky and Stasyuk disavowed independence, while A. Zalyvchy, Socialist-Revolutionary, warned the delegates that "our democracy will perish and we'll get no land if we become an independent republic. You were told that the Russian bourgeoisie is stifling our interests and our movement, but I say to you that it is the Ukrainian bourgeoisie that's fanning this thing too much. We are not going in the same direction as Stepanenko and his company. We ought to influence the Russian bourgeoisie and fight the Ukrainian bourgeoisie". (1917 *hod na Kievshchene*, p. 96).

Before the vote was taken on Stepanenko's proposals, each side was allowed to speak — Stepanenko for the motion and Borys Martos against. Stepanenko was shouted down and off the platform. His motion received less than 20 votes — out of the total of about 1500.

Petlyura wanted to serve Russia

"During the struggle between the Central Rada and the Russian Provisional Government when we all were concentrating on the proclamation of autonomy, the issuance of the first universal, Petlyura pestered me and M.

Simon Petlyura
He sought appointment as
Kerensky's deputy.



Hrushevsky about getting the Central Rada to demand that the Russian Provisional Government appoint him, Petlyura, as deputy minister of military affairs, as deputy to the Russian minister Kerensky, the conscious enemy of national liberation of Ukraine. Mykyta Shapoval (head of the Ukrainian Socialist-Revolutionary party and later U.P.R. minister) reminded us that the Socialist-Democrats themselves had recalled Petlyura from the government because of his incapacity, inactivity, self-seeking and for his maniacal love of parades. Shapoval stated that nothing good could be expected from that individual, but he could do a great deal of harm". (V. Vynnychenko. "The Cult of S. Petlyura", *Ukrainian Toiler*, Toronto, June 22, 1951).

* * *

The Central Rada (which, without real authority, took liberties to speak for all Ukrainians) had been elected mainly by organized socialism, not by the people generally. It was, primarily, a class organ promoting class struggle. "In the city of Poltava the socialist citizens refused to be employed alongside non-socialists" (Rev. Isidore Nahayewsky, Ph.D. *History of Modern Ukrainian State*, p. 51).

The first Universal

The first Central Rada Universal was announced at the Second All-Ukrainian Military Congress on June 23, 1917, and was solemnly proclaimed in the presence of the delegates on June 25. It read as follows:

People of Ukraine! People of the peasants, the workers, the toiling folk!

By your will you have made us guardians of the rights and liberties of the Ukrainian land.

Your finest sons, the delegates from the villages, from the factories, from the soldiers' barracks, from the Ukrainian communities and associations have chosen us, the Ukrainian Central Rada, and commanded us to stand up and fight for these rights and liberties.

Your elective delegates, O, People, have declared their will thuswise:

Let Ukraine be free. Without separating from the whole of Russia, without breaking off with the Russian state, let the Ukrainian people have the right to manage their own lives in their own land. Let the All-Peoples' Ukrainian Assembly (Soym), elected by nationwide, equal, direct and secret ballot, establish a régime and order in Ukraine. Our Ukrainian Assembly alone has the right to issue laws that should give us that order here, in Ukraine.

Laws providing order throughout the Russian state will be issued by the All-Russian Parliament.

No one knows our needs better than we do, or which laws are better for us.

No one knows better than our peasants how to manage their land. Therefore, after the large proprietors', state, czar's, church and other lands throughout Russia have been taken over by the people, according to law which will be proclaimed by the All-Russian Assembly, we want the right to manage our Ukrainian lands ourselves, we want the right

of usage of these lands to belong to ourselves, to our Ukrainian Assembly (Soym).

Thus spoke the elective people from the whole of the Ukrainian Land.

Having thus spoken, they, from amongst themselves, chose us, the Ukrainian Central Rada, and commanded us to head the Ukrainian people, to stand for their rights and to create a new order in a free, autonomous Ukraine.

And we, the Ukrainian Central Rada, having submitted to the will of our people, took upon ourselves the heavy burden of building a new life, and have already begun this great work.

We thought that the Central Russian Government would lend us a hand and that, in harmony with it, we, the Ukrainian Central Rada, would be able to establish order in our land.

But the Provisional Russian Government turned down all of our requests, pushed away the outstretched hand of the Ukrainian people.

We sent our delegates (ambassadors) to Petrograd with instructions to present our petition to the Russian Provisional Government.

Our principal requests were the following:

That the Russian Government, by a special act, publicly declare that it does not oppose national freedom of Ukraine, that it is not against our people's right to autonomy.

That the Central Russian Government appoint a Commissar, attached to the government, to deal with all matters pertaining to Ukraine.

That a certain portion of monies collected from our people by the Central Treasury be given back to us, representatives of the people, for national-cultural needs.

The Central Russian Government spurned all of our requests.

It did not want to say whether or not it recognizes our people's right to autonomy, or the right of our people to manage their own affairs. It evaded answering us and, instead, referred us to the All-Russian Constituent Assembly.

The Central Russian Government did not want our Commissar attached to it, did not want to create a new order together with us.

It did not want to recognize a Commissar for the whole of Ukraine so that we may together lead our country towards order and a system of laws.

The Central Government refused to direct the monies collected in our land towards the needs of our schools, education or organization.

And now, O, Ukrainian People, we have been compelled to take care of our fate ourselves. We cannot allow our country to fall into chaos and decay. Since the Provisional Russian Government is unable to establish order in our land, since it is unwilling to undertake the great task together with us, then we ought to do the work ourselves. It is a duty we owe to our country and to the peoples living on our soil.

Therefore we, the Ukrainian Central Rada, are publishing this Universal to proclaim to all of our people that henceforth we will manage our life ourselves.

And so let every member of our nation, every citizen of every village and city know that as of today our great work has begun.

From this time on every village, every county, every district or zemstvo council which cares for the interests of the Ukrainian people, should have the closest organizational relationship with the Central Rada.

Where for whatever reason the administrative authority remains in the hands of people hostile towards Ukrainianism, we direct our citizens to conduct a vigorous campaign to organize and educate people and then take over the administration.

In the cities and communities where Ukrainian people are mixed with other nationalities we direct our citizens to come immediately to terms with the democracies of these nationalities and together with them start preparing for a new normal life.

The Central Rada hopes that non-Ukrainian peoples living in our land will also show concern about order and tranquility in our country and, during this difficult period of universal disorder, will, as one man, stand together with us in organizing the Ukrainian autonomy.

And after we conclude this preparatory work we shall call together representatives of all the peoples of the Ukrainian land and work out laws for this land. The laws and the whole regime prepared by us will have to be sanctioned by the All-Russian Constituent Assembly.

People of Ukraine! Before your elected organ, the Ukrainian Central Rada, stands a big, high wall which the Rada must demolish in order to lead its people upon a free pathway.

This requires strength. Bold, strong hands are needed. Great community effort is needed. Great financial resources are needed if all this work is to succeed. Until now the Ukrainian people have been sending all their tax money to the All-Russian Central Treasury without ever receiving anything of the same value in return.

Therefore we, the Ukrainian Central Rada, direct all organized citizens of our villages and cities, all community councils and institutions to impose upon the people, as of July 1, a special tax to support our native cause and send the monies promptly, punctually and regularly to the treasury of the Ukrainian Central Rada.

People of Ukraine! Your fate is in your own hands. During this period of world-wide disorder and inflamed passions, demonstrate by your unanimity and wisdom that you, a people of the workers, a people of khlaboroby

(farmers), can walk proudly and with dignity, as equals, alongside every organized, state-possessing people.

Resolved at the City of Kyjiv, June 10, 1917 (Julian calendar).

The second Universal

On July 16, 1917, the General Secretariat received the "Decisions" of the Russian Provisional Government concerning Ukraine, granting the Central Rada a minimal executive authority and referring all basic questions to the future Russian Constituent Assembly.

The same day, after reading the text of these Decisions to a solemn plenary session of the Central Rada, V. Vynnychenko also read the following Second Central Rada Universal:

Citizens of the Ukrainian Land!

Representatives of the Provisional Government have advised us about the measures the Provisional Government has to adopt with respect to administration in Ukraine prior to the convocation of the Constituent Assembly.

The Provisional Government, guarding the freedom won by the revolutionary people, recognizing the right of all

people to self-determination and deferring its realization and its form until the convocation of the (Russian) Constituent Assembly, extends its hand to the representatives of Ukrainian democracy, the Central Rada, and calls upon us all to co-operate with it in creating a new Ukrainian life for the good of the whole of revolutionary Russia.

We, the Central Rada, who always opposed the separation of Ukraine from Russia, who advocated at all times that we, together with all of her peoples, strive for the development and prosperity of the whole of Russia, for the unity of her democratic forces, accept with satisfaction the appeal of the Provisional Government calling for unity, and proclaim the following to all the citizens of Ukraine:

The Ukrainian Central Rada, elected by the Ukrainian people through their revolutionary organizations, will soon be augmented, on a just basis, by representatives from other peoples living in Ukraine, from their revolutionary organizations, and it will then become the single highest organ of revolutionary democracy in Ukraine representing the interests of the whole population of our country.

The augmented Central Rada will again bring into existence an organ responsible to the Rada, the General Secretariat, which will be submitted to the Provisional Government, the repository of the highest authority in Ukraine, for confirmation.

All rights and powers will be vested in this organ so that it, representing democracy in Ukraine and being the highest authority in the land, may have an opportunity to carry out its intricate task of regulating life in Ukraine and making it harmonious with the whole of revolutionary Russia.

Working in accord with other nationalities in Ukraine, and functioning as an organ of the Provisional Government in matters pertaining to state government, the General

Secretariat of the Central Rada will proceed firmly to strengthen the new order created by the revolution.

Advancing towards the establishment of autonomous order in Ukraine, the Central Rada, together with national minorities in Ukraine, will propose laws concerning the autonomous system in Ukraine; these proposals will be submitted for approval by the Russian Constituent Assembly.

Recognizing that the establishment of a regional organ of the Provisional Government in Ukraine would result in bringing the government of the land closer to the needs of the people, within the limits of conditions prevailing prior to the Constituent Assembly, and recognizing that the fate of all the peoples of Russia is firmly tied to the achievements of the revolution, we strongly oppose unauthorized realization of Ukrainian autonomy prior to the calling of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly.

The Central Rada will have its representatives attached to the Military Affairs ministry, the General Staff and the Supreme Command. Our representatives will participate in discussions concerning the recruitment of separate units composed exclusively of Ukrainians, insofar as such recruitment, in the opinion of the Military Affairs minister, will be technically possible without weakening the fighting efficiency of the army.

In announcing this to the citizens of Ukraine we firmly believe that the Ukrainian democracy, which has entrusted its will to us together with the revolutionary Government, will make every effort to lead the whole state, and particularly Ukraine, to a complete triumph of the revolution.

Kyjiv, July 3/16, 1917.

Comment.

It should be noted at this point that the laws concerning the Ukrainian autonomy and the liaison between the General Secretariat and the Russian Provisional Government sought by the Central Rada were rejected by the Provisional Government.

Blinded by their total loyalty and devotion to the Russian Marxist revolutionaries and by their implicit faith in "Russian democracy", the Central Rada socialists had no clear concept of their amorphous autonomy. In their submissions to the Russian government they did not even delineate the territories they proposed to govern. They never considered the sources of revenues needed to pay for the administration, civil service, education, the army, etc. Their chief concern was the building of a socialist, revolutionary, federative Russia.

The grand federation

On July 9, 1917, the newly formed General Secretariat, headed by V. Vynnychenko, declared itself to be the executive organ of the Central Rada, and published its program which included the following objective:

"With respect to nationalities, the Secretariat plans to co-ordinate the work of all the nationalities of Russia and to fight for autonomous-federative order in the Russian republic and for better understanding between the Ukrainians and other nationalities. Our first and foremost task is to convene a conference of representatives of peoples and regions of Russia, and make all the necessary preparations for such a conference. There is also the urgent matter of coming to an understanding at the earliest possible time with the democracy of national minorities in Ukraine.

* * *

In a proclamation tinged with emotion, poetry and demagoguery, issued September 27, 1917, the General Secretariat outlined its immediate program and once again told the citizenry that it was "preparing the country for an autonomous life within the grand federation of republican Russia".

Central Rada's highest ideal: federation

Pursuant to its highest ideal, the reconstruction of Russia on a federative basis, the Central Rada called a convention of delegates from different nationalities. The convention was held in Kyjiv September 23-28, 1917, attended by delegates representing Georgians, Lithuanians, Tartars, Latvians, Estonians, Byelorussians, Moldavians, Jews, Don Kozaks and Bouriats.

M. Hrushevsky, honorary chairman of the convention, stated in his address that the federative ideal "is deeply rooted amongst the Ukrainian masses". He spoke about the attractive power of Russian democracy and declared that "federation leads not to independence, but to unification, to a federation of Europe and the whole world".

After deliberating nearly a week, all delegates favoured federation with Russia except the Lithuanian representative V. Valdemaras, who insisted that Lithuania wished to be an independent state.

V. Vynnychenko, chairman of the General Secretariat, told the convention that "we, the Ukrainian Socialist-Democrats, are against state independence".

Prompted by the General Secretariat, the Central Rada reiterated its support for a "united federative Russian republic".

The convention recognized Russian as the working language in relations with the central authorities as well as in inter-state relations.

Martos: Independence would hurt the proletariat

In a letter to the editor of "Kiyevskaya Mysl" early in October, 1917, V. Vynnychenko stated that even before the revolution he "considered independence to be an idea which emanated from despair, from day-dreaming, from the emotions of its advocates and not from objective possibility or necessity". He claimed that the revolution had removed every reason for independence, that "a combination of basic factors of social-political life of Ukraine demand no independence". He said that the only ideal of organized Ukrainian democracy is "a federation of Russian republics with a place within it for Ukraine as an equal with other components of the state".

Speaking at a meeting of the Ukrainian Socialist-Democratic party October 18, 1917, M. Tkachenko, who subsequently held several portfolios in the Central Rada administration, stated that "only imperialism would benefit from Ukrainian independence. Ukrainian democracy should advance under the banner of federation which leads to the development of productive forces and draws it closer to socialism".

When M. Porsh rose to warn that the idea of Ukrainian independence should not be renounced forever, he was vigorously attacked by Borys Martos, Central Rada secretary for agrarian affairs. Martos asserted that the Ukrainian Socialist-Democratic party, as an internationalist party, should strive to strengthen the bonds and solidarity amongst peoples, and its ultimate aim should be a federalization of Europe, not through independent states but through the spreading of federalism.

Arguing with Porsh, Martos asked: "Will independence not hurt the interests of the proletariat? Can you establish socialism more quickly in a Europe that is divided into many states or in a Europe with very few states?"

The "pride and glory" evaporated

The Central Rada socialist chieftains (Hrushevsky, Vynnychenko, Petlyura, Martos, Kovalevsky, and others) succeeded in their efforts to gain influence over the Ukrainian Military Congresses and infect the armed forces with socialism. This, as subsequent events proved, was the first step to national suicide. Many servicemen, after embracing socialism, succumbed to Bolshevism. The armed forces began to disintegrate.

In mid-November, 1917, an armed conflict erupted between the Bolshevik Revolutionary Committee and the Kyjiv Military Staff while the Third Ukrainian Military Congress was in session. The Central Rada, unable to assert its authority, remained helpless. The actual armed forces that were ready to fight for the Central Rada proved to be insignificant and ephemeral. Although the Congress attracted representatives of hundreds of thousands, perhaps a million servicemen, these forces were nowhere to be found when the need arose to defend the Central Rada. The delegates (whom only a few months before the socialists boastfully called "the mainstay, the pride and glory of Ukraine") were obliged to take up arms themselves to protect the Rada. Many from the "pride and glory" ranks chose to support the Bolshevik Revolutionary Committee, not the Central Rada. By being deliberately blind to subversion the Central Rada encouraged the emboldened Bolshevik propaganda which was effectively corrupting the Ukrainian military forces.

The group that had just attempted to start an armed rebellion against the Central Rada continued its subversive agitation openly and unmolested under the very eyes of the Rada. In fact, curbing such activities was officially frowned upon, as the following part of a statement issued by the General Secretariat shows: "... the Ukrainian People's Republic Universal guarantees all freedoms, including

freedom for the military-revolutionary organizations. Organizations of the workers, soldiers and peasants should especially be respected; the General Secretariat will see to it that no violence is done to them".

The voice of independence silenced

After a group of Ukrainian independence supporters had been ejected from the Socialist-Revolutionary caucus at the Third Military Congress in Kyjiv November 2, 1917, M. Kovalevsky (who ten days later became the Central Rada's secretary for provisions) told the Congress that "the working people do not need the hetmans which the independents are striving for because the hetmans will not give land and liberty; they need those who will give them land and freedom, those who will lead them to socialism. Ukraine under the leadership of independents will give neither land nor freedom to the working people". Kovalevsky received a noisy ovation.

In a lengthy speech V. Vynnychenko once again asserted that Ukraine wished to remain federated with

Russia and that all separatist tendencies imputed to the General Secretariat were nothing but provocations.

When M. Makarenko, representing the Independents, began his welcoming address an incident took place which the *Nova Rada*, No. 169, reported as follows: "As soon as Makarenko began to point out that, because of misunderstanding, many people are hostile towards the Independents, chairman Lebedynets interrupted him in the middle of a sentence to say that only greetings were allowed, not explanations of his party's program. A certain segment of the Congress took its cue from the intolerant chairman and continued preventing the speaker from delivering his greetings, continued harassing him and interrupting his every word, hooting and jeering at him with satisfaction every time he stopped speaking or attempted to resume speaking".

Apostles of federation with socialist Russia, Hrushevsky and Vynnychenko, were honored by a standing ovation.

The idea of Ukrainian independence was very unpopular among the participants of the Ukrainian Military Congress. The federative germ implanted by the Central Rada leaders was proving to be virulent and effective.

"Ukraine has to be a part of the Federative Russian Republic"

On November 14, 1917, the Central Rada factions, debating whether or not to proclaim a Ukrainian People's Republic, entertained no thought of separating Ukraine from Russia. A lengthy communication issued November 16 by the General Secretariat denied all rumours about Ukrainian separation from Russia.

The paragraph concerning this question read: "All the talk and rumours about separation, about detachment from Russia, are either a counter-revolutionary provocation or the usual public unawareness. The Central Rada and the

General Secretariat have stated firmly and clearly that Ukraine has to be a part of the Federative Russian Republic as a state entity with equal rights. The present political situation has not in the smallest way changed our position".

* * *

The leftists boast with pride that the Third Universal proclaimed the *independence* of the Ukrainian People's Republic — "without separating from the Russian Republic and preserving its unity". A remarkable feat!

The Bolsheviks took over in October, the Universal was proclaimed November 20, hence the Universal in fact speaks of not separating from the Bolshevik Russia because no other Russia had existed since that time.

Thus the Central Rada chieftains' dream of the union of socialist Ukraine with socialist Russia became a reality on November 20, 1917.

Still clinging to federation with Russia

In addressing a meeting of the Mala (Minor) Rada on November 19, 1917, M. Hrushevsky said: "The terrible moment that Russia and Ukraine are experiencing . . . demands that resolute steps be taken to strengthen the authority in Ukraine. . . . It is necessary to create a base which would save the achievements of the revolution not only in Ukraine but also in the whole of Russia. This calls for strenuous, heroic efforts on our part. . ." After prolonged deliberations and much hesitancy the Central Rada General Secretariat recognized that "the only possible foundation that has to be placed under the country's governing organ to give it real, factual authority is a proclamation of the Ukrainian People's Republic which will be a member of the mighty union of equal states of the free peoples of Russia. . . . Circumstances compel us to effectuate something which only recently we believed to be far away from us. . . . Recently we announced here a resolution passed

by the Third All-Ukrainian Military Congress, representing 3 million armed people at the front, calling upon us to proclaim a republic. The Ukrainian factions deliberated a whole week on this question and came to the conclusion that action was urgent".

The third Universal

Hrushevsky then intoned the Third Universal which read:

Ukrainian People and all peoples of Ukraine!

A harsh and difficult hour has come upon the land of the Russian Republic. A bloody, internecine struggle is raging in the capitals of the north. A central government no longer exists; anarchy, disorder and destruction are spreading throughout the state.

Our country also is in danger. Without a single, strong people's authority Ukraine may also fall into the abyss of civil war, slaughter, and decay.

Ukrainian People! You, together with the fraternal peoples of Ukraine, put us to protect the rights won by hard struggle, to create order and build up a new life in our land, therefore we, the Ukrainian Central Rada, by your will, in

the name of creating order in our land, in the name of saving the whole of Russia, hereby announce:

As of this date Ukraine becomes the Ukrainian People's Republic.

Without separating from the Russian Republic, and preserving its unity, we take up our stand firmly on our lands that with our strength we may help the whole of Russia and that the whole Russian Republic may become a federation of free and equal peoples.

Until the Constituent Assembly meets, the whole power of creating order in our lands, of issuing laws and of ruling, belongs to us, the Ukrainian Central Rada, and to our Government, the General Secretariat. Having strength and power in our land, we shall defend the rights of the revolution, not only in our lands, but in all of Russia as well.

Therefore we announce:

The Ukrainian People's Republic encompasses territories where the majority of the population is Ukrainian: Kyjivshchyna, Podillya, Volyn, Chervonohivshchyna, Katerynoslavshchyna, Khersonshchyna, Tauria (excluding the Crimea).

The final delimitation of the Ukrainian People's Republic borders with regard to the incorporation of parts of Kurshchyna, Kholmshchyna, Voronizhshchyna, as well as the adjacent guberniyi and regions where the majority of the population is Ukrainian, will be determined according to the ascertained wishes of the people.

We hereby inform the citizens of all these lands:

As of this date, in the territories of the Ukrainian People's Republic, the existing rights of ownership to the lands of large proprietors and to other lands and farmsteads important to rural economy which are not worked by the owners, also the rights to lands belonging to the royal family, monasteries, to the Crown and to the church, are abolished.

Recognizing that these lands are the property of the whole working people and must pass to them without compensation, the Central Rada instructs the General Secretary for Agrarian Affairs to work out immediately a law for the administration of these lands by Land Committees, chosen by the people, until such time as the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly shall meet.

The labor question in the Ukrainian People's Republic must immediately be regulated. For the present, we announce:

As of this date, in the territory of the Ukrainian People's Republic an eight hour's day is ordained in the factories and workshops.

The hard and ominous days which all Russia and our Ukraine are now experiencing necessitates the proper regulation of labor, improvements in manufacturing, more equitable distribution of consumer goods and better utilization of work. Therefore, we instruct the General Secretary for Labor, together with representatives of labor, to establish from today State control over production in Ukraine to protect the interests of Ukraine and the whole of Russia.

For four years on the front blood has been shed, wasting the strength of all the peoples of the world. By the wishes and in the name of the Ukrainian People's Republic we, the Ukrainian Central Rada, firmly insist on the establishment of peace as soon as possible. To this end we shall make resolute efforts to compel, through the Central Government, both allies and enemies to enter immediately upon peace negotiations.

At the peace conference we shall be watchful to see that the settlement does not infringe upon the rights of the Ukrainian people in Russia or outside of Russia. But until peace comes, however, every citizen of the Ukrainian People's Republic, together with the citizens of all the

peoples of the Russian Republic, must stand firmly in their positions both at the front and in the rear.

Recently the shining achievements of the revolution have been tarnished by the re-establishment of capital punishment. We announce:

Henceforth in the Ukrainian Republic the death penalty is abolished.

To all who are imprisoned or detained for political offences hitherto committed, as well as those already condemned or awaiting sentence, and also those who have not yet been tried, full amnesty is given. A law will immediately be passed to this effect.

The courts in Ukraine should be just, in accordance with the spirit of the people.

With this aim we order the General Secretary for Judicial Affairs to take the necessary measures to systematize the judicature and make it consistent with the people's concept of justice.

We instruct the General Secretary for Internal Affairs to make every effort to consolidate and extend the authority of local self-government, which shall be the organs of the highest local administrative authority, and establish the closest relations and co-operation between them and the organs of revolutionary democracy which shall provide the best foundation for a free democratic life.

Also all the freedoms won by the Russian revolution: freedom of the press, of religion, of assembly, of union, of strikes, inviolability of person and habitation, the right and the possibility of using local languages in dealing with all authorities, shall be guaranteed in the Ukrainian People's Republic.

The Ukrainian people, having achieved their national freedom for which they fought for so many years, will firmly protect the right of national development of all nationalities existing in Ukraine. We are therefore making it known publicly that we recognize the right of the Great

Russian, Jewish, Polish and other peoples in Ukraine to their national-personal autonomy which would secure for them the right and freedom of self-government in matters relating to their national life. We instruct our General Secretary for Nationality Questions to draw up immediately a measure for national-personal autonomy.

The food question is the foundation of the power of the State at this difficult and responsible moment. The Ukrainian People's Republic must make a determined effort to save itself both at the front and in those parts of the Russian Republic which need our help.

Citizens! In the name of the Ukrainian People's Republic in federal Russia, we, the Ukrainian Central Rada, call upon all to struggle resolutely with all forms of anarchy and disorder, and to help in the great work of building up new State forms which will give the great but exhausted Russian Republic health, strength and a new future. These forms shall be elaborated at the Ukrainian and All-Russian Constituent Assemblies.

The date for the election of the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly is fixed for December 27, 1917, and the date for its summoning January 9, 1918.

A law will be immediately published regulating the summoning of the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly.

* * *

There was no public rejoicing over the Third Universal, overflowing as it was with tenderness and concern for Russia. In fact, the very opposite was true. It dampened the spontaneous national enthusiasm that was so evident throughout the land during the spring and summer months. The socialistic content of the Universal alarmed the staid elements rooted in and genuinely attached to their native land. A wave of fear, uncertainty and discontent swept the country.

Prof. Doroshenko's comment

Commenting on the Third Universal, historian Doroshenko said:

"Federation of Ukraine with Russia was formally proclaimed by the Third Universal. Ukraine entered this federation as 'Ukrainian People's Republic'. But with what kind of Russia? The Central Rada was unwilling to recognize the government of the People's Commissars, the actual rulers of Russia. Thus Ukraine took upon herself the initiative and the task of creating the kind of an All-Russian federation that would be acceptable to all of its members. This was manifestly a task which was unnecessary and too heavy for Ukraine to undertake. Logic and events clearly indicated that Ukraine should have separated entirely from Russia and become an independent state: she should have, reciprocally, recognized the People's Commissars as the government of Russia (the Bolsheviks themselves emphasized time and again that they recognized the right of every nation to self-determination, including the right of secession) and left the All-Russian affairs alone. Ukraine faced such colossal internal problems that the task of creating an All-Russian federation (and antagonizing the new, existing, factual Russian government) was far beyond its means. Under the prevailing circumstances it was also unrealistic and unwise.

"Separate from the Bolshevik Russia, having recognized the Soviet of People's Commissars, proclaim the independence of Ukraine, make peace with the Central Powers (at the end of 1917 peace could have been achieved on far better terms than 3 months later) and concentrate on the internal Ukrainian problems — these were the tasks dictated by the implacable logic of facts". (D. Doroshenko. *History of Ukraine*, vol. 1, p. 184).

Hopes of patriotic Ukrainians dashed

By their stubborn rejection of Ukrainian independence

and their immutable allegiance to Russian federation, Hrushevsky and the Central Rada threw away a priceless asset: the great patriotic enthusiasm that inspired and helped the Ukrainian rebirth.

The fact that prior to the announcement of the Third Universal Hrushevsky repeatedly spoke about the hesitancy, indecision and wavering over the proclamation of the Ukrainian People's Republic, and the fact that the proclamation was not read at the plenary session of the Central Rada but at a meeting of the Mala Rada in the presence of less than fifty people, as well as the fact that it was debated and voted upon as if it were a piece of common legislation, indicated that it could not have generated much excitement amongst the people.

The populace could have been inspired and enthused by a vision of an independent, sovereign Ukraine, but who could be heartened by a voluntary, deliberate federation with a people who for 250 years kept Ukrainians in serfdom, oppressed and persecuted our nation, and smothered every stirring of our national movement?

The hopes and expectations of patriotic Ukrainians were dashed by Hrushevsky's inglorious proclamation of federation with Russia. Who could have been lifted spiritually by Hrushevsky's appeal "Let's save Russian federation!", published in "*Narodna Volya*" (No. 157) in which he said: "Having expressed in our Universal our firm determination to direct every effort and all the substance of the Ukrainian republic to save the integrity and unity of Federative Russia, we must immediately do our utmost to translate our determination into deeds. Should the Great-Russian centre be unable to organize a revolutionary socialist government on its own, then the peoples and regions standing for federative principle should come to the aid of the Great-Russian democracy . . . To us Federative Russia is valuable and necessary, and we must help her out by all means at our command".

In an attempt to justify the Universal "*Narodna Volya*" (No. 155) stated that "in the interests of self-defence Ukraine should become a people's democratic republic. She must become the centre of democratic power around which could unite, on federative principles, all the lands and peoples of Russia . . . At the moment there is no other way to save Ukraine, revolution and Russia".

"*Robitnycha Hazeta*" (No. 179) also evaluated the Universal from a federative standpoint. It said: "Let's pave the way to federation! By this kind of work we are saving the unity of Russia, strengthening the unity of the whole Russian proletariat and the might of the Russian revolution". The paper considered the Ukrainian republic to be but a step towards the restoration of Russia. It concluded: "Through a local republican-autonomous system — towards a federative democratic Russian republic. Either a complete collapse of Russia, a disintegration into separate independent states, or — a federation. There is no other way out".

A socialist publication, "*Borotba*" (No. 14), dissociating itself from "our bourgeoisie, the so-called independents", claimed that "the Ukrainian Socialist-Revolutionaries never considered the idea of Ukrainian statehood or, for that matter, any idea of statehood, to be a paramount idea demanding that everything else be subordinated to it . . . The Ukrainian People's Republic must strive towards the establishment of a union of free republics in place of the former Russian empire, because Socialist-Revolutionaries believe that federation is a higher form of coexistence of peoples than a separate state".

Still hoping for federation with Russia

On December 8, 1917, the Central Rada published a decree setting out the order of law enactment in the Ukrainian People's Republic. The first paragraph read:

"Until the Federative Russian Republic is formed and its constitution drawn up, the exclusive and indivisible right to pass laws in the Ukrainian People's Republic belongs to the Central Rada".

At a special meeting December 4 called by the Mala Rada to discuss a telegram from the Rumanian front commander concerning an armistice proposal, E. Neronovych argued that Ukraine should initiate peace proposals on her own. She would thereby assume, as she should, the prerogatives of an independent state and crown her national self-determination. Through peace the Ukrainian people would achieve their sovereignty. This should be brought to the attention of the Council of People's Commissars and to the warring states and their allies. Neronovych was supported by M. Chechel. They were opposed by a Socialist-Federalist representative M. Kushnir who said that with regard to peace "we must address ourselves to the democracies of the whole world. Socialist-Federalists will never go for a separate peace".

M. Anin-Shatz, speaking for the Jewish Workers' party, warned the Central Rada against entertaining any idea about independence "because it would constitute a grave mistake".

V. Vynnychenko, speaking for the General Secretariat, declared that peace could be concluded "only by a generally recognized central authority — which the People's Commissars are not. It is therefore incumbent upon us to bring into being a uniformly socialistic federative government".

The following day the General Secretariat dispatched a lengthy note concerning armistice and peace to all the warring and neutral states. The note began:

"The Ukrainian People's Republic has been proclaimed by the Central Rada Universal on November 20, 1917. This act has placed Ukraine in an international position.

“The Ukrainian People’s Republic strives towards a federative union of all the republics that have emerged on the territory of the former Russian Empire”.

A desperate attempt to establish a Russian federation

The Central Rada General Secretariat devoted much time and effort to promoting its pet project — the gathering of the former Russian empire territories into one All-Russian socialist federative republic under one central government. To this end the General Secretariat negotiated with the governments of the republics that came into being in these territories.

On December 13, 1917, the General Secretariat issued an appeal concerning this matter, part of which read:

“The General Secretariat has placed in the hands of all these governments a proposal to organize a central government on terms which will assure that it will be uniformly socialistic, reflecting views from the Bolshevik to the peoples’ socialist, and federal in character, i.e. composed of representatives of the territorial republics. Only such a government will have strength and authority because it will be based on the real strength of democracy of all shades of socialism and on all the peoples of the Russian Republic”.

The appeal also expressed concern about the interests of the Russian peasants, workers and soldiers who, it claimed, would be served best by the speedy establishment of a central government.

Central Rada tried to outbid the Bolsheviks

A truly national enthusiasm prevailed at the first post-revolutionary Ukrainian conventions and various gatherings, but the leaders, including Hrushevsky, probably did not believe that they could sway the Ukrainian masses by national slogans alone, hence they did their best to inflame social appetites and aspirations — hoping that by this manoeuvre they could impose their national and political



Volodymyr Vynnychenko

postulates upon the people. Competition from the Russian leftist demagogic propaganda, particularly from the Bolsheviks (this propaganda spread spontaneously after vast numbers of the soldiery thronged the villages and began preaching and practising the Bolshevik slogan: "Rob what's been robbed!"), impelled the Ukrainian Socialist-Revolutionaries to "lean leftward", i.e. to entice the peasantry with increasingly radical perspectives of the seizure and parcelling of large landowners' lands. And no one stopped to think what all this would lead to, whether there was enough of the seized land to go around. Nobody considered or cared what their irresponsible actions would do to the national economy . . .

Bolsheviks refused to play ball . . .

Reporting to the Central Rada VIII plenary session December 26, 1917, on the activities of the General Secretariat, V. Vynnychenko pointed out that the "Council

of People's Commissars stood in the way of establishing a federative government in Russia".

Vynnychenko also reminded his listeners that "Central Rada is composed of socialistic elements who are proceeding towards the realization of socialism in Ukraine". (*Narodna Volya*, No. 182).

Central Rada applauded the red flag

The Central Rada, while spurning the nationalist-conservatives, opened its doors to their soul brothers, the Bolsheviks.

Concluding a declaration on behalf of the Central Rada Bolshevik faction August 22, 1917, N. Lebedev said: "Having joined the Central Rada, we shall steadfastly fight against the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeois nationalism and shall call upon the workers and peasants of Ukraine to rally around the red flag of the Internationale for a complete triumph of the proletarian revolution".

The contemporary press reported that this declaration was "vigorously applauded several times".

Vynnychenko proposed a soviet system for Ukraine

Late in 1917 the Bolshevik ring was tightening around Kyjiv.

From time to time the warring sides — the Soviet of the People's Commissars and the General Secretariat — tried to negotiate through intermediaries, directly by wire or by exchanging notes. To the Bolsheviks the various notes or proposals to negotiate were but manoeuvres to gain time or to confuse the adversary. In Kyjiv itself a well-organized Bolshevik center was active; it subverted even some members of the Central Rada. Aggressive Bolshevik agitation went on openly under the very eyes of the Ukrainian authorities. Bolshevik newspapers continued publishing, appeals calling upon the populace to fight the Central Rada were issued and circulated freely. *Proletarskaya Mysl* open-

ly conducted a systematic daily campaign against the Central Rada government. And the government, instead of taking stern measures to curb this agitation, by its passivity and weakness only encouraged the enemy to become bolder and more determined. It confined its activities to issuing appeals, proclamations, to arguing and answering all questions asked by the Bolshevik sympathizers in the Mala Rada.

In the Central Rada itself only the Ukrainian Socialist-Democrats, Socialist-Federalists and Independents stood firmly and uncompromisingly for resistance to Bolshevism. Socialist-Revolutionaries were divided. The so-called "left wing" increasingly favoured the establishment of a soviet system in Ukraine. A number of Central Rada members, together with the Council of People's Commissars in Petrograd and the "People's Secretariat" in Kharkiv, conspired to replace the Central Rada with a Bolshevik council of workers', soldiers' and peasants' deputies. The plot was uncovered and many conspirators were arrested — over Hrushevsky's protest.

The head of the Central Rada government, V. Vynnychenko, proposed his own scheme to achieve the same result, i.e. to establish a soviet system in Ukraine. His plan was not accepted.

The Central Rada leaders' vacillation and lack of faith in their own cause forbode disaster.

The Germans had to show the way

Peace negotiations at Berest gave some hope. Conclusion of peace with the Central Powers provided opportunities for improving the situation. However a prerequisite of the conclusion of a separate peace — without the sanction of some central government of an All-Russian federation — was a proclamation of total state independence. The Germans themselves indicated during the negotiations that before signing a treaty with Ukraine,

separate from the Bolsheviks, it would first be necessary to proclaim Ukrainian independence. While peace was being negotiated with the Bolsheviks, it would indeed be possible to conclude a separate peace only with an independent Ukraine, not with a member of some chimerical All-Russian federation.

Finally, independence had been proclaimed. It came about, as did the proclamation of the Ukrainian People's Republic by the Third Universal before it, not as a result of some previous movement, not as a result of some deliberately planned proposal; it was simply the result of an inevitable political combination, an act forced by circumstances. The Central Rada was cornered and had no other way out.

Independence was not the socialist ultimate goal

Since the beginning of the revolution in 1917 leftist leaders of the Ukrainian movement trumpeted time and again that they had nothing to do with any kind of independence aspirations, emphasizing at the same time their immutable fidelity to the ideals of Russian federalism; they even refused to listen to anyone advocating independence (e.g. at the Second Ukrainian Military Congress). In principle, all parties included in the Central Rada (except the insignificant party of independence proponents) opposed the independence of Ukraine and favoured a federation with Russia. They were apologetic about being forced to accept independence.

No wonder, then, that proclamation of the Ukrainian People's Republic November 20, 1917, was not followed by a wave of spontaneous nation-wide demonstrations and rejoicing which, one should think, an act of this magnitude should have evoked. Instead, there were only official celebrations and parades. The Fourth Central Rada Universal proclaiming Ukrainian independence, passed at

the Mala Rada meeting on January 25, 1918, generated even less popular enthusiasm than the Third Universal.

The ruling Socialist-Revolutionary party of the Central Rada never even tried to hide the fact that Ukrainian independence was not its ultimate goal. Its organ, *Narodna Volya*, emphasized time and again that Ukraine was forced, against her will, to declare herself an independent state.

In an article titled "Factual Independence" (January 2, 1918, No. 186) the above-mentioned paper declared that "contrary to her wishes and hopes, Ukraine has found herself to be an independent state warring with the Petrograd-Moscow government . . . life has forced our Republic to become independent". The following day, commenting on the issuance of Ukrainian money, *Narodna Volya* again stated that "in monetary matters as well as in other matters Ukraine was forced by the Petrograd government to take the road to independence".

That was the way the newspaper "prepared" the Ukrainian people for the "inevitable" proclamation of independence! Finally, the very day the Fourth Universal was proclaimed, *Narodna Volya* asserted that "in itself the declaration of independence did not represent the highest aim of the Ukrainian regeneration. On the contrary, the independence shibboleth has nothing to attract true socialists whose ultimate ideal is the enhancement of individual well-being and the establishment throughout the world of brotherhood, equality and freedom. And when at this time our socialist parties found it necessary to deal with this shibboleth — they did it only because the circumstances demanded the proclamation of independence".

And, as if to justify the transgression, the organ of the Socialist Revolutionaries assured its readers that "the Ukrainian democracy, having proclaimed the independence slogans, had not deviated one iota from the universal brotherhood ideal or from the concept of a free federation of the countries of the world. On the contrary, by this act it

took the first step on the road to the world-wide federation of independent peoples . . ." (*Narodna Volya*, 1918, No. 9).

It should be remembered that the Socialist Democratic Party the second in importance in the Central Rada also opposed the Ukrainian independence. At the Mala Rada meeting on January 19, 1918, one of the leading Socialist-Democrats, Military Affairs minister M. Porsh, argued that "it is not yet time to declare independence; organizational work within the state should be done first". (*Narodna Volya*, 1918, No. 5).

Social-Democrats: Independence is the only road to a real federation

When declaration of independence became a point at issue the Socialist-Democratic *Robitnycha Hazeta* (No. 222, January 19, 1918) explained that "the Ukrainian democracy is increasingly receptive to the idea that the Ukrainian People's Republic's independence is necessary as a way out of the uncontrollable situation created by the present circumstances, as well as being the only road to a real federation. To the Ukrainian democracy, total independence (without any ties with other states) emerges from the realization that for the working masses it is necessary to live within the framework of a nationally-independent state generally (not excluding federation with other states) because only in that kind of state can class struggle develop to the fullest extent and the success of this struggle be better assured".

The editorial ended with a slogan: "Through independence to federation".

It is clear, then, that the principal organ of the Socialist-Democratic party saw the declaration of independence as an act serving the interests of class struggle; it saw Ukraine as being forced by circumstances to become an independent state.

In other words, the socialists said: "We did not want Ukrainian independence. It was forced upon us. We apologize".

At their meeting in mid-January the Ukrainian Socialist-Federalists decided to support the independence of the Ukrainian People's Republic. "Although the Socialist-Federalist party continues to stand on the principle of federalism, nevertheless, it considers this principle to be applicable at a later stage, whereas under the present conditions it recognizes the necessity of establishing an independent Ukrainian state. 'Through independence to federation' — is the party slogan now". (*Narodna Volya*, 1918, No. 3).

Federation — the guiding light

After the declaration of independence, M. Hrushevsky, during his sojourn in Zhytomyr following the evacuation of Kyjiv by the Central Rada, wrote that "independence is only a step towards federation" and that "federalist traditions continue to be the guiding light of our national-political life". *Narodna Volya*, 1918, No. 21, (Zhytomyr, No. 2, III, 1918).

It is difficult, it seems, to find another example in the annals of modern history where leaders of a people would have so strange a conception and evaluation of the act of their country's declaration of independence. No wonder, then, that the solemnity surrounding the proclamation of independence was of a constrictive nature — witnessed only by a relatively small group of people, the so-called "conscious Ukrainian community" in Kyjiv. The date of the declaration of independence, nevertheless, remains an important one in the history of the Ukrainian people.

The independence of the Ukrainian People's Republic was proclaimed at the Mala Rada meeting which began January 22 and ended in the early hours of January 25, 1918. According to *Narodna Volya* (No. 9, 1918), the



A banknote issued by the Ukrainian People's Republic in 1918. Note the pungent international flavour indicating the real masters behind the scene. The people, especially businessmen were loath to accept this money.



Money of the truly independent Ukraining Hetman State in 1918. Not a trace of foreign influence. It was readily accepted by the people.

meeting started with only the Ukrainian factions of the Mala Rada present. After considering drafts submitted by M. Hrushevsky, V. Vynnychenko and M. Shapoval, the meeting finally worked out, jointly, the acceptable wording of the Universal. After 5 P.M. on January 23 the meeting resumed, in camera, together with the non-Ukrainian factions and continued until the moment when the Fourth Universal was proclaimed.

Jewish "Bund" and the Mensheviks opposed independence

Throughout the closed sessions there was continual squabbling with representatives of the national minorities, most of whom, particularly the Jewish "Bund" representatives and the Mensheviks, stood firmly opposed to the declaration of independence. Other non-Ukrainian factions proposed amendments to the Universal, and some of these amendments were adopted. The meeting, behind the closed doors, dragged on until close to midnight of January 24. The Ukrainian circles in Kyjiv had already learned that the Fourth Universal was about to be announced and many people had been gathering since early morning in the Pedagogical Museum building. By nightfall the auditorium was full.

Finally, the closed session ended about midnight. After a short recess the Mala Rada members gathered in the auditorium. The public session of the Mala Rada began 20 minutes past midnight of January 24-25.

The fourth Universal

People of Ukraine!

By your strength, will and word, a free Ukrainian People's Republic has emerged in the Ukrainian land. Thus came to pass the past dreams of your fathers, fighters for the rights and freedoms of the workers.

But Ukraine's freedom has been reborn at a difficult time. Four years of cruel war have exhausted our people and weakened our land. The factories have stopped producing goods, the mills are slowing down, the railroads are shattered, the value of money is falling, food supplies are diminished — famine is approaching. Bands of thieves and robbers are roaming the countryside, especially after droves of Russian troops, deserting the front, descended upon our land, leaving behind them a trail of butchery, rebellion and ruination.

Because of this situation, elections to the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly could not be held at a time fixed by our previous Universal, and the meeting appointed for this date could not be held to receive from our hands our provisional highest revolutionary authority over Ukraine, to establish order in this People's Republic of ours and to organize a new government.

Meanwhile, the Petrograd government of the People's Commissars, wishing to bring the free Ukrainian Republic under its authority, has declared war on Ukraine and is sending troops into our lands — Red Guards and Bolsheviks who are robbing our peasants of their bread and hauling it away to Russia without paying for it in any way, not overlooking even the seed held by the peasants for spring seeding; they are killing innocent people, spreading chaos, committing thievery and outrageous acts.

We, the Ukrainian Central Rada, have done everything in our power to avert a fratricidal war between the two neighbouring peoples, but the Petrograd govern-

ment has not met us halfway and continues a bloody war against our people and our Republic. In addition, the same Petrograd government of the People's Commissars is beginning to delay the peace and calls for a new war — even calling it a "sacred" war. Again blood will flow, again the unfortunate working people will be expected to lay down their lives.

We, the Ukrainian Central Rada, chosen by the congresses of peasants, workers and soldiers of Ukraine cannot in any way agree to this and will not support any wars, because the Ukrainian people want peace, and there should be a democratic peace as soon as possible.

In order to prevent the Russian or any other government from obstructing the establishment of the peace that we desire, and in order that we may lead our country to the establishment of order, to creative activity, to the strengthening of the revolution and our freedom, we, the Ukrainian Central Rada, proclaim to all the citizens of Ukraine:

As of today the Ukrainian People's Republic becomes an independent, free, sovereign state of the Ukrainian people, dependent upon no one.

We wish to live in harmony and friendship with all the neighbouring states, such as Russia, Poland, Austria, Rumania, Turkey, and others, but none of them can interfere in the internal affairs of the independent Ukrainian republic. All power in the republic shall belong only to the Ukrainian people, in whose name, until the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly is convoked, we, the Central Rada, representative of the working people — peasants, workers and soldiers, and our executive organ, henceforth to be known as the Council of People's Ministers, shall govern.

First of all, we instruct the government of our republic, the Council of People's Ministers, to resume, independently, the peace negotiations which have been already started with the Central Powers, regardless of any obstacles which

may be forthcoming from other parts of the former Russian empire, and establish peace so that our country may begin its economic life in peace and harmony.

With regard to the so-called Bolsheviks and other intruders who are destroying and devastating our country, we instruct the Government of the Ukrainian People's Republic to start fighting them vigorously and resolutely, and we call upon all the citizens of our republic to defend with their lives, if need be, the welfare and freedom of our people. Our people's Ukrainian state should be rid of intruders sent by Petrograd who are trampling the rights of the Ukrainian Republic.

The immeasurably hard war, started by bourgeois governments, has grievously tired our people, has already destroyed our country and our economy. This must end now.

As the army is being demobilized, we order that, simultaneously, some soldiers be discharged to go home, and, after the ratification of peace treaties, that the army be disbanded altogether; then, instead of a regular army, we will establish a people's militia so that our forces may serve to defend the working people and not merely obey the whims of the ruling classes.

Localities devastated by war and demobilization shall be restored through the efforts of our state treasury.

After our soldiers have returned home, the people's councils — district and county — and city councils will have to be re-elected, at a time which will be specified, to enable our soldiers to have a voice in them as well. Meanwhile, in order to establish the kind of local authority which would enjoy the confidence and have the support of all the revolutionary-democratic strata of the populace, the Government should call for co-operation with the organs of local self-government: the peasants', workers' and soldiers' councils chosen from amongst the local population.

With regard to agrarian matters, a commission named at the last session of the Central Rada, having accepted the principle of abolition of ownership and the socialization of land in accordance with our decision at the eighth session of the Rada, has already drafted a law concerning the transfer of land to the working people without compensation. The Council of People's Ministers will make every effort to transfer the land, through the land committees, into the hands of the workers before the spring work on land begins.

Forests, waters and all underground riches, being the property of the Ukrainian working people, come under the management of the Ukrainian People's Republic.

The war has taken the whole working force of our country. Most of the mills, factories and workshops produced only whatever was needed for the war, and people have remained entirely without goods. The war is now ended and we instruct the Council of People's Ministers to undertake immediately a change-over to peace-time production of goods needed, first of all, by the working masses.

The same war has produced hundreds of thousands of unemployed, also invalids. Not a single working man should suffer in the People's Republic of Ukraine. The Government of the Republic must raise the productivity of the state and initiate a creative effort in all spheres of endeavour in order to provide jobs for the unemployed and take measures to provide for the victims of war.

Under the old regime tradesmen and various middlemen made huge fortunes from the poor, down-trodden classes. Starting today, the Ukrainian People's Republic is taking over the most important branches of trade, and the income derived therefrom will go to benefit the people. The state will supervise all imports and exports to prevent a recurrence of the high prices suffered by the poorest classes because of the speculators. To achieve this, we are instructing the Government to draft and submit for our approval an appropriate law, as well as laws in-

roducing state monopoly in iron, hides, tobacco and other products and goods which yielded profits, extracted from the working class, to the non-working class.

We are also ordering the Government to impose state-people's control over all banks which, by extending credit and loans to non-working classes, have exploited the working classes. Henceforth bank loans will be considered mainly for the benefit of the working people and for the development of the economy of the Ukrainian People's Republic, not for speculation and various bank exploitations.

Under the conditions of disorder, confusion and shortages of goods there is a growing dissatisfaction amongst certain segments of the population. Various undesirable forces are taking advantage of this dissatisfaction to promote the restoration of the old order. These dark, counter-revolutionary forces wish to bring all the free peoples back under the sole czarist yoke of Russia. The Council of Ministers should resolutely fight all counter-revolutionary forces. Anybody who may call for an insurrection against the Ukrainian People's Republic, for the return of the old order, will be charged with treason.

All the democratic freedoms proclaimed by the Third Universal of the Central Rada are hereby confirmed, and further we draw special attention to the announcement that in the independent Ukrainian People's Republic all nationalities have the right to national-personal autonomy, as provided by the law of January 9th.

All things mentioned in this Universal which we, the Ukrainian Central Rada, may be unable to accomplish within the next few weeks, will be completed, made right and finally put in order by the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly.

We order all our citizens to conduct the Assembly elections most vigilantly; to make every effort to count the ballots as quickly as possible so that within a few weeks our Constituent Assembly — the supreme master and manager

of our land — may secure freedom, order and prosperity through the constitution of the Ukrainian People's Republic, for the good of all the working people, now and in the future.

This our highest organ shall determine our federative bond with the people's republics of the former Russian state.

Meanwhile, we call upon all citizens of the independent Ukrainian People's Republic to stand firmly on guard for the rights and freedoms won and defend them with all their might against all enemies of the peasants'-workers' independent Ukrainian republic.

Ukrainian Central Rada.

Kyiv, January 9 (22), 1918.

Undignified procedure

The Central Rada leaders deemed it necessary to put the proclamation of Ukrainian independence to a vote — on par with ordinary legislation. Following a recorded vote leaders of the various factions were accorded an opportunity to explain the motivation behind their voting. The only other time a recorded vote was taken by the Central Rada was in connection with the proclamation of the Third Universal.

Central Rada secretary M. Yeremiyiv read out the names of all the Mala Rada members, and each member replied "for", "against" or "abstain". There were 49 Mala Rada members present. Voting "for" the Universal were 39 members — all Ukrainians, together with a Polish Socialist party representative Korsak. Voting "against" were four Mensheviks: M. Balabanov, D. Chyzhevsky, Kononenkov and the "Bund" representative M. Lieber (Goldman). Abstaining were 6 members: Russian Socialist-Revolutionaries Sklovsky and Sukhovykh, "Poali-Zion" representative M. Goldman, United Jewish Socialist parties' representative Shatz, Jewish Democratic Union

representative Dubinsky, and Polish "centre" representative Pochentowski . . .

After the vote had been taken M. Hrushevsky solemnly declared: "The Fourth Universal of the Central Rada is accepted. Ukraine has been declared an independent People's Republic".

Fourth Universal: A foundation for socialism

Then spoke the head of the government, V. Vynnyshenko. After lauding the socialistic contents of the Universal, he concluded: "I sincerely wish that this Universal will become a firm foundation under our structure of socialism to which, I am sure, all parties and factions present here aspire. I am certain that the principles contained in this Universal will lead us to a federation of socialistic republics of the whole world". Vynnyshenko received an ovation.

Leaders of the various factions then attempted to explain their motives for voting the way they did. Only one representative of the Muscovite Socialist-Revolutionaries, Sukhovykh, was able to make his declaration — above the hissing and the noise from the galleries, *Narodna Volya* reported. The speaker stated that Socialist-Revolutionaries have always stood for federation and that they had nothing against Ukrainian independence, but they felt that this proclamation was ill-timed. His party, he said, did not see this proclamation as an expression of the whole of the Ukrainian people and the premature proclamation itself had been staged for some mysterious reasons. Sukhovykh charged that some sort of Bolshevism had developed within the Mala Rada. He argued that, for economic reasons, Ukraine could not live without Muscovy and that now she would inevitably fall under the influence of some neighbouring imperialist power.

One of the practical results of the Fourth Universal was the transformation of the General Secretariat into the

"Council of People's Ministers"; the general secretaries became the "people's ministers".

A deceptive name

It is significant that during his speech president Vynnychenko never uttered a word to indicate that the Universal proclaimed the independence of Ukraine. When he emphasized that it was but a foundation under a socialist structure — all parties burst into an enthusiastic applause. If by virtue of the Fourth Universal the Ukrainian People's Republic had become a "structure of Socialism", then it should have been renamed the "Ukrainian Socialist People's Republic". This has not been done. Hence the very name is a deception.

The gullible souls who reverently observe the so-called "Ukrainian independence" anniversaries are, in fact, unwittingly observing the anniversaries of the "socialist structure" established by the self-contradictive Fourth Universal, tinged with Russian federalism and, as Vynnychenko said, designed to serve the interests of internationalism. Most people who participate in these celebrations are blissfully unaware of the fact that they are actually honouring not the whole of the Ukrainian nation but only the socialistic part of Ukraine represented by leftist groups who falsely equated Ukraine with the socialistic parties. People commemorating the Fourth Universal "Ukrainian independence" probably do not know that they are applauding the abolition of private property made law by the Fourth Universal, that they are approving the abolition of the regular Ukrainian army decreed by the Fourth Universal, that they are glorifying the destructive elements responsible for the ruination of the Ukrainian State, that they are promoting internationalism and furthering a slow national suicide.

Very few people are familiar with the full contents of the Fourth Universal. The socialist-republican

manipulators prefer that people remain uninformed about this unsavoury document. They would rather have it out of sight. It cannot withstand full exposure and close scrutiny. Ignorant crowds are easier to mislead.

It is significant that during the anniversary celebrations the manipulators piously quote only a part of a sentence from the Fourth Universal: "As of today the Ukrainian People's Republic becomes an independent . . . , free, sovereign state". That is all. Neither the socialistic aspects of the Universal nor the allusion to federation with Russia are ever mentioned.

With the passage of time fantastic distortions, twists and tales have been woven into and allowed to accumulate about the Fourth Universal to create an air of mystery and majesty around it. Its worshippers hope that "sediments of time" will blur and obscure its true face. Fiction is more palatable than harsh reality.

Incredible distortions

The following are few of the inexhaustible examples of how Ukrainian history is being written by the leftists:

Writing in *Nashe Zhyttia*, Buenos Aires, January 22, 1933, M. Slavinsky stated that the Fourth Universal was "proclaimed festally and solemnly at St. Sophia Square in Kyjiv on January 22, 1918". (The truth is that the Fourth Universal was proclaimed in the Pedagogical Museum building in the wee hours of January 25. On January 22 bullets were flying in all directions on St. Sophia Square).

On February 19, 1960, O. Lyaturynska revealed in the Winnipeg *Novy Shliakh* that "on January 22 M. Hrushevsky read publicly the Fourth Central Rada Universal in St. Sophia Square in Kyjiv".

A Paris correspondent of the *Ukrainian Voice*, Winnipeg, writing under the initials "M.T.", May 20, 1964, stated that "Prof. Mykhaylo Yeremiyiv, in his capacity as Central Rada secretary, proclaimed II, III and IV Univer-

sals at St. Sophia Square and supervised the voting on the latter on January 22, 1918".

"Kateryna Antonovych belongs to the Ukrainian generation that had the good fortune to witness the emergence of Ukrainian statehood, a generation that saw with its own eyes and heard with its own ears the proclamation of the Ukrainian government Universals at St. Sophia Square in our capital city of Kyjiv". (Stephania Bubniuk, editor, *Zhinochy Svit*, Winnipeg, February, 1963).

"In his thoroughly patriotic sermon Rev. Dovhal painted a vivid picture of the heroic liberation efforts of the Ukrainian people, of their remarkable deeds and of the great rejoicing at St. Sophia Square in Kyjiv when the Universals proclaimed the sovereignty, independence and the union of all Ukrainian lands into one Ukraine". (Dr. A. Vusyk, Los Angeles. *Ukrainian Voice*, Winnipeg, April 28, 1965).

"In Ukraine, on November 20, 1917, a Ukrainian People's Republic had been proclaimed — patterned after the British and Swiss democracies". (R. Rakhmanny. *Ukrainian Voice*, Winnipeg, January 3, 1968). This is the height of ignorance and stupidity. In 1917 British and Swiss democracies did not abolish private property, did not seek federation with socialist Russian Republic. In 1917 Ukraine was, unfortunately, saddled with immature puppets and dreamers espousing socialism and internationalism. Monarchism was poison to socialists, particularly the Ukrainian socialists. Britain was a monarchy. Hence the Ukrainian socialists sought their inspiration elsewhere. Emblazoned on the wall behind president Mykhaylo Hrushevsky's Central Rada chair was a slogan which to this day is very much visible in the Kremlin: "Proletarians of the world, unite!"

"In his brief address the president of the Ukrainian People's Home in Winnipeg, Mr. Mykola Zalozetsky, pointed out that 50 years have passed this very week since

the moment when on January 22, 1918 the words of the Fourth Universal resounded in St. Sophia Square in Kyjiv proclaiming the independence of the Ukrainian people". (*Ukrainian Voice*, Winnipeg, February 21, 1962).

Gen. M. Hoffmann: Father of the Ukrainian People's Republic

As mentioned elsewhere, the Central Rada was not the initiator of independence. Also mentioned was the fact that the Rada was in disarray. Its dominant Socialist-Revolutionary party was split into two factions. The left wing, which included premier V. Vynnychenko, conspired to introduce a soviet system of government in Ukraine. This provided a fertile ground for the Bolsheviks who marched from victory to victory occupying all the large cities such as Kharkiv, Poltava, Katerynoslav, Odessa, Chernyhiv. They were threatening Kyjiv where the Muscovites, the Jews and many Ukrainians were waiting to receive them with open arms. Peace negotiations at Berest provided some hope of saving the situation. Peace with the Central Powers would help to avert the impending catastrophe.

However, the Ukrainian peace delegates came to Berest representing an indistinct Russo-Ukrainian federative entity. They soon found themselves in a hopeless situation — a veritable blind alley, a dead end. It was the German negotiator at the peace conference, Gen. M. Hoffmann, who came to their rescue. He opened their eyes. He ignited the spark that prompted the Fourth Universal. This fact has never been properly recognized by the Ukrainian socialist-republicans who arrogate the honour to themselves in order to emphasize their perspicacity and foresight. They prefer to forget the truth that "the Germans" had a hand in the creation of the Ukrainian People's Republic. They would rather peddle their blatant falsehood that "the Germans established the Hetmancy" in Ukraine, — being fully



Gen. M. Hoffmann

aware of the fact that the Hetmancy was unanimously acclaimed April 29, 1918, by the Khlborobsky (soil tillers') Congress in Kyjiv, attended by 6432 accredited delegates with a total number participating of about 8000 persons. (Read: D. Doroshenko, *History of Ukraine*, Vol. II, (English edition) p. 55).

Gen. Hoffmann told the Ukrainian delegates that if they wanted to conclude a peace treaty, regardless of what the Soviet Russia might do, their government must formally proclaim the full independence of the Ukrainian republic. And rightly so, because, while negotiating with Russia, the Central Powers were able to conclude a peace treaty only with a legally existing Ukraine, not with an oddity — an All-Russian federation — which was factually non-existent at the time. Hence — the Fourth Universal.

As mentioned previously, at their commemorative functions the glorifiers of the Universal never quote more than the following words from it: "From today on, the Ukrainian People's Republic becomes an independent, free, sovereign state of the Ukrainian people." The rest of the text is hidden from the public. Are they ashamed of it or are

they afraid of public disapproval because, for the most part, it speaks the Bolshevik language?

A stab in the back of the Ukrainian nation

In spite of the unceasing efforts of the socialist-republicans to sanctify the Fourth Universal, the truth remains that it was a stab in the back of the Ukrainian nation. The Universal confirms that the Bolsheviks had declared war on Ukraine and were occupying and devastating Ukrainian territory — and in the same breath it speaks of disbanding and doing away with the army and going back to peace-time production in the mills, factories and workshops. Seeking to ingratiate itself into the good graces of the Bolsheviks and Bolshevik sympathizers, the Central Rada proposed establishing a people's militia "to defend the working people". It seems that all other people were expendable. This foreshadowed the Communist program of extermination of "non-working" (non-Communist) classes.

Another feature which characterizes the Fourth Universal is the fact that, instead of abrogating, it confirmed the provisions of the Third Universal abolishing private property and private ownership of land. At the very moment when Bolshevism was being imposed upon Ukraine from the outside, the Ukrainian "parliament" in Kyjiv was imposing it from the inside.

It should be remembered that the Universal, while proclaiming Ukrainian independence, also mentions federation, i.e. it was proclaiming and at the same time destroying the independence both practically and theoretically.

UPR and Bolshevik programs were hardly distinguishable

People did not rally around the Central Rada to defend Ukraine because 1) the Fourth Universal decreed that the war "must stop now", that the army must be demobilized,

that factories sustaining the defence effort cease production — so why go to war?; 2) the same Universal also proclaimed that Ukraine might enter into a federation of newly-created states in the former Russian territories — so why break away now? Hence, when the Muscovite Bolsheviks marched into Ukraine under the slogans “down with war” and “self-determination with the right to free secession” — what was the sense in fighting them, especially when the social program of the Fourth Universal and that of the Bolsheviks were hardly distinguishable? Both were abolishing private property, nationalizing trade and commerce, etc. What’s more, the Bolshevik manifestos never mentioned federating Ukraine with Russia — the very opposite was true: they emphasized “self-determination with the right to free secession”. Thus the Muscovite Bolshevik theory regarding Ukraine was inclined more towards Ukrainian independence than was the Central Rada theory. It was difficult to find a comparable confusion anywhere.

Too many Ukrainians placed higher value on their party programs and social slogans than on their statehood. This fact became very apparent soon after January 22, 1918. It was the main reason for the conflict between the Ukrainian Central Rada and the Germans who actualized the theoretical independence of Ukraine proclaimed by the Fourth Universal. This also was the main reason for the insurrection against the Hetman State in November-December, 1918, which paved the way for the Bolshevik take-over. This crime is being justified to this day by a totally false claim that the insurrection was precipitated by the Hetman’s declaration with regard to federation. Facts, mentioned elsewhere in this publication, show that the conspirators were plotting the insurrection with Lenin’s stooges Rakovsky and Manuilsky months before the Hetman’s empty declaration. People who are prepared to say upon oath that white is black pretend to be deaf and blind to the

fact that it was the Central Rada itself that begot, nurtured and relentlessly pressed for federation with Russia — gratuitously, whereas the Hetman was offered recognition and help by the Western Allies — for nothing more than his unilateral declaration regarding federation with the non-existent anti-Bolshevik Russia. This was the Hetman's last desperate attempt to save the Ukrainian State which the Ukrainian Socialists together with Muscovite Bolsheviks were determined to destroy.

A fictitious federation

The Hetman's declaration concerning federation was vague. It did not specify to whom it was addressed, no terms, conditions or the extent of the contemplated federation were set out, no date was mentioned as to when and with whom the federation was to have been effected. It did, however, state very clearly that "in this federation Ukraine shall occupy a foremost place" and retain all the rights necessary for the development of her statehood and selfhood. Thus a wide range of subjects was open for endless negotiations with Moscow — providing, meanwhile, an opportunity to consolidate the administration, mobilize and arm a military force and secure tranquility in the land..

The conspirators who engineered the anti-Hetman insurrection pretended that they had forgotten the three Central Rada universals — the first two directed to the Provisional government and the third to the Bolsheviks (after Kerensky's downfall) — which refused to have anything to do with independence and asked only for Ukrainian autonomy within the Russian socialist federation. To this very day the Central Rada glorifiers are silent on this point.

In his historical review titled "*Pokhid Ukrainskykh Armiy*" Gen. M. Kapustyansky, who served with the republican Directory, stated (p. 14) that the Hetman, deter-

mined to save the Ukrainian State, "proclaimed a fictitious federation with the future government of Russia".

Mykola Kovalevsky, former Central Rada minister, an enemy of hetmancy, referred to the fictitious federation as a "tactical manoeuvre" on the part of the Hetman.

The historical truth is that federation with Russia was a deeply rooted sentiment sustained by the Ukrainian leftists in 1917 and 1918. Resolutions favouring or demanding federation with Russia were passed at every socialist party meeting, conference, convention, congress, assembly, as well as gatherings of other groups, including the military — thanks to such federation apostles as Hrushevsky, Vynnychenko, Petlyura, Mykyta Shapoval, Boris Martos and other shining lights of socialism.

Historical facts cannot be erased

All four Central Rada Universals were steeped in federation. The Central Rada and UPR worshippers can ignore this fact, as they are doing, but they cannot erase it or wish it away from the pages of history.

The federative ideal was inspired and vigorously promoted by the above mentioned Central Rada luminaries. They preached socialism verging on Bolshevism and repeatedly spurned the Hetman's urgent appeals for their co-operation to save Ukrainian independence. And yet, when the position of the Ukrainian State became critical and the Hetman was forced by the posture of the victorious Western Allies to declare the fictitious, meaningless federation with a non-Bolshevik Russia (non-existent to this day), these federalists feigned indignation, (as if they had never heard the word "federation" before!) and perfidiously used the Hetman's declaration as an excuse to launch an insurrection and tear the state asunder.

Monstrous lie perpetuated

The monstrous lie that the insurrection was caused by the Hetman's declaration regarding federation is being perpetuated by malicious feeble minds who thereby hope to exonerate and whitewash the criminals who, as tools of our external enemies, wrecked the promising Ukrainian State and brought about the Communist enslavement of Ukraine. History of the insurrection, orchestrated for the most part by Lenin, is well documented and recorded. These documents and records do not support the stupid claim that the insurrection erupted because the Hetman declared a federation. Erupted the very same day! It takes very little intelligence to realize that the culprits involved were not magicians to produce an instant insurrection. Strenuous preparations for this criminal enterprise went on long before the Hetman was forced to take the bitter pill.

P. Lashchenko, who took part in the meeting of the conspirators on November 14, 1918, emphasizes that on that day the plotters knew nothing about the Hetman's declaration. (The Hetman's document was issued November 14). (P. Lashchenko. Dnipro Almanac, Lviv, 1923, p. 10).

Petlyura et al, in their demagogic "universal" calling for the insurrection did not even mention the Hetman's declaration. Would they have failed to mention the declaration if, as they falsely claimed later, it was the cause of the uprising?

Addressing a workers' meeting in Petrograd (now Leningrad) in 1918, after the restoration of the Ukrainian Hetman State, Lenin stated that "after the Hetman government is firmly established in Ukraine — Russia will find herself retreating behind the borders of the 15th century Muscovite Principedom".

Russia did not have to retreat. Ukrainian traitors came to her aid. They helped Lenin to demolish the Hetman State.

Insurrection planned well in advance

Late in the summer of 1918 leaders of the "Ukrainian National Union" (this is a misnomer; actually it is the name of the socialist parties banded together) were plotting a rebellion against the Hetman government and turned to the Bolsheviks for help. (The same Bolsheviks that the Ukrainian People's Republic was supposedly fighting so hard!). Lenin was only too happy to oblige. A request from the "Ukrainians" to help demolish their state, and a monarchy at that, was a welcome and unexpected piece of good fortune that fell into Moscow's lap — all by itself. A veritable godsend! Helping Ukrainians to destroy themselves with their own hands is an age-long Moscow strategy.

Bolsheviks and Petlyura marched together

One of the chief instigators of the insurrection and a negotiator with the Bolsheviks, the National Union head Volodymyr Vynnychenko, related the story of the conspiracy as follows: "During the preparatory stage of the insurrection, seeking everywhere and from every direction an assurance for the success of the venture, the initiators of the movement (rebellion) entered into negotiations with representatives of the Russian Soviet Peace Delegation, Christian Rakovsky and D. Manuisky, for the purpose of co-ordinating our actions during the uprising. They agreed to support us not actively but by intensifying their espionage activities at the fronts in order to distract the attention of the German-Hetman troops. (Actually they did much more than that. Bolshevik detachments and Ukrainian insurgents were marching upon Kyjiv together, jointly, under the banner of the Directory. This was happening not only around Kyjiv but throughout the Ukraine. In his memoirs — *Zapiski o grazhdanskoy voynye*, Vol. 3 — Antonov-Ovsienko recorded that "We sent all our

revolutionary committees under Petlyura's banners". — Petro Soluha: *Perfidious deal with Moscow against Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky*. p. 144). They pledged themselves to recognize the order that would be instituted by the new Ukrainian government and to refrain from interfering in any way in the internal affairs of the Ukrainian Independent People's Republic. On our part we promised to legalize the Communist party in Ukraine". (V. Vynnychenko: *Vidrodzhennya Natsiyi*, Vol. III, Vienna, 1920, pp. 158-159, also V. Vynnychenko: "Hebrew question in Ukraine", an article in *Nova Ukraina* journal, Prague, 1923, Vol. 7-8, pp. 22-23. As well, see: V. Mazurenko. *Chernaya Knyha*, 1925, p. 277).

In his book *Rik na Velykiy Ukraini* Dr. O. Nazaruk asserts (p. 7) that insurrection preparations were completed on November 5. (Dr. Osyp Nazaruk was one of the plotters. Disillusioned, he renounced his former associations and in 1924 initiated the Hetman Movement on the North American continent).

Former Central Rada minister Mykyta Shapoval confirmed that the insurrection had nothing to do with the declaration concerning federation. "The main thing was that Petlyura agreed totally that the program of the revolution (insurrection) should be that of a *social revolution*. (Emphasis by Shapoval). When subsequently items appear in the press saying that the Hetman proclaimed a federation and for that reason Petlyura launched his insurrection, we only smile to ourselves and muse: this is how history is written! But actually things were done quite differently". (This is exactly how the leftist historians wrote and continue writing (distorting) their "histories" about the insurrection. — D.M.E.). (M. Shapoval. *Lyakhomania*, p. 222, and *Revolutsiya i ukrainska vyzvolna propahanda*, pp. 120 and 123).

At a conference on January 28, 1919, Shapoval's Socialist-Revolutionary party passed a resolution stating

that "the party is adopting the principle of socialist revolution and adopts the soviet form of government in Ukraine".

Insurrection was planned even before the Hetman assumed power

"Members of the Central Rada presidium headed by M. Hrushevsky together with some members of the government met April 27 in the Sichovi Striltsi barracks where continuous deliberations were going on. They met again the next day to make firm decisions. Present at this confabulation were: M. Hrushevsky, Mykola Shrah, Mykola Chechel, Arkady Stepanenko, Mykola Porsh, Evhen Konovalets, Simon Petlyura, Mykola Kovalevsky and, if I am not mistaken, Andriy Melnyk as well as members of the central committees of our political parties. The meeting decided to get ready for the insurrection". (Kovalevsky: *Pry dzherelakh borotby*, 1960, pp. 485-487).

The reader is reminded that the Hetman assumed power April 29. "On Saturday, August 31, Sir Hetman received a delegation from the Sichovi Striltsi in the persons of colonel Konovalets, officers Kuchabsky, Matchak and Melnyk. Through these officers the Sichovi Striltsi made a solemn declaration before the Hetman that they all were ready to serve the Ukrainian State unstintingly, without sparing themselves, emphasizing that they all were fully conscious of the responsibilities they were now assuming, that they would fulfill their task loyally and would never betray the faith placed in them". (*Visnyk*, No. 37, p. 520, also: D. Doroshenko, *History of Ukraine*. Vol. II (English edition), p. 305).

So much for the honesty, integrity and loyalty of "colonel" Konovalets and his comrades.

Sichovi Striltsi joined the wreckers of the Ukrainian State

"At a conference on October 30, 1918, attended by Vynnychenko, M. Shapoval and Gen. Osetsky, Sichovi

Striltsi representatives, A. Melnyk and F. Chernyk gave their final consent to participate in the insurrection. It could be said that as of that date the Sichovi Striltsi were on a war footing with the Hetman. Actual preparations for the insurrection had been going on almost since the end of September. A month before their superiors' final decision to join the insurgents was made, a detachment command sent out officers into various parts of Ukraine to recruit rebels and direct them to Bila Tserkva as quickly as possible. Thus Ensign Kyrylo Kushniryk was given this task exclusively, and in September he travelled throughout the Volyn, Poltava and Kyjiv areas. In October he again travelled with instructions not only to recruit volunteers for the Sichovi Striltsi but also to make contact with insurrectionist otamans in southern Kyjivschyna. In mid-November Lt. Dumin was sent on a similar errand into the Katerynoslav region". (A. Krezub. *Literaturno Naukovy Visnyk*, bk. II, 1928, pp. 225-318).

A mini dictator

"During the Directory period Evhen Konovalets wielded a tremendous influence over chief otaman Simon Petlyura and was one of the central figures in the group we referred to as military. In the Directorate setting, Col. Evhen Konovalets and the so-called Striletska (Riflemen's) Council, which he directed, held a special position of power. As soon as the Directory entered Kyjiv the chief Otaman and his staff settled in Hotel Continental. Col. Evhen Konovalets and his staff were accommodated in the same hotel. Because the influence of the chief Otaman (Petlyura) and Col. Konovalets on the Ukrainian policies during the post-Hetman period was overwhelming, Hotel Continental became a sort of a symbol of political activities of that time. Formal decisions were made at the Directory meetings in the mini-palace on Instytutska street. But in truth, all actual problems were resolved by a small, select circle of our

generals (polkovodtsi) in the halls of the Continental". (M. Kovalevsky. *Pry dzherelakh borotby*, 1960, pp. 527-542).

Striving to attain his short-lived position of power and glory, Konovalets betrayed the Hetman and the Ukrainian State which, only a few weeks before, he had promised faithfully to serve and defend.

A Communist assassin propelled Konovalets into the realm of immaculate heroes . . .

Phony otamans

Evhen Konovalets was a spurious colonel. The Central Rada People's Republic, following the example of their Lenin-Moscow tutors, abolished all military ranks. They were restored in June, 1918, during the Hetman regime — only to be abolished again by the Directorian People's Republic. Every commander of a large formation was called otaman — with an indication of his position, e.g. regimental otaman, not colonel. In those sad days otamans multiplied like rabbits. It was the rage. This phenomenon contributed to the ruination of Ukrainian statehood. Any sergeant-swindler could become "otaman" and hold himself on a par with a genuine general staff general. "Otamans"-radicals were Evhen Konovalets, Andriy Melnyk and other similar types. The super-chief "otaman" was a civilian, Socialist-Democrat Simon Petlyura.

The Sichovi Striltsi (not to be confused with the Ukrainian Sichovi Striltsi) were a military organization composed of Ukrainians, former Austrian soldiers, held as war prisoners who were released after the Russian revolution and allowed to return home. This was impossible at the time because of the war front. Hence the Halychane (and a few Bukowinians), upon being released from the prison camps, formed a separate military body to serve the Central Rada. Evhen Konovalets, a second sergeant in the Austrian army, taken prisoner in 1914, became commander of this military component and was called

“otaman”. In 1920 the Directorian People’s Republic restored all military ranks.

Konovalets was ready to join the Bolsheviks

Evhen Konovalets, the power behind the “High Directory”, was a shifty opportunist. His principles and strength of character were revealed during the Sichovi Striltsi deliberations in Kozyatyn February 21, 1919, following their withdrawal from Khvastov; Konovalets told his men: “We have certain reservations towards the right, but we have none towards the left. If we knew that Bolshevism will master all of Europe we would immediately join the Bolsheviks”. (Mazepa. *Ukraina v ohni i buri revolyutsiyi*, No. I, pp. 108-109).

“E. Konovalets and the then inspector of the SS (Sichovi Striltsi) group signed an appeal in Proskuriv, directed to the Bolsheviks, stating that they recognize the soviet government in Ukraine”. (Volodymyr Kedrovsky, inspector-general of the Republican Army, Socialist-Revolutionary, a colonel. *Dvi viyskovykh orhanizatsiy*, *Ukrainian Voice*, Winnipeg, December 13, 1939).

Evhen Konovalets



The valiant Hetman

In reflecting upon the final days of the Ukrainian State one cannot help but marvel at Hetman Skoropadsky's sagacity, courage and high sense of duty and responsibility. In the face of calamitous circumstances he did not abandon the helm of the nation but tried desperately to save the state and guide it towards safety and security. The world around him was falling apart. Austria-Hungary and Germany, gripped by revolution, capitulated. Austria-Hungary ceased to exist as a state. The German monarchy fell — the kaiser abdicated. The allies ceased to be allies. Leftists took control of their forces. They threw their support behind the Directory and forbade its arrest. The "indivisible" Russia was pressing hard from within the state through some members of the cabinet and through the Russians who, thanks to (the revolutionary) German support, gained strength. An ill wind blew from the international forum where the Western Allies' "indivisible Russia" was setting up Denikin to unite Russia. And inside his own state his own people were rising in rebellion, manipulated from abroad by Bolshevik Russia.

Over the waves of the turbulent political sea the Hetman valiantly steered his ship of state.

On November 12 he sent Col. Blavatny to Sichovi Striltsi whose delegates, headed by Konovalets, assured the Hetman of their loyal support, declaring that "Sichovi Striltsi stand firmly on the platform of Ukrainian statehood and will fight anyone trying to destroy it". Nevertheless, Col. Blavatny came back with empty hands.

Treacherous Konovalets

Finally, the Hetman once again tried to talk to Sichovi Striltsi about their support and on November 14 invited Konovalets to discuss the matter. In this dark, fateful hour when Ukraine's independence was hanging in the balance,

“Colonel” Konovalets (to his eternal shame!) refused to help the Ukrainian Hetman (the Ukrainian State!) against the Muscovites! Instead, he and his Sichovi Striltsi treacherously launched and spearheaded an insurrection against their Hetman, against their own State! This was the moment Lenin was waiting for — to unleash his forces. Ukraine’s independence, which could have been saved, was doomed. The consequences, thanks to Konovalets, were tragic: fratricidal bloodshed, untold suffering, Siberian slave camps, enslavement of Ukraine . . . (For detailed facts concerning the involvement of Evhen Konovalets and his Sichovi Striltsi in the conspiracy against the Ukrainian State see: *Perfidious deal with Moscow against Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky*, authored by Petro Soluha and published in 1973).

Germany instilled Ukrainian national consciousness — Central Rada instilled Socialism

The presence of German troops on the Ukrainian soil was explained by some Central Rada leaders who invited the Germans to repel the Bolshevik onslaught.

The foremost leader, M. Hrushevsky, gave the following account:

“For a long time there has been a desire in the German political circles that Ukraine be separated from Russia and become a strong, independent state. During the war the German government provided instructors to educate their Ukrainian prisoners of war, to impress national consciousness upon their minds and qualify them for the formation of Ukrainian regiments that would, after the war, guard Ukrainian independence. This was done without

prior consultation with or the approval of the Ukrainian political leaders because they stood for peaceful settlement of the Ukrainian question in Russia. The Germans, on the other hand, thought that the Ukrainian question would not be settled peacefully, — and time proved them to be right. (What a paradox! The German government, wishing Ukraine to be a strong independent state, is instilling national consciousness into Ukrainian minds and training Ukrainian men to defend their independence while the Ukrainian Central Rada socialist government is preaching demobilization of the army and federation with Russia! The socialists are still maligning the Germans for their part in helping the independent Ukrainian State. — D.M.E.).

“Neither the cadets and ‘Octoberites’ who ruled Russia during the first months of the revolution, nor Kerensky’s Russian Socialist-Revolutionaries wanted to grant Ukraine any rights; they did not wish to go straightforward along the road towards the federation which the Ukrainians urged and were striving for. And after the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia they wanted to smother by force our Ukrainian freedom, they wanted to destroy the Central Rada and subjugate Ukraine once again; they started a war with us and launched an attack on Kyjiv to prevent us from concluding peace with Germany and Austria.

“Then the Ukrainian government was obliged to think of those regiments that were being formed amongst the Ukrainian war prisoners in Germany. We felt that with the aid of these regiments, together with the Sichovi Striltsi we hoped to get from Halychyna, we would be able to get by with our existing forces. We learned, however, that the regiments from Germany would not arrive for about a month and that Austria was unwilling to release the Striltsi. At first, under the pressure of public opinion, Austria refused all help. Thus it became urgent that the Bolsheviks be

driven out from Ukraine so that order might be restored and spring work in the fields might not suffer.

"And so our government saw itself compelled to accept German help. Germany, wishing to see Ukraine stand on her own feet as quickly as possible, offered help at the outset without asking anything in return. Immediately after the agreement was signed our government asked the German government to send its troops to Ukraine, and within the next few days, early in February (old calendar), the troops arrived.

"It is to Germany's advantage that Ukraine be independent and strong and she is helping us in this regard. Germans are in need of their army themselves and, therefore, their regiments will remain only as long as they are needed by our government to mop up the Ukrainian territory. German troops have been ordered not to rob or commit other offences against the Ukrainian populace because the German government wants sincerely friendly relations to prevail between Ukraine and Germany so that the Ukrainian people will see the Germans as their friends".

Defender of Russia

Petlyura — Central Rada secretary for military affairs. His entire work boiled down to saving Russia. He appealed to the Ukrainianized army corps to stop the Germans from coming upon our soil; the army responded by going into a spirited attack under the yellow and blue banners. Tens of thousands were killed. "Battalions for the saving of Ukraine" were sent to the front against the Germans to help Russia.

The Polubotkivites, who sought to give full power to the Central Rada, were disarmed and transported to the front to defend Russia. All this weighed heavily on Petlyura's conscience because he had been aiding our eternal enemy.

Petlyura and Konovalts are responsible for the "nation-wide" insurrection which destroyed the state and the people. They are also responsible for Motovylyvka where 2000 from both sides lost their lives, where wounded Serdyuks were cruelly finished off. As well, they are responsible for hunting down officers that served in the Ukrainian army during the Hetman regime. (Victor Vakulovsky).

Petlyura was prepared to federate

After an audience with Simon Petlyura, Gen. Omelyanovych-Pavlenko, head of the U.P.R. (Ukrainian People's Republic) mission to the "Military Command of the Volunteer Army" (Denikin's), wrote, in part, as follows:

" . . . I gathered my courage and asked the Chief Otaman: "And what if they put it bluntly — federation first and military agreement after?" Petlyura fell into a deep thought, then I heard him mutter as if to himself: "Well, what kind of federation . . . " — then he seemed to have fallen into a deep reverie, and I, as if in some oppressive artificial haze, realizing that a very sensitive nerve has been touched, backed out, bowed and departed". Roman

Mlynovetsky. *History of the Ukrainian People*. Munich, 1973, p. 6 — 7. (Mlynovetsky was very hostile towards the Hetman and the hetmancy).

The “heroic” Petlyura instead of instantly reacting with: “We’ll fight to the finish!”, went into a conference with himself to determine what kind of federation with the Muscovites might be acceptable to him. His and his gullible glorifiers’ claim that he rose against the Hetman because of federation is a barefaced fraud.

National or Social Revolution?

The following is part of a statement concerning the position of the Hetman Movement with regard to the first World Congress of Free Ukrainians in 1967. Time will never erode the truth expressed therein.

Definition of the character of the 1917 revolution in Ukraine.

The Fourth Plenary Session of the Hetman Movement Council draws attention of the entire Ukrainian Community throughout the world to the fact that today, on the 50th anniversary of the revolution in Ukraine, there exists no common definition of its character to satisfy the whole community, no proper evaluation based on the truth and historical facts, no scientific analysis or objective characterization of the revolution in 1917.

Thus today's adherents of the UPR (Ukrainian People's Republic), are obtrusively propagating the idea that, contrary to historical facts, Ukraine saw a *Great Ukrainian National Revolution* in 1917.

The Leadership of the Ukrainian Nationalist Organization's Units Abroad is trying equally hard to persuade everyone that the year 1917 marked the beginning of the *Ukrainian Liberation Revolution*, which is still continuing.

The Leadership of the Ukrainian Nationalists in defining the 1917 revolution in Ukraine echoes the UPR formula: *Ukrainian National Revolution*, only dropping the adjective "Great".

The Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council defines the 1917 revolution as the *Ukrainian Revolution*, omitting the epithet "National", given by the Leadership of the Ukrainian Nationalists.

The very presence of these varied concepts regarding the character of the 1917 revolution in Ukraine testifies to the fact that a true, objective evaluation of the revolution, consistent with historical facts, has not yet been found. But it exists somewhere. It only has to be freed from the stratum of subjectivity and the partisan conclusions of the seekers.

However, despite the obvious inadequacy and subjectivity of the above-mentioned evaluations, the definition of the UPR adherents gained the greatest publicity and acceptance in the Ukrainian emigrant community. It has been accepted by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, the Canadian Ukrainian Committee, and to a great extent by the community organizations and the press which so injudiciously but assiduously promoted the misguided anti-historical formula of the Great Ukrainian National Revolution, relating it to the Central Rada period in 1917.

And yet this very formula contains one of the greatest historical untruths, which ought to be exposed and rejected.

With full awareness of our responsibility to the Ukrainian people and the Ukrainian history we, the Fourth Plenary Session of the Hetman Movement Council, affirm that in February, 1917 an empire-wide anti-czarist general All-Russian revolution rolled automatically across Ukraine, with partial Ukrainian participation, and that during the short period of its cadet-"oktyabrist" direction it turned into an All-Russian democratic-bourgeois revolution led by the so-called united All-Russian front of revolutionary democracy, towards which the various Ukrainian political forces adopted varied positions.

The indigenous Ukrainian national forces, conscious of their origin and political aims, bound by the historical traditions and the spirit of the Ukrainian Land, immediately favoured directing the revolution in Ukraine towards the Ukrainian national-political ideals by severing the general imperial ties and connections.

The validity of this view is substantial by the historical fact that throughout Ukraine military formations sprang into being spontaneously and were named after the "righteous" hetmans, that military clubs and associations were formed, that the Free Kozak detachments were growing rapidly, that military, peasants' (khlaborobski), teachers' and other congresses were convoked, and that the great national manifestations consistently underscored the separateness of Ukrainian spiritual-cultural, national and political characteristics which revealed the unmistakable independent manifestation of Ukrainian patriotism.

However, the Ukrainian and national minorities' socialist parties, the Bolsheviks and all internationally-minded elements organized by the Ukrainian Central Rada joined forces to crush any and all expressions of Ukrainian patriotism and independence, branding such manifestation, in accordance with their party dictates, as an undesirable

emergence of the outmoded historical bourgeois-class relics, the lingering remainder of the Ukrainian nobility.

The socialist parties of Ukrainian origin immediately joined in a common front with the All-Russian revolutionary democracy and, as avowed proponents of internationalist ideas, ceaselessly strove to lead Ukraine into the whirl of socialist revolution by stepping up the class struggle in Ukraine and maintaining as indispensable its state-imperial ties with Russia, as a broader international power, considering Ukraine to be a self-organized part of general-imperial Russia with a uniform revolutionary-socialist government, thus preventing a coalition of revolutionary democracy neither aimed at nor worked towards the realization of a national revolution, hence not only in 1917 but throughout the whole period of our liberation efforts it remained in permanent conflict with the national revolutionary viewpoint. Ukrainian revolutionary democracy not only ignored those who stood for national revolution but made them an object of class hatred, placed them on the enemy side of the barricades and portrayed them as counter-revolutionaries. The fact that the Central Rada was the antithesis of national forces in Ukraine is convincingly corroborated by the popular Ukrainian patriot and highly merited; public leader Yevhen Chykalenko, who noted in his memoirs: "When the 1917 revolution came, I, as a bourgeois, or even a feudal lord, was denied the opportunity to participate in the building of the Ukrainian State". (*Memoirs* (1861-1907), No. 1, Lviv, 1925. *Preface*, pp. 3-4). This statement speaks for itself and comment is not needed.

The Fourth Plenary Session of the Hetman Movement Council affirms the thesis that the Central Rada in Ukraine had been an organ and a child of socialist, not national revolution.

This thesis is proven by 1) its personal composition, 2) the concepts and program postulates of the socialist parties

which were its basic component and its driving force and 3) the results of its activities during the year 1917.

According to the well known Ukrainian public figure, A. Zhuk, in January, 1918, the Central Rada was composed of 792 deputies. There were 20 bourgeois deputies, or approximately 2.5% of the total number of deputies representing the revolutionary democracy. This data was corroborated many times by V. Vynnychenko, D. Doroshenko, P. Khrystyuk, and others. It is incontrovertible.

In its reply to the Council (Soviet) of People's Commissars' ultimatum of December 4, 1917, the General Secretariat (of the Central Rada) explained the social nature of the Central Rada in this manner: "The Ukrainian democracy represented by the Ukrainian councils (soviets) of soldiers', workers' and peasants' deputies, which have been organized into a legislative organ of Central Rada and into a government, the General Secretariat, is totally satisfied with the composition of these bodies as well as with the realization of their will." Reporting on the composition of the Central Rada to its 8th session on December 26, 1917, the head of the General Secretariat declared that "Central Rada is composed of socialist elements who are striving to bring about a socialist order in Ukraine". (D. Doroshenko. *History of Ukraine, 1917-23*, Vol. 1, p. 230).

The plan to establish a socialist order in Ukraine included a resolution passed at the above-mentioned 8th Central Rada session calling for a new land act, the principal feature of which was the acceptance of the "principle of total abolition of land ownership and the socialization of land in accordance with the Central Rada resolution passed at its 7th session". (*Ibid.* p. 250).

Regarding the social nature of the Central Rada we find the following in its Fourth Universal: "... we, the Ukrainian Central Rada, chosen by the peasants', workers' and soldiers' congresses in Ukraine ... we, the Ukrainian

Central Rada, representative of the working people — the peasants, the workers, the soldiers . . . ”

And the *Robitnycha Hazeta* (*Labour Gazette*), No. 178, of November, 1917, argued that the Central Rada was nothing else but the Rada (Soviet) of the peasants', soldiers' and workers' deputies, and there was no valid reason to re-elect it because out of 792 members only 20 represented the bourgeois' democracy while the rest were representatives of the revolutionary-socialist organizations. The paper asserted that the Central Rada could in no way be considered as a "bourgeois" institution. (*Ibid.* pp. 175-176).

The fact that Central Rada was the vehicle and the driving force of the socialist revolution is attested to by a direct quotation from the head of the General Secretariat Vynnychenko who, while emphasizing that the Russian democracy viewed the revolution as a bourgeois effort, claimed that an "overwhelming majority in the Central Rada saw the revolution as socialist and believed in its development in that direction only". (V. Vynnychenko. *Vidrodzhennya Natsiyi*, Vol. II, p. 31).

To further the intensification of socialist revolution, the Central Rada directed a demand to the All-Russian Conference, called by the Provisional Government at the end of August, 1917, urging "the establishment of a homogeneous revolutionary and socialist Russian government" embracing radicals from the Bolsheviks to the people's socialists, and patterned after the Central Rada socialist government. (*Ibid.* p. 33).

The true purpose and direction of socialist revolution in Ukraine was bluntly revealed by the Ukrainian Socialist-Revolutionary party leader and Central Rada minister, Mykyta Shapoval, who stated, literally: "Our ideal is Communism — the maximum program, a realistic program of the revolution — socialism". (M. Shapoval. *Revolutionary Socialism in Ukraine*, p. 180).

Reflecting the contemporary reality was the widely circulated slogan attributed, probably not without reason, to the Central Rada minister B. Martos: "If Ukraine is not to be socialist — there needn't be any at all".

Loyally conforming to the socialist course of the revolution in Ukraine, the above-mentioned B. Martos agreed at the Ukrainian Socialist-Democratic party convention in October, 1917 that Ukrainian social-democracy, as an internationalist party, should strive towards international goals. During a debate with M. Porsh, Martos queried: "Would independence not hurt the interests of the proletariat? When can socialism be established more quickly: when Europe is divided into many states, or when there are only a few states?"

In his speech delivered at the II Congress of the Ukrainian Social-Democratic party of Halychyna in Lviv, Simon Petlyura explained the aims and the program of the party, drawn up in 1905, in the following words: "... the party must, by word of mouth and through the printed word, fight against the growth of chauvinism and bring to the masses a true understanding of the national idea. The party must explain that this idea could be made to work in the interests of the working masses only under a socialist system, that national oppression, as one of the manifestations of bourgeois rule, can be ended by ending the capitalist conditions, and, therefore, the masses should be inflamed and roused to fight the representatives of capitalism, the ruling classes of society, in the name of socialism, as a higher form of life which eliminates every kind of oppression, including the national form of oppression". (Simon Petlyura. *Articles, letters, documents*. Publ. by Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences in New York, 1956, p. 208).

The real aim of the socialist-internationalist revolution in Ukraine was explained most succinctly by M. Hrushevsky who, in October, 1920, wrote the following in

the Vienna edition of *Boritiesya-Poborete*: "Whatever shortcomings there may be in the Bolshevik policy concerning Ukrainian matters, we should always remember that we still can expect to reach an understanding with them, as a party, sooner than with any other kind of Russian government".

In a speech following the adoption of the Fourth Universal, Vynnychenko admitted that "Ukrainian democracy, by pursuing the socialist course, has made itself a lot of enemies . . .", and at the same time expressed a wish "that this Universal may become a firm foundation under our structure of socialism. This, I am sure, is the earnest desire of all the parties and factions that are present here. I am convinced that the basis of this Universal will lead us to a federation of socialist republics of the whole world". At this point, records a historian, Vynnychenko received a tremendous ovation". (D. Doroshenko. *History of Ukraine, 1917-1923*, Vol. I, p. 269).

The great ovation Vynnychenko received shows clearly that he had expressed the general feeling of the whole Central Rada body.

The foregoing examples alone bear witness to the indisputable fact that the dominant ideology of the Central Rada chieftains in 1917 was the socialist-internationalist ideal and that practically all of them, tied to the socialist umbilical cord, were unable to break away from it — hence they were incapable of giving other than a socialist direction to the revolution in Ukraine.

The current attempt to define the 1917 revolution in Ukraine as the Great Ukrainian National Revolution is an outrageously cynical profanation of our national ideals. The surviving "heroes" of those days invented the false definition of the revolution in order to conceal the artificiality of their contradictory pose against the Bolsheviks who will also be celebrating this year and at the same time the 50th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Ukraine.

Anxious to escape being judged by history as promoters, together with the Bolsheviks, of a socialist revolution in Ukraine, these "heroes" are bending the definition of the 1917 revolution in order to whiten their image and make sure that in the future they will be thought of as knightly defenders of national ideals. That is why they are creating, in unison with the Bolsheviks, a cock-and-bull story.

The story about the way the Ukrainian internationalists were creating in 1917 the Great Ukrainian National Revolution may find a market only in today's Soviet Socialist Ukraine where the Bolsheviks to be contradistinctive, disdainfully refer to them as bourgeois nationalists. In the Free World, however, this story will not be accepted on faith because no rational person is prepared to believe that an internationalist could at the same time be a political hermaphrodite, i.e. a bourgeois nationalist.

The true colors of the former Central Rada leaders could easily be recognized by the results of their activities in 1917, especially with regard to the incomplete election to the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly late in 1917. The results were literally frightening: out of the 172 elected deputies (the total number was to be 301) — 116 were socialist-revolutionaries and leftists, 34 Bolsheviks, 9 Zionists, 1 "Bund" adherent, 5 Poles, 1 social-democrat, 1 farm owner (khlíborob — vlasnyk) and 4 others. (D. Doroshenko. *History of Ukraine 1917 - 1923*, Vol. II, p. 6).

The socialist structure of Ukraine, promoted by the Central Rada socialist parties, became a reality. The backbone, the very foundation of national Ukraine — its productive peasantry — was represented by only one farmer-owner deputy (out of 172 delegates !). The Central Rada chieftains thus paralyzed the life of the Ukrainian national organism and frustrated the evolutionary formation of the Ukrainian spirituality. The 150 socialist revolutionaries in the 172-member Ukrainian Constituent

Assembly is an eloquent and irrefutable document, written by the Ukrainian socialists themselves, which exposes their activities in 1917. It reveals their spiritual and political achievements in 1917 which are equivalent to the death of national Ukraine. It is a document that crowns the activities of the creators of socialist revolution in Ukraine in 1917 — creators who today are hypocritically posing as “heroes” of the Great Ukrainian National Revolution.

Regarding the role and the meaning of the national problem.

The Fourth Plenary Session of the Hetman Movement Council categorically asserts that international consciousness of the Ukrainian revolutionary-socialistic democracy decidedly dominated over the national consciousness. This international consciousness flowed through the channel of the fourth estate ideology according to which national liberation comes not as an independent imperative but as a function of social liberation. The Ukrainian socialist-internationalists underestimated the importance of the national question and subordinated it, as did the Bolsheviks, to the social problem which they considered to be basic, dominant and decisive. The promoters of historical events in 1917 in Ukraine, upon being captivated by the social ideals of the fourth estate, broke off with all

three previous estates of society and thereby negated the national ideals of their Fatherland. At its second constitutive congress the Ukrainian Socialist-Democratic Revolutionary party — the principal and the leading Central Rada party — had already firmly renounced the national democracy, dubbing it (for greater effect, by the then fashionable derogatory term) "bourgeoisie". In this respect the congress resolves: "1. To expose in the most energetic manner the class basis of bourgeois (meaning: national) democracy generally and Ukrainian bourgeoisie in particular. 2. To refrain from forming any permanent unions or blocs with the bourgeois-democratic parties".

To underscore more emphatically its class-proletarian nature as against the national democracy, the Ukrainian Socialist-Democratic Revolutionary party added the following aims to its basic tasks: "to elucidate the contrariety of class interests, to fight the nationalistic tendencies in every nation, to develop class self-consciousness". (Ravych-Cherkasky. *Revolution and the CP(b)U, materials and documents. Khrystomatia*, Vol. I, 1926, pp. 319, 320).

Clearly, then, the U.S.D.R. party was guided not by the national ideal but by international class self-consciousness which was the basis of all political aspirations of "our native" ("ridnenkoyi") democracy. This is the basis for our assertion that international consciousness of the Ukrainian socialist-revolutionary democracy — the promoters of Central Rada — definitely dominated over the national consciousness, and that the said revolutionary democracy considered the national question to be but a social concern. This last thesis was also advanced, as we have already noted, by Simon Petlyura who declared that "the party must, be word of mouth and through the printed word, fight against the growth of chauvinism and bring to the masses a true understanding of the national idea", that is to say that the national idea is but

a function of the social idea. "The party" — continued Petlyura — "must explain that this (national) idea could be made to work in the interests of the working masses only under a socialist system", i.e. that the national question is secondary, that it is dependent upon the social question and constitutes its function, and that it could be realized "only under a socialist system". It is clear, then, that international-socialist, not national, consciousness dominated Petlyura's mind. "The national oppression", — concluded Petlyura — "as one of the manifestations of bourgeois rule, can be ended by ending the capitalist conditions, and, therefore, the masses should be inflamed and called upon to fight the representatives of capitalism, the ruling classes of society, in the name of socialism, as a higher form of life which eliminates every kind of oppression, including the national form of oppression".

Thus S. Petlyura emphasized time and again that national oppression will disappear as a result of class struggle under socialism, "the higher form of life". This means that the national idea is subordinate to the idea of class struggle. It is with these ideas that leaders of the socialist parties in Ukraine threw themselves headlong into the maelstrom of revolution in 1917. These ideas, firmly held by the Central Rada chieftains (and S. Petlyura allegedly was one of the more moderate leaders with respect to national demands), determined the direction of the 1917 revolution in Ukraine which these chieftains headed and led on the road to socialism.

The postulation that solving the national question is the function of the social or class struggle deserves to be carefully noted because it is entirely Bolshevik. This postulate received the greatest attention from Josef Stalin. M. Skrypnyk, a Bolshevik, paid with his life for it. This is the very postulate that Skrypnyk opposed, arguing that the national question was important enough on its own and that it was wrong to treat it merely as a function of class

struggle. True, Skrypnyk opposed the falsehood of this postulation in a covert manner, hiding behind a mask of Aesopean language, but it is significant that even Bolshevik Skrypnyk comprehended the heresy of that postulate. This circumstance elevates Skrypnyk with respect to national ideals above the many claimants to heroism in social mimicry today.

Regarding the thesis that in 1917 there was a national-liberative, not inter-class struggle in Ukraine.

The above thesis has been written even into the draft of the First Manifesto of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians directed to the Ukrainian people.

The Fourth Plenary Session of the Hetman Movement Council categorically and with full responsibility declares that this thesis is a logical blunder which flows out of the basic erroneous assertion which assumes that a Great Ukrainian National Revolution erupted March 17, 1917.

Once the basic affirmation is shown to be anti-historical and false, then the thesis flowing out of it becomes anti-historical and false. The truth is that the promoters of class struggle in Ukraine in 1917, besides the Bolsheviks, were the principal Central Rada socialist par-

ties which considered the class struggle to be the alpha and omega of their activities. The class struggle concept was basic to the socialist creed. It suited the proletarianized lower strata of Ukraine which made the national forces of the Fatherland — the staid peasantry, the descendants of kozak officers, the prosperous sections of productive urban dwellers, the clergy, the higher cultured strata of the population — an object of derision and persecution, having branded them as counter-revolutionaries and put them on the enemy side of the fence. And the latter were, in fact, the only forces guided by the idea of national-liberatory struggle. Chaotic conditions in the city and the village kept spreading as a result of the promotion of class struggle — which in the language of the socialist pushers of the revolution meant “deepening of the class self-consciousness of the masses”. This was demanded in the program of the socialists-internationalists, whose aim was to break the Ukrainian national backbone through class struggle. One of the vehicles aiding the achievement of this goal was the “Ukrainian Peasants’ Union”, which was characterized by the historian of the revolution and the Central Rada luminary, P. Khrystyuk, as follows: “It is self-evident that the peasantry was being organized not on the national-political but on socio-economic, class-professional basis”. (P. Khrystyuk. *History of the Ukrainian Revolution*, Vol. I, Vienna, 1921, p. 42).

Throughout the year 1917 the entire so-called Ukrainian revolutionary democracy never abandoned its class struggle position. As the head of the General Secretariat Vynnychenko declared on July 2, 1917: “The Ukrainian bourgeoisie will assuredly come and within a few months it will probably wish to take its place in the Ukrainian movement. Then the Ukrainian democracy, jointly with all of democracy, will fight against the bourgeoisie”. (D. Doroshenko. *History of Ukraine 1917-1923*, Vo. I, p. 100).

It is abundantly clear that Vynnychenko's guiding star was class struggle, not national interest. In September, 1917, his collaborator Mykyta Shapoval declared: "We have nothing to fear from civil war" (*Ibid.* p. 155), thereby expressing his approval of the civil conflict which already had been spreading throughout Ukraine and bringing an epidemic of mob rule and uncontrollable anarchy.

In November, 1917, *Borotba*, organ of the Ukrainian socialist-revolutionaries, dealt with the objectives their party hoped to achieve through class struggle. It told the world that Ukrainian socialist-revolutionaries "never visualized the idea of Ukrainian statehood nor statehood generally as a self-sufficing idea taking precedence over all else". (*Ibid.* p. 187). Socialist-revolutionaries believed that class struggle led to the solution of all questions, including national.

It is worth noting that even the argumentation favouring the acceptance, for tactical reasons, of the independence postulate came out of the expectation that it would intensify the class struggle. And so the *Robitnycha Hazeta*, No. 222, January 19, 1918, argued that only in an independent state "can class struggle develop to the fullest extent and its success be best assured". (*Ibid.* p. 262).

It is precisely because of their common class struggle concept that the Ukrainian revolutionary democracy was able to compete with the Bolsheviks for leadership in the revolution in Ukraine.

Contemporary UPR (Ukrainian People's Republic) partisans are deceptively propagating the fanciful idea that in 1917 they were waging a national, not an inter-class struggle in Ukraine. They are desperately trying to implant this idea into the domain of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians and make themselves appear to be opposed to the Bolsheviks with whom they have a common social nature and a common international viewpoint.

The thesis regarding the restoration of Ukrainian statehood in 1917.

The Fourth Plenary Session of the Hetman Movement Council categorically asserts that the above thesis does not coincide with the historical truth and that it distorts and colours the historical facts and events.

This thesis cannot pass a critical examination; it even contradicts the laws of simple logic. The term "restoration" necessarily connotes a relationship of the restored statehood to the previous statehood together with a continuity which manifests itself in identical historical traditions, the same state structure, a similar social order as well as a similar economic and spiritual basis of the nation. To talk about this relationship in terms of a historical continuity between the previously lost Hetman-Kozak statehood and the newly emerged Ukrainian People's Republic in 1917 is contrary to elementary logic and reason.

The Ukrainian People's Republic adherents themselves do not recognize — even deny — the suggestion that such continuity ever existed. Hence, it is the height of absurdity to say that the creators of the Ukrainian People's Republic — this child of the internationally motivated socialist activists of Ukraine in 1917 — were restoring the former (Hetman-Kozak) statehood.

Therefore the proposition that Ukrainian statehood was restored in 1917 is totally false. The creators of the Ukrainian People's Republic have no right to use the term "restoration", either from the standpoint of historical tradition or because of the social nature of the driving force behind their republic, or because of its aims and objectives determined from outside of the nation, or because of its projection of a class, not a national state, nor its projection of cosmopolitanism and internationalism.

The Fourth Plenary Session of the Hetman Movement Council also categorically denies the allegation that in 1917 there had been created a Ukrainian national state, because the creators of the Ukrainian People's Republic provided no grounds whatsoever to support such an allegation. References to the embellished (but devoid of substance) words and phrases of the Central Rada Universals are nothing but a screen to conceal the socialist-internationalist ideals and intentions inherent in the creators of the UPR. Today, the UPR adherents are trying to sell the indefensible idea that the First Central Rada Universal constituted the initial stage in the creation of the Ukrainian state. Nothing could be farther from the truth.

The truth is that neither the First nor the Second Universal actually proclaimed the Ukrainian autonomy; they merely declared it. What's more, the Second Universal informed the people of Ukraine that the Central Rada "is decidedly opposed to a unilateral realization of Ukrainian autonomy before the convocation of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly".

Besides, every legal mind is aware of the fact that autonomy is not a state status; autonomy is but one of the concrete forms of a bond, of union, not a break with the "metropolia" (dominant country). In the case of autonomy of the Dnieper Ukraine in 1917, this meant a certain form of union with greater Russia. The Central Rada General Secretariat was not at all an organ of a higher authority in Ukraine; according to the Second Universal, the Secretariat was subject to confirmation by the Russian Provisional government "as the bearer of the highest territorial authority of the Provisional government in Ukraine".

The role of the Central Rada, according to the Second Universal, was merely to prepare laws relating to autonomous order in Ukraine for submission to the (Russian) "Constituent Assembly" for approval.

These were the limits of its legal competence. The last paragraph of the Second Universal read: “. . . the Ukrainian democracy, which has entrusted its will to us, together with the revolutionary democracy of the whole of Russia and its revolutionary Government, will make every effort to lead the whole state, and particularly Ukraine, to a complete triumph of the revolution.” It is abundantly clear that the Second Universal treated Russia, not Ukraine, as a state and recognized the Provisional Russian government, not the Central Rada or its General Secretariat, as being the authority in Ukraine.

As well, the very first clause in the Temporary Instructions directed to the Central Rada General Secretariat by the Russian Provisional government, defining the legal competence of the General Secretariat, treats the Secretariat as an organ of the Provisional government restricted to dealing only with local matters.

Clause IV of the Temporary Instructions, totally accepted by the Central Rada, delineates even more explicitly the rights and duties of the General Secretariat, to wit: “The General Secretariat examines and submits to the Provisional government for approval projects pertaining to the life of the country and to its administration. Prior to their submission to the Provisional government, these projects may be referred to the Mala Rada for discussion”.

No wonder, then, that in its declaration of July 9, 1917, the General Secretariat admitted that its authority had yet to acquire the publicly-legal attributes, that, besides moral authority, it had yet to gain a publicly recognized power, that is, to become a fully acknowledged authority with all the powers, functions and apparatuses. That is to say, its moral authority had to be transmuted into a factual authority.

And V. Vynnychenko, head of the General Secretariat, at a meeting of Mala Rada late in August, 1917 explained to the Socialist-Revolutionary opposition that the

Secretariat had been unable to do much because "it had neither the actual power nor the apparatus". (D. Doroshenko. *History of Ukraine, Vol. I*, p. 133).

It was only after the confirmation by the Provisional government, September 14, of a newly constituted General Secretariat that "it became possible, at last, to undertake a systematic work so that the newly won autonomy would be put into practice, rather than remaining an abstract political formula, a paper declaration". (*Ibid*, pp. 137-139).

Even then, however, the vague legal capacity of the General Secretariat and the vagueness as to what territory was under its jurisdiction produced conditions unfavourable for business-like, creative work, wrote Prof. D. Doroshenko. On October 10 the General Secretariat came before the Mala Rada meeting with a declaration of its program, outlining, in general terms, its task which was "the unification of all the Ukrainian lands and all the Ukrainian people into one autonomous unit".

However, the General Secretariat itself reduced these tasks to nothing more than a paper declaration by forwarding on October 26 a memorandum to the Russian Government requesting that it order all local offices (*ustanovy*) to deal with it (the Russian government) only through the General Secretariat, and that the Secretariat be granted the right to requisition lodgings and transport facilities.

This is a true picture of the statehood achieved by the first two Universals. The beginning of this statehood had been arbitrarily and artificially set as March, 1917. It was only after the downfall of the Provisional government of Russia, when power was wrested from the All-Russian revolutionary democracy (the Central Rada fellow-visionaries), that the latter dared to proclaim, by its Third Universal, the independent Ukrainian People's Republic in order to create a foundation for a single authority in the country so that this authority, to quote Hrushevsky, "might become a real, factual authority (government)". The Third

Universal proclaimed the Ukrainian People's Republic "for the sake of saving the whole of Russia" — within the borders of the Russian state: "without separating from the Russian republic and preserving its unity".

The dominant concern of the authors of the Third Universal was centered not on the building of a Ukrainian state, but on the preservation of the Russian state. This attitude was probably best expressed by *Robitnycha Hazeta* (No. 179, 1917) which implored: "Let's build a road to federation!" . . . "By doing this work we are saving the unity of the Russian state, strengthening the unity of the whole proletariat of Russia as well as the vigour of the Russian revolution". The newspaper considered the Ukrainian Republic to be but a first step towards the reconstruction of Russia. "Through the local republican-autonomous order — on to a federative democratic Russian republic". It posed the question in this manner: "Either a total collapse of Russia, its breaking up into separate independent states, or a federation. There is no other way out".

At the same time another principal newspaper, *Borotba*, confessed that Ukrainian socialist-revolutionaries never did entertain the idea of Ukrainian statehood, or the concept of statehood generally, to be a self-sufficient idea to which everything else should be subordinated. The socialist-revolutionaries saw "federation as a superior way of living together as compared to a separate state life". (*Ibid.* pp. 186-187). Thus the chief Central Rada promoters, the Socialist-Democrats and the Socialist-Revolutionaries depreciated the importance and the significance of the Ukrainian People's Republic as a state.

The following persons condemned the contents of the Third Universal and resigned from the Central Rada General Secretariat: M. Sawchenko-Bilsky, secretary for agrarian affairs, O. Shulhyn, secretary for nationalities' affairs, O. Zarubin, secretary for postal and telegraphic affairs and O. Lototsky, general secretary.

With regard to the Fourth Universal and the statehood created by it, the Fourth Plenary Session of the Hetman Movement Council, being fully conscious of its responsibility before History and objective truth, firmly and categorically asserts

1) that by its act of January, 1918, prompted not by lofty principles but by tactical considerations, the Mala Central Rada had, for a period between January 25 and the convocation date of the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly, proclaimed only the shadow of an independent state which, according to the authentic text of the said Fourth Universal, was likely to be replaced by a federation. The Fourth Universal consciously and deliberately provided a legal basis for this purpose.

2) that the Central Rada, impelled not by fear but by dictates of conscience, continued tightening the knots of its strong ties with Russia by means of autonomy enunciated in its first two Universals, by the open federation proclaimed by the Third Universal and by the federation concealed in the Fourth Universal.

3) that in January, 1918, according to the authentic text of the last clause of the Fourth Universal, the Mala Rada proclaimed not a Ukrainian national, but a peasant-workers' class state which, as the head of the Council of Ministers explained immediately following its proclamation, was to form a "foundation" under the "structure of socialism" and a "base" for the "federation of socialist republics of the whole world".

4) that the January, 1918 act gave the enemies of the Ukrainian national state grounds to fight us for non-predetermination and accuse us of being incapable of building a state because of the character of independence proclaimed by this act: the total abolition of the army, substitution of the army by militia, abolition of private property, the socialization of land, the nationalization of commerce, trade and the banks, the principle of authority based

exclusively on the "working people" or only on the "revolutionary democratic strata", the socialistic - federative basis, total apathy towards the church and religion, the national-personal autonomy laws — all these were manifestly unsuitable ingredients for a foundation on which to build a national Ukrainian state structure.

5) that the Central Rada itself was never a sovereign higher organ. If world democracy stands on the principle of the sovereignty of the people, this principle involves a periodically confirmed expression of the will of the people. The Ukrainian Central Rada emerged from revolutionary turmoil and was never sanctioned by the sovereign people in a general election. Members of the Central Rada, from the standpoint of world democracy, were not responsible to the sovereign people through an election. Hence, from the standpoint of the "sovereignty of the people" doctrine the validity of all Central Rada acts is highly questionable. And, having inexcusably rejected the principle of historical law, the Central Rada renounced the lawful national-state legitimacy, rooted in the grey antiquity of the Kyjiv statehood of Rus-Ukraine and thereby deprived itself of all historically valid, scientific-legal arguments and grounds.

6) The very concept of the UPR (Ukrainian People's Republic) emerged in 1917 as one of the forms of peasant-labour statehood, activated by the internationally-minded promoters, and appeared on the historical scene of Eastern Europe as a negation of a national state. The UPR statehood is undoubtedly a variant of a new concept of statehood, a throw-off from the historical national-state traditions of Rus-Ukraine and responsible to the interests of only the proletarianized plebs of Ukraine and their ideological-political spokesman: the revolutionary-workers Ukrainian democracy.

* * *

"We understood the revolution that we conducted to be a social revolution . . . Even today I feel proud and hap-

py that I had the great honour of introducing laws which were passed by our Council of Ministers, approved by the Directory and finally confirmed unanimously by the Workers' Congress of Ukraine . . . Today even the Bolsheviks have accepted the principles of these our laws". (Mykyta Shapoval. *Velyka Revolyutsia i Ukrainska Vyzvolna Sprava*, p. 121).

* * *

" . . . it is self-evident that organization of the peasantry was conducted not on a national-political, but on a social-economic, class-professional basis". (P. Khrystyuk. *Ukrainska Revolyutsia*, Vol. 1, p.42. P. Khrystyuk, a Socialist-Revolutionary, held several Central Rada cabinet portfolios).

Prof. Stepan Tomashivsky, Ph.D.

Petlyura

(Political Obituary)

Note. Prof. Stepan Tomashivsky was a prominent Ukrainian scholar, historian and publicist. He wrote this article in 1921 when Petlyura was still alive and his activities were not blurred by the nimbus of hero worship. Prof. Tomashevsky was Petlyura's contemporary and he certainly knew him better than his present worshippers who were but infants or were not even born when the Professor penned the following words which are quoted from his book *Pid kolesamy istoriyi*.

* * *

After three years of incurable illness the political career of Simon Petlyura, the "chief otaman of the UPR", has ended. Under the terms of the November 7 agreement

with Russia, Poland undertook to carry out the obligation the Riga treaty placed upon her; to expel from her territory a number of persons, including Petlyura, who were regarded with disfavour by the Soviet government.

Some Ukrainian newspapers are engaged in a controversy concerning the present whereabouts of the "chief otaman": is he in Poland, Rumania, France? He and his protectors undoubtedly have good reasons for being cautious about his true identity and we have no need or desire to speculate where Petlyura is hiding. Where he dwells physically is no concern of ours; but we have not the slightest doubt where his political life is: in a limbo of lost reputations. The above mentioned Polish-Russian agreement is but a formal epilogue to the spectacle known as "petlyurivschyna".

It is too early yet to write the history of this sad period; however, the principal hero of the period rates a political obituary. I did not have the honour of knowing him intimately. About twenty years ago I met him briefly. Today I don't even remember his face. All this would testify to the fact that my comments are in no way prompted by personal or partisan motives.

As a personality Petlyura is a poor, lacklustre individual. With regard to education he is the well-known type of the old Russian seminarist who was obliged to seek a living outside the church. After a feeble attempt in the scientific-historical field he became a professional clerk, while trying his hand at journalism without any marked success. His earlier articles, subsequent speeches, manifestos, diplomatic injunctions, etc. reveal his limited education, lack of forceful thinking and his primitive form. His only striking venture in the literary field was the enunciation of his position published in the *Ukrainskaya Zhyzn* at the outbreak of the war. In his declaration he took the Russian state position completely and — to the applause of Muscovite nationalists of various shades, from Menshykov

and Milyukov to Aleksynsky and Burtsev — he said: "The Ukrainians will honourably fulfil their duty towards the state". The *Ukrainskaya Zhyzn*, edited by Petlyura, carried on in this spirit to the end — denying honour and credibility to all those Ukrainian circles which refused to be toadies and chose a different political path.

Petlyura was amply rewarded for his loyal attitude. He was given a good position with the war-humanitarian organization of the Zemstvo Union attached to the south-western front. He thus had an opportunity to come in contact with the army. This constituted his total qualification for receiving the Central Rada appointment to the military affairs secretariat and for his hitherto secret ambition of becoming a generalissimo of all the military forces of Ukraine. Herein obviously lies the psychological explanation of Petlyura's consummate ambition to become a hetman, an appellation which, for tactical reasons, became known as "chief otaman".

Various historical "revolutionary" military figures come to mind: William of Orange, Khmelnytsky, Cromwell, Napoleon . . . — all professional soldiers; Washington, Garibaldi, Pilsudski . . . — warriors-dilettanti who nevertheless had behind them serious military training. But what gave Petlyura the moral right to reach for the highest military authority? Why did the Ukrainian public gratify his ambition and over a period of four years saw in Petlyura a personification of the genius of armed Ukraine? Answers to this and other similar questions are to be found perhaps in the sphere of psychological riddles. Throughout the period that Petlyura was in power he did not at any time show in the smallest way a true military spirit or ability to organize a military force, not to mention strategical talent or some knowledge of war tactics. On the contrary, all objective testimony concerning Petlyura's military activities unanimously confirms a total lack of merit in all his undertakings, confirms his

theoretical incapacity and his practical incapability. (Petlyura admitted this himself after he reached the end of the rope. — D.M.E.). Under such leadership there could not have been an army in the true sense of the word.

Huge quantities of war materials fell into Petlyura's hands in December, 1918. Enough to conquer the whole of Europe. It all came to naught. This is one of the principal reasons for the situation in which Ukraine finds herself at the present time.

With the outbreak of the revolution in March, when the Western Allies made every effort not only to keep Russia in the war but to increase her fighting capacity against the Central powers, Simon Petlyura (probably as a Zemstvo Union official or, in any event, as a Ukrainian general secretary for military affairs) made some kind of a contact with minor French agents, who spared no money or effort in shoring up the sagging war spirit, and maintained intimate relations with them. Pursuant to this aim he launched an intensive campaign urging the Ukrainians to fight relentlessly to the bitter end for "civilization" — i.e. for France, Russia, Wilson, Brazil, China, Costa Rica, Liberia and all such precious cultural values. During the course of this political service, another secret ambition surfaced: Petlyura came to feel that he was equal to the role of Cavour, Bismarck, etc . . .

But came the moment when the Central Rada decided, along with the Bolsheviks, to negotiate with the Central Powers and conclude the Berest peace treaty. Then, in compliance with the will of his patrons, Petlyura resigned from the government and, while awaiting the final triumph of "civilization", began creating what may be called the "petlurite legend" amongst the people. Without this legend the insurrection against the Hetman would never have succeeded. The base of every legend intended for the ignorant masses is irrational — hence the more romanticism in it the better for those who promote it, while the in-

telligentsia, without which no political activity is possible, wants to see some positive skeleton in this legend.

Such a skeleton had been put together quickly; it was taken in hand by the Ukrainian National Union (this is a misnomer; actually it was a union of socialist parties. — D.M.E.) headed by Vynnychenko. "The Western Allies — it was rumored — have already recognized in principle the state independence of Ukraine; the fact that the recognition has not yet been formalized is the fault of the Berest peace treaty, the Germans and the Hetman. Once we depose the Hetman, drive out the Germans and tear up the Berest treaty then, in addition to the many social-democratic blessings, the Allies will also add a "soborna" independent Ukraine from Tysa to Kuban (reservatio mentalis: with Petlyura and Vynnychenko in the role of dictators)". Such a legend, without a grain of truth in it, had been spread far and wide with all the shamelessness of demagoguery.

During this period of underground activity Petlyura's ideals and attitudes underwent a metamorphosis. He traded his duty towards mother-Russia for his duty towards mother-Ukraine (nénka Ukraina) and emerged as an advocate of Ukrainian separatism and a detester of Russia. I am not going to search for psychological motives behind this change; suffice it to point out the fact that this evolution coincides fully with the attitude of France towards Bolshevik Russia (remember: to Bolshevik Russia only!).

* * *

Legend and intrigue, as we know, operated with vigour and effect. Political atmosphere was favourable. Had the World War continued another six months, I believe that all this agitation would have revealed its true face together with its moral stability. But, to Ukraine's misfortune and to the everlasting glory of the legend's heroes, things happened otherwise. Petlyura and his comrades blasted into the air a young, newly resurrected (after centuries of bondage) Ukrainian statehood and hurled our native land into a mad,

destructive anarchy which — o, shame! — only the Muscovite Bolsheviks were able to curb to some extent. Now we know what the promised blessings and beneficence turned out to be. But perhaps very few of those Ukrainians who fell for the legend are aware of the fact that it was the very Entente, including France, who opposed the Ukrainian insurrection in 1918 and firmly warned its organizers against this step — wishing, for the time being, to retain the status quo with the Hetman and the Germans (Germany, in accordance with the armistice terms, formally undertook to hold its armies in Ukraine). I do not know whether Petlyura today is capable of visualizing the probable course of Ukrainian life and the east-European conditions generally had the status quo been maintained and whether he can see the difference between that probability and the present reality in Ukraine; if he can, then one cannot think of a greater moral punishment for him.

* * *

Following the victory, the French East-European policy (from amongst the Allied powers France alone had any sort of policy in this direction) vacillated for quite some time; France weighted the various possibilities and slowly, over a period of time, circumstances led her to equate her political interests with those of Poland. In this respect Petlyura's French orientation in 1917 -1918 and his Polish orientation in 1919-1920 there exists an obvious organic tie. And if driven out of Poland today he finds himself tomorrow on the French Riviera consuming panem bene merentium in comfort, it will only be logical and natural.

There is a generally prevailing feeling that the "chief . otaman's" Polish orientation began only in the winter of 1919-1920. Nothing could be more false! Actually, intermediary connections with the Poles reach back to the days of the Hetmancy; direct contacts were already made in January, 1919. The first understanding with Warsaw came as early as May, 1919, and even then the new legend that

Poland had become the champion of Ukrainian self-determination was known at the Paris peace conference. The Warsaw understanding was renewed regularly every three months (the last time April 22, 1920) and each time it was signed with a burning iron brand over the back of the Western part of the Ukrainian nation; copies were found to be circulating within the Allied diplomatic circles.

In each and every one of these documents the UPR (Ukrainian People's Republic. — D.M.E.) renunciations and the Polish acquisitions were marked clearly and in detail, whereas the hopes of the first party and the promises of the second party were noted vaguely and generally. But it could not have been otherwise. Because in the fall of 1919 what did Petlyura represent in himself? From a runagate-tenant he became a political hireling. The moral and national-political aspect of his services need not even be commented upon; from the international-legal point of view all the Warsaw acts were the most stupid in the world. But Petlyura neither saw nor understood this; he did not even perceive the ridiculousness of his position — ridiculousness that is deadly.

Today, when — in return for the great gains achieved in Riga — Poland is obliged to terminate Petlyura's tenancy and overt services, she does this, we strongly believe, with sincere regrets. Not because of gratitude towards an "ally" but because of the fact that with the definitive fall of the "chief otaman" Poland loses political and moral *placet* to rule the western Ukrainian lands — the only lands she was hitherto able to get from the non-Bolsheviks. The moment the soviet regime falls this could be of great political importance. Hence Petlyura is truly valuable to Poland.

* * *

But let's turn our attention away from Petlyura's war and diplomatic exploits to look at his activities in internal state building. The Directory regime soon became a dictatorship of the "chief otaman" in whom, it seems, an ad-

ministrative and law-giving genius had been awakened. Do I have to characterize the blessings he bestowed on Ukraine? He had and still has enough panegyrists, friends and defenders, but during the past three years I do not recall reading one line, one word of praise for the internal order and conditions in the UPR; on the contrary, everything that has been said or written on this topic is like a picture of a horrible dream about some exotic land: the head man — an ignoramus, jealous and listless; the ministers and officials — no use even mentioning them; in “legislation” (*sit venia verbo*) — schoolboy doctrinarianism and feminine inconsistency, deep and hopeless ignorance of life, of its laws and needs; in “administration” (pardon the expression!) — at best a total idleness, beyond that: high-handedness, terror and banditry; school — it simply does not exist. And so without end. When Hetman Skoropadsky left Ukraine it was truly a land of flowing milk and honey, full of all kinds of material and cultural wealth, with well established administration and normal finances. What happened to these valuables? Where is the magnificently blossoming Ukrainian school system, the Ukrainian science? What happened to the billions in the Ukrainian state treasury? Enough!

* * *

In evaluating the true worth of a politician we apply only one measure by asking ourselves: What was the ultimate result of his activities? All of Petlyura's panegyrists have very modest answers to this question. “Making the Ukrainian name known in the world”, they say. Oh, how I would like to take some of them out into this wide world to show them whether this world knows and talks about Ukraine and what it says! Besides, did history not relate to us the name of one ambitious person who craved publicity at any cost and achieved that goal? Those who would lay the blame for Petlyura's failure on the enemies and the circumstances should be reminded of the old wisdom of great

statesmen: do not provoke unnecessarily either the enemy or the circumstances when the fate of the whole nation is at stake. What is more, Petlyura's adherents cannot claim that their hero is a tragic figure and derive any satisfaction from that. There is not even a trace of tragedy to be found. Petlyura is a failure who did not know how to leave the stage with a dramatic effect and his personal dignity intact. He is not a hero even for the stage.

History records many personages who in themselves were not geniuses nevertheless they became prominent and noteworthy leaders because they had the capacity of a true genius: the desire and the ability to select and engage advisers and collaborators from amongst the best, the talented and the most qualified of their countrymen as well as foreigners, if necessary. Leaders who surround themselves only with people smaller than themselves, with panegyrists and sycophants are merely proving their own worthlessness. And now show me the salt of the Ukrainian earth, the Ukrainian mind and talent which the "chief otaman" brought in to work along with him as generals, strategists, diplomats, administrators, organizers of public education, etc.! Whatever you may show is nothing but one big cronique scandaleuse. No, Petlyura is a very small individuality.

* * *

At this point someone might say: your conclusion is contradicted by the undeniable fact that the name, if not the person, of the "chief otaman" is widely popular. To this I'll say: popularity is not the whole test of civic constancy; on the contrary, history records very few distinguished statesmen who were popular during their lifetime, whereas there are great many of those who made a name for themselves and gained fame and popularity by being unpopular with and often hated by their contemporary countrymen. Those who are the least bit familiar with history must admit that the latter phenomenon is the rule and the former the exception hence it is not necessary to quote ex-

amples that are known to all. Thus, as a rule, the "enemies of the people" eventually become heroes while the popular mob idols quickly roll down into oblivion, if not something worse.

Petlyura's relative popularity flows out of a twofold source. First of all he is an average type of the present day Ukrainian intelligentsia — the kind that ordinary crowds sympathize with: a plebeian name, plebeian manners, cynicism blended with mystical gesture, muzhyk endurance, demagogic ambition — all of which help to gain popularity. In addition, he probably devoted 9/10ths. of his personal energy and vast amounts of state funds to promote his popularity — unbecomingly pushing his own wares. Obviously, the "Ukrainian Garibaldi" crowned in this manner cannot long maintain the false impression that he has something in common with the historical Garibaldi.

* * *

I conclude by leaving everything that is unsaid (and there is much of it) to the future Ukrainian Plutarch. It seems to me that Petlyura's main ambition was to become a historical figure. Did he achieve it? Undoubtedly he did. The future Ukrainian historian will be unable to pass by this personality in silence. The only question is: how will his worth be appraised — positively or negatively? This is a very serious problem. Not for Petlyura's person or because of it. This is a question of to be or not to be for the Ukrainian nation.

As mentioned before, the "chief otaman of the UPR" is a certain type of contemporary Ukrainian "intelihent" (educated person): Should this type prevail and continue in our midst then Petlyura will take his place in our history amongst such national heroes as Kormylchychs, Bolokhovtsi, Pushkars, Khanenkos, Gontas, Dovbushes, Makhnos, etc. — which means that there will be no Ukrainian nation. If Ukrainians are to become a living, thriving, developing nation — then the types like Petlyura must

vanish from our midst; there must evolve a new type of Ukrainian "intelihent" — the antithesis of Petlyura, a type that will acquire all the attributes and values of truly cultured peoples, which is lacking in the present type.

Our ignorance must make way for knowledge, our egoism — for self-sacrifice, our unruliness — for discipline, our intriguing — for personal and public honesty, our doctrinairism — for a true knowledge of the people and their life, our demagoguery — for a proper public upbringing, our unmanageableness — for respect of authority, our phrase-mongering — for a positive activity, our superficiality — for solidity, our democratism, radicalism, socialism and anarchism must be replaced by perception and understanding of the true political, cultural, social and economic values and laws of development.

What's more — the previous type of Ukrainian "intelihent" must vanish not only from public life but from our literature as well. This means that our regeneration must be in step with the revision of our historical gallery. When this happens then Petlyura's portrait will be neither in the Ukrainian Pantheon nor in the museum of deserving Ukrainians who served their native country well. Petlyura's portrait should be confined to a private room with a sign on the door: "Admission to young people is forbidden"! Samples of the past national diseases of the Ukrainian people would be exhibited there.

* * *

At the time Dr. Tomashivsky penned the above words Petlyura's career was finished. He was a total failure, a complete wash-out. The Ukrainians shunned and despised him — especially in Halychyna which he sold to the Poles. The wounds were still fresh and painful. Petlyura was seen as a traitor, a personification of the national disease mentioned by Dr. Tomashivsky.

Jewish assassin catapulted Petlyura into sainthood

Petlyura was snatched and saved from oblivion by an assassin (in Paris, May 25, 1926) who accused him of Jewish pogroms in Ukraine. The Ukrainians attribute the crime to Moscow. The assassin made Petlyura an instant hero to the leftists who began to venerate him as a faultless saint of incomparable wisdom. It is an ironical turn of fate that Moscow gave the Ukrainian leftists a pseudo-hero to exalt and worship! The uncritical, the unthinking, the gullible elements are infatuated with him.

In lavishing encomiums upon Petlyura to enhance his aggrandizement his glorifiers bend, twist, distort, ignore, embellish the truth, invent and weave incredible absurdities around his person to elevate his image. They credit him with godlike wisdom, sagacity, courage, heroism-abilities and noble qualities he never possessed; they ascribe to him deeds he never accomplished. Ignorance and apathy are their greatest allies.

Here is a sample of the fairy tales that are being concocted and spread about President (!) Petlyura: "Among the great services which the struggle of the Ukrainian Army under the leadership of Symon Petlyura had done for the free world was the fact that it prevented the spreading of Bolshevism to Central and Western Europe". (Volodymyr Bohdaniuk. *America*, the Ukrainian Catholic Daily, June 5, 1975).

A remarkable feat for the ephemeral army which could not prevent its own disintegration because of desertion and defections to the Bolsheviks — triggered by Petlyura's insurrection (with Lenin's blessing and help) against the Ukrainian State. No amount of vainglorious boasting can alter or eclipse the historical fact that by wrecking the Ukrainian Hetman State Simon Petlyura opened the flood-gate to Bolshevism.

In his narrative *Zhadka pro moyu smert'* (Praha, 1942) Vasyl Koroliv, a prominent Ukrainian author,

records the following on page 95: "To my question who is to blame for the tragedy of our liberation efforts, — Simon Petlyura, beating his breast, replied: 'I am to blame because I should not have headed the movement. Today I am not the only one who thinks so, others are telling me the same thing straight to my face' ". It should be noted that Vasyl Koroliv was Petlyura's friend and biographer. The conspirators met in his house to plot the insurrection against the Hetman.

Petlyura was a miserable failure on every count. Since the leftists chose a failure, a sham hero to symbolize the struggle of the Ukrainian nation for its place in the sun, they should not be surprised that their struggle is a dismal failure.

A pathetic fantasy

"Simon Petlyura, by the grace of God, leader of his nation. The very name Petlyura is unusual amongst the Ukrainian people; it electrifies, suggests something mysteriously great". ("The symbol of independence of the Ukrainian nation", *Ukrainian Voice*, Winnipeg, May 25, 1966).

Petlyura's name is neither mysterious nor unusual. It is a very common Mazurian (Polish) name. It indicates the origin of his ancestors who settled in Ukraine.

It was probably God's anger, not grace, that inflicted Simon Petlyura on the Ukrainain people. He was the symbol of treason and destruction, not independence.

Plagiarist

The following is part of a commemorative editorial in *Schlyakh Peremohy*, Munich, May 17, 1973, which also appeared in other weeklies.

"Every nation's road to liberation is thickly splattered with blood" — wrote in his Testament the Chief Otaman of the Armed forces of Ukraine, President of the Ukrainian State, Simon Petlyura, on the occasion of the observance of the Ukrainian Statehood. Three months later He was no more, He died, as a national Ukrainian hero, from the bullets of a red Moscow hireling, sprinkling the Paris pavement with his blood.

"Simon Pelyura — a Poltavian, son of a kozak family. Acquired his education in a theological school and in a theological seminary. . .

"In S. Petlyura we see a national hero. The Ukrainian people will never forget Petlyura's testament in which he sets forth the immortal words of the Ukrainian truth, leaving to the Ukrainian people a beacon of light to follow in their struggle for statehood:

"Ukrainian swords will be forged into plows only when the phrase Independent Ukrainian State is transformed into a reality and enable the plow to utilize the native fertile soil with its boundless wealth — not for the need of the third or the two and a half or any other kind of international, but for providing facilities and the strengthening of our own state to enrich our native people.

"Hence: let's not forget about the sword; let's learn to hold it more firmly in our hands and at the same time let's strive to nourish the moral elements in the nation's existence — creative love for the fatherland, vigilance against the enemy and revenge for the wrongs done by him, — in the symbiosis of which we'll find a way to liberation and program for construction".

This is idealized Petlyura as seen in a dream by "Schlyakh Peremohy". In the flesh, Petlyura was quite different.

In his heyday when he wielded power, Petlyura was a loyal defender of the Russian (czarist) empire, an autonomist, a federalist, a socialist-internationalist. He

impeded the creation of a regular Ukrainian army, approved of the abolition of private property, secretly agreed to transfer much of the Ukrainian territory to Poland and was prepared to see the Poland of 1772 restored at Ukrainian expense. After this treachery became known, Petlyura and his UPR (Ukrainian People's Republic) group were known as Polonophiles and were shunned by patriots.

Rejected by Ukraine, discarded by his Warsaw socialist comrades after he became useless to them, Petlyura found himself an emigre in Paris. He became wiser but helpless. He took to preaching values that were not in accord with what he had been practising all his life to the detriment of the Ukrainian nation. Had he lived by the virtues he preached, particularly loyalty, an independent Ukrainian State would have been a reality today. His "testament" contains nothing more than re-phrased ideas of genuine patriots, especially Mykola Mikhnowsky whom Petlyura and his socialist gang persecuted because he was advocating Ukrainian independence and they were promoting federation with socialist Russia. After following Lenin's beacon, after conspiring with both of our enemies against Ukrainian interests, after wrecking the Ukrainian State by his treachery and after stealthily giving much of the Ukrainian "native fertile soil with its boundless wealth" to Poland, Petlyura hypocritically preached about honour and loyalty. He was a moral bankrupt, a spent force rapidly fading away into oblivion. Then came the assassin and made him an instant hero, a model of perfection, a saint. His words became sacred to his leftist worshippers, much as the thoughts of Mao are sacred to the Chinese Communists.

Petlyura's "thoughts" were not his own

The gems of wisdom credited to Petlyura are mostly plagiarisms, as the following letter to the editor of *Nash Holos* monthly shows:

"In the August, 1974, issue of your publication I read an article by Mr. Oleksa Yaworsky titled 'In order to reach the goal' in which the author quotes the thoughts of S. Petlyura as if he were citing passages from the Holy Bible. I lived and worked in Kyjiv as a USS (Ukrainian Sichovi Striltsi. — D.M.E.) war prisoner from January 24, 1915 to March, 1918. Personally, I respect the memory of Simon Petlyura since his resignation from the Ukrainian Socialist Democratic party where he had been an active partner of V. Vynnychenko, the "evil spirit" of the Ukrainian national revolution. (In his letter of resignation dated November 11, 1919, at Vinnytsya, Petlyura stated that he was resigning temporarily, not permanently. — D.M.E.).

"The quoted passages were written by Petlyura when he was already in Paris, after his Warsaw pact. They are nothing more than paraphrastic repetition of ideas advocated by Mykola Mikhnowsky ever since he founded the "Tarasivtsi Brotherhood" in March, 1891 and which he also enunciated in a pamphlet "Independent Ukraine", published in Lviv, a thousand copies of which were smuggled into Ukraine in 1903. In 1905 Mykola Mikhnowsky published his "Decalogue of a Ukrainian Independent". In 1917 Simon Petlyura was an autonomist who, together with Vynnychenko, Hrushevsky, Boris Martos and a great many other socialist-autonomists of the Drahomanov stripe, prevented Mykola Mikhnowsky from taking advantage of the first days of the revolution and of the unparalleled patriotic uplift and great mass enthusiasm of the Ukrainian people to proclaim Ukrainian independence at the very First Ukrainian Military Congress which, thanks to the efforts of Mykola Mikhnowsky, took place May 18, 1917.

"In July, 1917, during the uprising of the Polubotkivites, Vynnychenko, Petlyura and other socialists again frustrated the attempt of Mikhnowsky's and the "Brotherhood of Independents" to translate into action and reality the principles set out in the "Independent Ukraine"

brochure and propagated by the "Decalogue of a *Ukrainian Independent*", i.e. to proclaim the independence of Ukraine. What is more, they sought the help of Col. Oberuchev* to have Mikhnowsky sent under escort to the remotest sector of the Rumanian front. . . . This year occurs the anniversary of the tragic death (May 3, 1924) of the great but somewhat forgotten Ukrainian who never for one moment in his life stopped to strive for an Independent Soborna Ukrainian Kozak state from the Carpathians to the Caucasus in accordance with the principles enunciated in the "Decalogue". I had the good fortune of knowing Mykola Mikhnowsky personally in 1917 and could write many things about his struggle against Vynnychenko and his friends for an Independent Ukraine. Rev. Yosyp Chaykovsky, Los Angeles, U.S.A.

In their writings the Petlyura worshippers unashamedly promote the falsehood that Petlyura co-operated with Mikhnowsky . . .

* Oberuchev was the Russian commander of the Kyjiv military district who vigorously opposed the formation of Ukrainian military units. He ordered that the Polubotkavites (who attempted to proclaim Ukrainian independence) be disarmed and forcibly sent to the front to fight for Russia. See: Dmytro Doroshenko, *History of Ukraine, 1917-1923*, Vol. I p. 359

A book of unabashed distortions

The claim that Petlyura was born into a kozak family is not founded on fact. It was invented to enhance his prestige.

In his book *Simon Petlyura, the President of Ukraine*, Vasyl Ivanys, Petlyura's panegyrist, wrote: "Simon Petlyura's father moved from a village to the city where he operated a small business as a waggoner. The origin of this family has been researched very little. During the Russian occupation of Ukraine almost all birth certificates and other documents had been destroyed. People who could have shed some light on the subject have died one way or another, and the memory of those who are still living is covered with dust. A considerable gap has occurred in the biography of Simon Petlyura, especially with regard to the information concerning his ancestors".

Persons of lesser importance also lost their birth certificates and family papers, yet they knew or were able to find out something about their ancestry. Was Ivanys trying to evade or cover up the truth about Petlyura's affinity for Poland?

In an obvious attempt to whiten and exalt Petlyura, Ivanys packed an incredible amount of distortion and plain falsehood into his book. A typical example:

"On the approaches to Kyjiv the army of the Soviet Col. Muravyov encountered unheard-of resistance at Kruty from the young idealistic soldiers inspired by S. Petlyura. They were the "Students' Sichovy Battalion" (Studentsky Sichovy Kurin) . . . They all fell in battle, sanctifying with their blood the Fourth Universal which had been just proclaimed".

"Studentsky Sochovy Kurin" never existed. Ivanys did not know this. Yet he knew that Petlyura inspired this imaginary battalion! To suggest that the fallen boys sanctified the Fourth Universal with their blood is the height of absur-

dity, if not insanity. It is a sacrilege, a brutal defamation of the young heroes. The idealistic students went into battle not because of but in spite of Petlyura and the pernicious Fourth Universal which in time of peril ordered a partial (and eventually a total) demobilization of the army and directed industry to convert from wartime to peacetime production.

Petlyura and his socialist comrades wasted more than ten months on debates, arguments and quarrels amongst the various socialist factions. The dwindled army was spurned and neglected. In Kyjiv there were tens of thousands of former Russian army officers and men who could have made a magnificent army which would have given short shrift to the Bolsheviks. However, instead of winning and organizing this great potential force the socialist Central Rada, in the spirit of the Fourth Universal, ignored and threatened these men and drove them into neutrality or into the Bolshevik ranks. (See: D. Doroshenko. *History of Ukraine 1917-1923*, Vol. I, p. 283; cf. Rev. Isidore Nahayewsky, Ph. D. *History of the Modern Ukrainian State*, p. 75). When the Bolshevik bands marched on Kyjiv, the Central Rada, because of its ineptitude and the disastrous Fourth Universal, found itself cornered and helpless. To its eternal shame it pressed into action the inexperienced "Auxiliary Students' Battalion" consisting of about 250 boys! In the face of overwhelming odds these brave students acquitted themselves nobly. The young heroes wrote a glorious page in Ukrainian history — all on their own. The fact that they paid with their lives for the incompetence and the destructive policies of the Central Rada is never brought out by the leftist orators at Kruty anniversaries. Instead, they outrageously pervert the truth to give undeserved credit to Petlyura and the Central Rada for the heroic performance of the "Auxiliary Students' Battalion". . .

Continuing his tale, Vasyl Ivanys writes on page 57: "On the date appointed for the convocation of the Constituent Assembly (22.I.1918) the Central Rada was only able to proclaim the Fourth Universal which begins with the following words: "As of today the Ukrainian People's Republic becomes an independent, free, sovereign state of the Ukrainian people dependent upon no one". On page 148 Ivanys repeats his falsehood. And so it goes throughout his highly coloured book. (See the full text of the Fourth Universal elsewhere in this book).

The Central Rada glorifiers never quote more than the above — mentioned lines from the Fourth Universal. Its demagoguery and pro-Bolshevik sentiments seem to embarrass them.

* * *

"The Central Rada turned to all the national republics that emerged from the ruins of the czarist Russia with a proposal that they help to create a federative Russia! Even the Fourth Universal had been issued . . . precisely because of the failure of these federative attempts and the Bolshevik military drive against Ukraine. Even the style of the Fourth Universal is such that the Central Rada is justifying itself as if to say: we are proclaiming the independence of Ukraine, but it's the Bolsheviks' fault! (Realna chy vyzvolna polityka. *Rozbudova Natsiyi* (Nationalist organ. — D.M.E.), 1933, p. 15).

THE REASON FOR THE PRESENT FATE OF UKRAINE

The fall of the Ukrainian Hetman State towards the end of 1918 is the reason for the Ukraine's fate today. The fate is well known: millions of Ukrainian victims, concentration camps, terror, brutality, suffering, enslavement . . . The downfall of the Hetman State was brought about by an insurrection led by party chieftians blinded by socialism. Heading the revolt were two Socialist-Democrats, S. Petlyura and V. Vynnychenko. After destroying the Ukrainian State they both exulted unashamedly in delivering the Ukrainian people as prey to Moscow and Warsaw.

Being in possession of evidence that Petlyura was preparing an insurrection, the Hetman government arrested him in mid-July, 1918. When Petlyura gave his word of honour that he would not take part in any conspiracies against the government, Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky instructed his minister of justice to release him. But Petlyura's word of honour proved to be worthless. Three days after his release he broke his pledge and took off to Bila Tserkva to join the conspirators who were plotting an insurrection against the young Ukrainian State. The rebels issued an appeal ("universal") from Bila Tserkva calling upon the populace to rise against the Hetman. Petlyura personally added an especially scurrilous paragraph against the Hetman — to show his gratitude to the Hetman for believing in his word of honour. But it is clear to everyone that Petlyura had no honour.

After destroying the Ukrainian State, Petlyura and Vynnychenko started building the so-called UPR (Ukrainian People's Republic), but the task proved to be far beyond their capabilities. They soon discovered that it is easier to destroy than to build. In his book *Ukraina v ohni i buri revolyutsiyi*, written after he was an émigré, Petlyura's

Premier Isaak Mazepa was obliged to admit that the overthrow of hetmanacy created a critical situation in Ukraine. The Ukrainian army began disintegrating and the leaders were floundering in the mire of chaos and conflicting views. On page 76, Vol. I, Mazepa writes: "This marked the beginning of the ruination of the army; when one part of the army was deserting to the Bolsheviks and the other part was joining the Russian "white guards", a wave of anarchy swept across the whole of Ukraine. . . Military affairs minister Shapoval reported in my presence that our army at the front had no commanding officers. Petlyura issued his orders, A. Melnyk independently issued his, and Hrekiv from Odessa did the same thing on his own. . . Thus everything ended disgracefully and the capital of Ukraine was surrendered to the Bolsheviks without a fight and without any benefit to the Ukrainian cause". Finally the Bolsheviks (with whom Vynnchenko conspired against the Ukrainian State) kicked both Vynnychenko and Petlyura out of Ukraine. Petlyura then found himself in Poland.

The Ukrainian army, which served Ukraine faithfully, was against Petlyura. Isaak Mazepa reveals in his above-mentioned book, Vol. III, p. 70, that from his personal conversation with Gen. Omelyanovych-Pavlenko he learned that the attitude of the army was hostile towards Petlyura. Mazepa says further that a conference was held November 26, 1919, in Ternopil, attended by Omelyanovych-Pavlenko, Yu. Tyutyunyk, Udovychenko, Zahrodsky, Bazylevsky, Dolud from the military and Ye. Arkhynenko and P. Kholodny from the government. After Arkhynenko returned from the conference to Tarnow he informed everyone that the situation had become quite clear: "Petlyura is finished, the army is taking the whole matter in hand and Petlyura's sympathizers can do with him whatever they want".

Upon hearing this, Petlyura shifted his course to cooperate with the Poles; this led to the infamous Warsaw treaty of April 21, 1920. By concluding this treaty Petlyura trampled down and invalidated the January 22, 1919, Act of Union (Sobornist) because he renounced Halychyna, Volyn, part of Podillya, Kholm and other historically Ukrainian lands and condemned to Polish maltreatment over ten million Ukrainians, as well as giving up 162 thousand square kilometers of Ukrainian territory. (And yet the Ukrainian dullards, as if mesmerized, are pretending that these things never happened and are blissfully acclaiming Petlyura as a great national hero symbolizing the Ukrainian struggle for independence! They are still commemorating solemnly the Act of Union as if it had never been extinguished by Petlyura. Who can respect or take seriously a nation dominated by pinheads? — D.M.E.). The Warsaw treaty was signed by Petlyura's foreign minister, A. Livitsky, who succeeded Petlyura as the so-called president of the UPR.

Because of this treaty Petlyura switched to the Polish side — seeking Polish protection for his own interests and an opportunity to improve his situation in the Ukrainian army. But he failed to build his UPR with Polish help. On November 20, 1920, the remnants of the Ukrainian army were forced to abandon Ukraine and found themselves behind the barbed wires of Petlyura's protectors, the Poles. The heroic army suffered terribly from hunger and cold in Polish detention camps, which caused high mortality amongst the soldiers.

I served with this army myself and I often heard my brother — Halychane cursing Petlyura for his Warsaw treaty. Mazepa writes of Ukraine's capital being disgracefully handed over to the Bolsheviks the next day without any benefit to the Ukrainian cause; he should have added that within two years the whole of Ukraine had been

shamefully surrendered to the Muscovites and Poles. This is the reason for the present fate of Ukraine. . .

After the inevitable disaster the "heroic chieftains" scurried off to foreign lands to continue their destructive work which is being carried on by their partisans to this day. In his book *Ohneva Proba, Zymovy Pokhid* one of the "Heroes", Isaak Mazepa, writes as follows on page 55: ". . . and so the Ukrainian Social-Democrats V. Vynnychenko, V. Levynsky, H. Palamar and others constituted and proclaimed themselves a Ukrainian Communist party group abroad and launched their pro-soviet propaganda in their Vienna weekly *Nova Doba*. Later on Vynnychenko went over to the Bolsheviks who, again, gave him official permission to travel abroad. But the Ukrainian community boycotted him. He was undesirable."

After ten years of silence Vynnychenko came to the Ukrainian community in Paris where, on July 23, 1947, he declared that the concept of independent Ukraine did not exist. The community told him that Ukrainians would never cease struggling for the ultimate ideal of an independent Ukrainian state. And so one of the "heroes" publicly showed his true colors and took a position against Ukrainian independence. He died holding fast to this position. And today some "patriots" are elevating him to the sky!

After Petlyura did his perfidious work and became redundant, his Polish partners (masters) got rid of him. Today he too is being extolled as a "hero", although not by all. Some circles are creating a legend around him, including those circles that cursed him bitterly for the Warsaw sellout and for trampling down and nullifying the Act of Union. (M. Lebedynsky, *The Peasant's Word*, Derby, England, No. 7, 1966).

The Directory simply evaporated

“On January 28, 1919, the Workers’ Congress established the Directory, composed of six members, as the highest authority in the land. Neither the office of the head of the Directory nor the office of chief otaman of the armies had been established. Although the law did not provide for the head of the Directory, V. K. Vynnychenko traditionally, prior to the insurrection, signed all papers and I signed as member-secretary. None of the Directory members resigned their posts . . . Then the socialists, and particularly the socialist-democrats, whose orientation leaned exclusively towards the Bolsheviks, became anxious to take power into their own hands exclusively. Since they could not achieve this by legal means, they took advantage of the spineless weakling Simon Petlyura, also a socialist-democrat, to usurp power. . . The socialist usurpation brought neither good results nor was it decided and approved by the people. . . All that is being said today about the head of the Directory as head of state with the title of president is a fairy tale meant for people unfamiliar with the law”. “(Prof. A. M. Andriyevsky, member of the UPR (Ukrainian People’s Republic) Directory.” Provisional law concerning the reorganization of the Ukrainian State Centre, *Nasha Derzhava*, Toronto, July 21, 1953).

Democracy without an equal

“If you can find anywhere in the whole wide world a republic, and a people’s republic at that, where for twenty years positions are held by democrats whom no one had ever elected to these positions and who call themselves defenders of democratic freedoms and claim to stand for the system of equal, secret and direct ballot — then you can hurl rocks at us.

"Everyone knows that for 28 years* they continued publishing books to slander, undermine and destroy the authority and the grandeur of the hetman idea, and particularly the former Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky; in their books and various publications, financed by foreign interest, they persistently defamed every other but their own venal, socialist-polonophile way of national liberation." (Lt. Fedir Krushynsky, former adjutant to chief otaman Simon Petlyura. *National Hygiene. Nasha Doba*, Paris, December, 1948, Nos. 6-9).

* Today this should read 55 years. The socialist republican dynasty still vegetates as a "government in exile". No elections in sight.

Hallucinations

"... the UPR (Ukrainian People's Republic. — D.M.E.) government in exile ... is a continuation of the government elected in Ukraine by a general people's democratic ballot". (*Nash Holos*, monthly, Trenton, N.J., April, 1975, p. 11).

When the writer of this item enquired about the date of this unique election (which is good for over 55 years!) he received no answer from *Nash Holos*. There is no answer because the "general people's democratic ballot" took place only in the editor's mind. Delegates to the Workers' Congress (of socialist parties) which named the Directory were not elected by a "general people's democratic ballot". In less than two months after destroying the Hetman State Petlyura usurped power and headed a "government-on-the-run".

“On February 4, 1919, the Ukrainian Directory was forced to evacuate Kyjiv and began its wanderings over the Right Bank. Vynnytsya, Proskuriv, Kamyanetz and finally Rivne in Volyn served, in turn, as seats of the Ukrainian government and the army chief command”. (Ivan Tyktor’s *Great Ukrainian History*, p. 812). The ever changing government was in disarray and perpetual crisis. Directory members scampered away in all directions. General people’s democratic balloting was the last thing on their mind.

At the last meeting of the Eastern and Western Ukrainian governments on November 12, 1919, held in the residence of dictator Petrushevyh in Kamyanetz, a minister of Western Ukrainian government, Dr. Makukh, derided the ineptitude of Petlyura’s government: “They are still retaining some 11 thousand unemployed officers. . . Eighteen secretaries speak at the ministerial council meetings because the ministers have fled abroad. The Ukrainian state is being destroyed by its own state apparatus, designed perhaps for an empire of 200 millions, not a hubernia and a half. (*Ibid.* p. 816).

Socialists destroyed the Hetmancy and created chaos

"The insurrectional movement reached its peak during the Directory period, particularly in the Right Bank Ukraine (area on the right bank of Dnipro). Insurrectional detachments surfaced like mushrooms after a rain. The insurrection against Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky was the initial cause of the movement. In response to a call from the National Union (this is a misnomer; it was a union of the socialist parties. — D.M.E.) some 200,000 peasants had been mobilized. After the liquidation of the Hetmancy these peasants demobilized themselves. Some of them went home, taking their arms with them, and the rest turned into separate insurrectional detachments adopting, in most cases, the soviet platform — not always friendly towards the Directory.

"In his work *Ukraina v ohni i buri revolyutsiyi* the former UPR premier Isaak Mazepa characterized the insurrectional movement as follows:

"Basically, this was a social movement. (The socialists continue trumpeting the falsehood that this was a Great National Revolution. — D.M.E.). National motives, particularly towards the end of 1918 and in the beginning of 1919, played a secondary role amongst the rebels. As an expression of the unorganized will of the people's masses, the insurrectional movement was spontaneous in character, devoid of any stable ideology. Every chieftain (otaman) in his village, county or region acted independently without a common program, plan or tactics. Therefore, with the low political level of the local insurrectional chieftains, the typical feature of the peasant insurrections in Ukraine was the chaotic ideological wavering". (Lt. Gen. Oleksander Vyshnivsky. *Povstansky Rukh i Otamania*, Detroit, 1973, p. 13). Lt.-Gen. Vyshnivsky describes himself as follows: "I

always have been, I am now and I will always remain a hundred percent UPRite", i.e. a partisan of the Ukrainian People's Republic.

Even the 100% UPRite admits that the insurrection against the Hetman, organized by Lenin's secret helpers: Volodymyr Vynnychenko, Mykyta Shapoval, Simon Petlyura, Evhen Konovalts, precipitated chaos, implanted rot from within, demoralized the country and paved the way for the Bolshevik takeover.

These facts are never mentioned at the so-called "independence day" celebrations when Petlyura is idolized as a brilliant conquering hero, a symbol of Ukrainina national aspiration! Is it not an outrage to suggest that falsehood, treason, treachery, unruliness, megalomania are the symbols of the Ukrainian nation?

* * *

UPR — a precursor of Bolshevism

The following are excerpts from Col. Petro Bolbochan's open letter dated January 26, 1919, to Simon Petlyura, the Directory, et al.:

"What have you all been doing? Could you say that you have been organizing an army in the rear? No! You have not only failed to organize an army yourselves but you were ruining the existing army, you were ruining army discipline. . .

". . . at the same time I proposed that we organize a real army, not along the lines advocated by Osetsky, Tyutyunuyk and co. Tell me, what good have you ever done for Ukraine? Since the insurrection against the Hetman, have you issued as much as one order relative to the organization of the army instead of being concerned with the popularization of your names? . . . Have you ever given a thought to the painful truth that Ukraine is dying? Are

you thinking what should be done immediately to save her? Do you think that you saved Ukraine by issuing a declaration? Poor Ukraine! We are fighting against Bolshevism, the whole civilized world is rising to fight it while the newly formed UPR government moves towards Bolshevism and meets the Bolsheviks halfway. You refuse to see that this is a nightmare to Ukraine”.

Col. Bolbochan, a brilliant military commander, a great patriot and uncompromising fighter for Ukrainian independence, wrote the letter after he had been arrested January 25, 1919, by Petlyura's stooge “otaman” Omelko Volokh, a notorious adventurer and a traitor who persistently propagated the soviet system and eventually went over to the Bolsheviks. Col. Bolbochan was executed (brutally murdered under tragic circumstances) by the Petlyurites on June 29, 1919, without having been told the reason for his arrest. Petlyura ignored all pleas to prevent the crime.

In his book *Povstansky Rukh i Otamania*, Lt.-Gen. Oleksander Vyshnivsky relates (p. 50) that on the night of January 26-27, 1919, a search, ordered by the chief of the political section of the army, had been conducted in the apartments of Col. Bolbochan's wife, his aunt and his parents in Kyjiv. The search by Sichovi Striltsi had been carried out in Bolshevik fashion as regards the behaviour of the men and the articles they robbed. During the search they took not only the Colonel's uniforms but also money belonging to his wife, as well as her clothing, silver and linen. Total value of belongings seized (and never returned) amounted to approximately 90,000 karbovantsi.

The following is a quotation from p. 51 of Lt. Gen. Vyshnivsky's book: “Why Petlyura was so determined to get rid of Col. Bolbochan remains a mystery. One can only assume that it was because of his fear that Col. Bolbochan's great popularity might become a stimulus towards “Bonapartism”.”

It is generally known that Petlyura could not tolerate talented people around him. He craved to be the one and only in the public eye.

Treatment of Bolbochan — a disgrace to the UPR!

The following are excerpts from the exhaustive notes on Col. Petro Bolbochan written by Rudolph Fedorowich, personal scout and courier to Col. Bolbochan:

“He was an exceptionally capable soldier, a great patriot, a man of fine character who placed military matters ahead of party politics.

“Simon Petlyura tried to replace Col. Bolbochan as commanding officer of the newly formed Zaporozhian Kozak formation but he was rejected by the Kozaks because he had neither the military training nor sufficient knowledge of military affairs. He was but a small time politician full of his own importance. Petlyura’s and his supporters’ plot to gain control over the Zaporozhian Division failed. This precipitated Petlyura’s hostility towards Col. Bolbochan.



Col. Petro Bolbochan — a victim of Petlyura's envy.

“While we were stationed on the borderland far away from Kyjiv, our commanding officer, Col. Bolbochan, informed our Zaporozhian detachment that General Pavlo Skoropadsky had been acclaimed the Hetman of All Ukraine. Everyone was surprised that the takeover came about so swiftly and smoothly. The officers and men became confused. They debated whether they should support the Hetman or the socialist Central Rada. The majority felt that the latter was manipulated by anonymous international finance.

“Petlyura’s greatest weakness was his willingness to listen to false rumour mongers. His greatest fault was that

he could not tolerate a superior talent rising above him. He was surrounded by traitors and conspirators who repeatedly fabricated stories to smear and disgrace Col. Bolbochan in the eyes of the armed forces. Petlyura and his stooges were determined to crush and liquidate this gallant soldier. Petlyura had a mania for believing that a conspiracy was afoot to topple him from his exalted position. He believed the utter falsehood whispered into his ear by the traitorous adventurers that Bolbochan was secretly planning with his officers to overthrow Petlyura and his government. He then decided that he must somehow destroy this brilliant, heroic soldier who was so popular throughout Ukraine and who did so much for Ukraine and for the army.

"On January 25, 1919, Otaman Omelko Volokh, Petlyura's bosom friend who later joined the Bolsheviks, ordered the arrest of Col. Petro Bolbochan. Petlyura immediately sanctioned this wicked deed. No charges had been laid against Bolbochan. The arrest came at a time when Bolbochan's Zaporozhians were fighting in the front line against the Bolsheviks. Petlyura's approval of the arrest resulted in great confusion amongst the Zaporozhians and brought about the collapse of the front. Bolbochan was brought to Kyjiv and detained in Hotel Continental in a room next to Simon Petlyura. Despite living next door, Petlyura refused to see or hear Col. Bolbochan. Rumours were spread that Bolbochan, on his own, negotiated with Denikin. This is utter nonsense. Bolbochan was condemned to death by the Denikinites as well as by the Bolsheviks.

"Col. Bolbochan wrote letters to Petlyura, to the Military Affairs minister, to the Directory and to members of the government explaining the circumstances of his arrest and demanding to be brought before the bar of justice, tried and adequately punished, if found guilty, and if found not guilty that his position as commander of the Zaporozhian corps be restored to him. His repeated "Why

was I arrested?", remained unanswered. His entreaties were ignored.

"While Col. Bolbochan was awaiting execution, the Ukrainian People's Republic adopted the Bolshevik Cheka methods to raid his wife's home. They took all of her personal belongings as well as her money and never returned them back. They "confiscated" the Colonel's personal papers. Those papers would have exposed the real traitors. The UPR Cheka never returned the papers either.

"The republican Cheka applied savage methods during the interrogation of Col. Bolbochan. He was questioned 24 hours a day without interruption. The questions were changed every three hours. They made him stand up without sleep, food or water, cruelly torturing him day and night — driving him to the brink of insanity. They were determined to liquidate Bolbochan because they were afraid that he may expose the dirty deals they were making behind the people's back with the Russian Bolsheviks and the Polish government.

"The real culprits were Capt. Yu. Chaykovsky and his friends. As chief of the security department in Kyjiv, Capt. Chaykovsky was the right hand man to "Col." Evhen Konovalets. Capt. Chaykovsky and his friends, as secret Bolshevik agents, were spreading false rumours about Col. Bolbochan. Capt. Chaykovsky, a man without honour, had access to all the ministerial documents, many of which were said to have disappeared. He had secret connections with the Bolshevik agents. Eventually, Chaykovsky and his fellow-traitor Volokh deserted to the Bolsheviks. They were guilty of all the crimes with which they were trying to besmirch Col. Bolbochan's honour.

"To his eternal shame, Gen. Oleksander Osetsky, Petlyura's intimate friend and fellow conspirator against the Ukrainian Hetman State, signed Col. Bolbochan's death warrant at his headquarters in Balan, a small town in Podillya. On June 29, 1919, an outstanding Ukrainian

patriot who fought bravely for Ukrainian independence was, in a cowardly fashion, shot in the back of his head. He was never told why he was executed.

"Col. Petro Bolbochan was a clean, upright man, innocent of any wrongdoing. The guilty ones were those who persecuted him, including Simon Petlyura and Evhen Konovalets."

A Unique Republic

Upon entering Kyjiv in December, 1918, after wrecking the Ukrainian Hetman State (because it was a "bourgeois" state) Simon Petlyura and his socialist group issued their first "UPR Declaration" which, in part, read:

"At the present transitory moment when the old capitalistic world is being destroyed and upon its ruins are emerging sprouts of a new universal order where every kind of oppression and exploitation will be unknown, the power in the Ukrainian People's Republic should be vested only in the working classes — the workers and the peasants, the classes who won this power through the spilling of their blood . . .

"The non-working, exploiting classes that live sumptuously and luxuriate on the toil of the working classes and who were destroying the country, ruining the economy and whose administration distinguished itself by brutality and reaction, have no right to a voice in running the state".

Only the impoverished peasants and workers whose position in life was not higher than a doctor's helper were recognized as "people" in the "Ukrainian People's Republic" and were qualified to elect delegates to the Workers' Congress — the Ukrainian "parliament", as the socialists like to boast. The Workers' Congress, a direct progenitor of the present day "UPR government in exile" (which is still functioning — democratically, of course), met in Kyjiv January 22, 1919, and issued a bombastic *Universal of the Workers' Congress to the Ukrainian People and to all the peoples of the world*. During the Bolshevik drive on Kyjiv early in February, 1919, half of the "Workers' Congress" defected to the Kharkiv Bolshevik government of Ukraine and the other half scampered away to the villages to parcel out and grab the land . . .

Less than six weeks after their "triumphant" entry into Kyjiv, the criminals who destroyed the Hetman State were forced to flee the city and wander from town to town like gypsies. The Ukrainian People's Republic had the distinction of being the only "republic on wheels"; its territory was confined to the area under its railway carriages . . .

After accomplishing their nefarious mission (destruction of the Ukrainian State), the Ukrainian socialists found themselves discarded by the people. Rejected by the workers and the peasants of Ukraine — they fled to capitalist lands to save their necks and to perpetuate the exaltation of the "democratic" dynasty of the socialist Ukrainian People's Republic.

The greatest crime in our history.

Upon examining retrospectively the alleged reasons for overthrowing the Hetman and upon scrutinizing his seven and a half months' work for the good of the Ukrainian State, and comparing his work with the activities of the authors of the "great ruination" — Vynnychenko and Petlyura who, after overthrowing the Hetman were, unfortunately, placed on the "throne of Ukraine" by Sichovi Striltsi from Halychyna, — we must come to the conclusion that the uprising against the Hetman was a great national crime which eventually brought about the utter collapse of eastern Ukraine and the downfall of the independent state of Halychyna. There existed neither a valid reason, nor solid ground, nor need to remove the Hetman of Ukraine from power. The perpetrators of this evil deed, Vynnychenko and Petlyura, were guided in their ill-destined venture only by their malice, perfidy, jealousy and a savage thirst for power; they were not guided by the best interests of the Ukrainian State.

"It was the greatest crime in our history, and I condemn it without reservation", said Metropolitan Wasyl Lypkivsky, head of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Church. Regarding the ringleaders of the insurrection he said: "By falsehood and deceit they roused the dunderheads to insurrection, destroyed the young state, supposedly because it was a bourgeois state, and failed to build even a penurious state in its place; they were forced to flee to foreign lands, not as guests but to save their lives. They did not want to be masters at home so let them be hirelings of foreign people". (Dr. S. Shewchuk. *Pora skazaty pravdu*, p. 32.)

"The Metropolitan of Halychyna, Andrey Sheptytsky also condemned those officers who took part in destroying the promising Hetman State. He blessed the Hetman and declared that "once we all gather under the Hetman's sceptre, we'll secure Kyjiv". Dr. S. Shewchuk. (*Pora skazaty pravdu*, p. 38.)

A prophetic guiding light.

"At a secret conference held in Vienna towards the end of July, 1914, with Metropolitan Sheptytsky participating, it was decided that the Metropolitan would draft a memorandum outlining the structure of the Ukrainian State in the event that Russia was defeated in the war.

"The memorandum, handwritten by the Metropolitan, was, as previously agreed, entrusted to Count Hueuse, officer in charge of the cabinet office of the Council of Ministers in Vienna.

"In his memorandum Metropolitan Sheptytsky set out the following three basic principles upon which he felt a Ukrainian State should be built:

1. A total separation of Ukraine from Russia — political — legal and ecclesiastic. (Abrogation of the Pereyaslav Treaty).

2. State structure to be based on the hetman-kozak traditions.

3. Organization of the Ukrainian national army.

"This was a prophetic guiding light for the builders of the Ukrainian state to follow.

"Archival documents show that during the existence of the Hetman State the state building followed the precepts enunciated by Metropolitan Sheptytsky". (These archival documents were published by the Vyacheslav Lypynsky East-European Research Institute, Philadelphia, Pa., and are to be found in Vol. III. P. Soluha. *Perfidious Deal with Moscow*, p. 234-35).

Ecclesiastics falsify history

A "White Book" on religious persecution in Ukraine entitled *The First Victims of Communism* was published in English in 1953 by "Analecta O.S.B.M." in Rome with "Ecclesiastical Approbation". The reader is told that the book, translated from the Italian, "has been composed by the Ukrainian Catholic priests resident in Rome. It has been revised, corrected and verified by competent ecclesiastical authorities, and has been printed under the direction of the same priests".

Following is the priests' version (verbatim) of historical events in Ukraine in 1917-1919 (grammar unaltered):

"The revolution which broke out in March, 1917, in Petrograd immediately extended to subjugated Ukraine. Towards the middle of March, 1917, at Kiev, capital of Ukraine, the "Ukrajinska Centralna Rada" (national parliament) was constituted. It met in Kiev, March 20, 1917, and began at once to form a new government and organize the life of the autonomous State of Ukraine. The people recognized it as legitimately representing the Nation, and as the expression of their freedom. Although the heads of the anti-Czarists at Petrograd did not abandon the imperialistic aims of the Czar, yet understanding the situation, the "Provisional government" began negotiating with Kiev for an eventual agreement.

"Ukraine, in this period, accepted to be an autonomous state, within a federation including all the people of the Czar's ex-empire, whereas Petrograd recognized only a single autonomy, and was contrary to any form of federation. As a compromise, a "de facto" autonomy was established, though with limited powers. Meanwhile the "Provisional government" at Petrograd fell on October 25, and the Bolsheviks took possession.

"Thus the "Centralna Rada", freed from its obligations to the "government", launched the "III Universal" (appeal), and proclaimed the Republic of Ukraine. A little later, that is, January 22, 1918, with the "IV Universal" (appeal), it proclaimed full independence. In the meantime various revolutionary Soviet committees sprang up, and invoked the aid of the armed Bolsheviks in Petrograd to destroy the legitimate national Ukrainian government.

"In November, 1918, Bolshevik armed forces, without declaring war, penetrated Ukraine. Moscow answered the remonstrances of Kiev by pretending entire ignorance of the action, asserting that the Red troops depended on the Ukrainian Soviet government in Kharkiv. Later, on December 24, Soviet Russia refused to recognize Ukrainian sovereignty. The Commissary for the people of Foreign Affairs made known that "after the annulment of the peace treaty of Berestya", it proposed to cancel immediately all decrees regarding the ex-citizens, and consider invalid all the documents issued by the Ukrainian government. These proclamations were followed by violence, and Russian Soviet troops entered the territory of the Ukrainian Republic by force, some time before the formal declaration of war, January 16, 1919. The young Republic of Ukraine, notwithstanding the heroism and valour of her officers and soldiers, fell into the hands of the phantom Soviet Ukrainian government imported from abroad. The Bolsheviks immediately took advantage of their military success, and imposed on Ukraine the Soviet rule already in vigor in Moscow.

"A so-called Congress of the Soviets of Ukraine, formed and controlled by Moscow, on March 10, proclaimed Ukraine as a "free and independent State" with a Soviet Constitution. But already on the following May 18, 1920, the Executive Central Committee of the Social Soviet Republic of Ukraine was deliberating the federation with the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic".

Apart from showing appalling ignorance about the autonomy, the "new government" and the imaginary Ukrainian "national parliament", the "competent ecclesiastical authorities" who "revised, corrected and verified" this book proved to be very incompetent compilers of historical facts. They had eyes only for the socialist republic whose chieftains boasted that they were "building a Ukraine without priests". Somehow in the process of "revising, correcting and verifying" their data they seem to have lost sight of the Ukrainian Hetman State proclaimed April 29, 1918, at the Kliborobsky Congress attended by 6432 duly accredited delegates. The State flourished in the traditional Ukrainian form until the Ukrainian socialist traitors in league with Lenin's hirelings brought it to an end December 14, 1918. By expunging the Hetman State from the pages of their puny history the "competent ecclesiastical authorities" did not alter history. They only exposed the size of their minds as well as their true colors.

The title of the book is at variance with its contents. Its publication is a disservice to the Ukrainian people.

* * *

In his *History of the Modern Ukrainian State, 1917-1923*, Munich, 1966, Rev. Isidore Nahayewsky, Ph.D., inserted a full page photo of the Hetman State 1000 karbovantsi under the caption: "Money of the Ukrainian National Republic". It is hard to believe that this was a deliberate deception and not an unfortunate oversight. However, the error was not noted on the errata page.

* * *

"VATICAN CITY — The Pope awarded Saturday the \$40,000 Pope John XXIII peace prize to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization . . ." — *Toronto Globe & Mail*, Dec. 2, 1974.

Strange as it may seem, UNESCO in its conception and inception was largely the work of atheists and agnostics, and in its development it has provided a base and a haven for Red subversives.

The Great Pretender

"... it must be remembered that the present Pope, even when he was Msgr. Montini and secretary to Pope Pius XII, never concealed his sympathies for socialism, according to the latest recollections of diplomat Reinhart Raffalt: *Wohin steuert der Vatican? Papst zwischen Religion und Politik*. He felt that the communistic order, even in soviet form, was superior to capitalism . . . Pope Paul VI became convinced that the Roman Church must seek salvation in utopian Russia which, he thinks, should at all costs become Christian, socialist and strong in order to help mankind to exist humanely". (Dr. Zynoviy Gill. *Bulletin "Za Ridnu Cerkwu"*, No. 75, 1975, p. 10).

* * *

"Not one item of Russia's progress is the direct result of communism, for its equivalent can be found in other countries where it was attained with far less brutality, terror, persecution, famines, massacres, purges, slave labour camps and deportations. Never before have so many paid so much for so little". — Lyons.

Balamuty (Confusion-Mongers)

All those who confused and disturbed our Ukrainian people 48 years ago and all those who are continuing the nefarious work today could be counted as balamuty (confusion-mongers). I am referring to those disturbers of ours who wrecked our newly reborn Hetman State and failed miserably to erect another one in its place. And today these wreckers are acclaimed as heroes. Isn't this God's punishment? The one who created the Ukrainian State and advanced it on the road to statehood is receiving silent treatment or even calumnies from the confusion-mongers who are eulogizing the destroyers of our state. Such eulogies are repeated at all "hero day" celebrations or at commemorations of the various "proclamations".

I heard many fantastic "patriotic" speeches, but I'll refer only to the one I had an opportunity to hear recently in one of the cities here in England. Quite a few people turned up to hear about the proclamation of the Ukrainian state. A middle-aged man appeared on the platform and said: "I do not think that a Ukrainian state was proclaimed by the Fourth Universal; in my opinion it was a rebirth of our state because the Ukrainian state already existed during the reign of Volodymyr the Great and Svyatoslav the Conqueror". The speaker pretended to be ignorant of the fact that the Volodymyr and Svyatoslav kingdoms cannot be compared with a socialistic republic. He pretended to be unaware of the fact that our state also existed under our hetmans. The speaker was well aware of all these things but his main purpose was to confuse the people so that they would not learn the truth. In the first part of his speech, however, he had much to say about "the act of June 30 and the immortal UPA" (Ukrainian Insurgent Army). He disregarded historical truth to please his party boss. It was sickening to listen to his distortions of history. Then came another speaker. He circled around the Fourth Universal in

many ways. It was obvious that he was unfamiliar with its contents. All he was able to say was that the Universal had been proclaimed. He did, however, reveal the truth that it was the UPR government who brought the Germans to the Ukraine.

This is the first time that I have heard the truth mentioned at a gathering like this. The stories that I heard many times before blamed General Pavlo Skoropadsky for inviting the Germans. But the speaker could not refrain from distorting the truth. He said: ". . . the Germans meddled in our Ukrainian affairs, overturned the Central Rada and put hetman Skoropadsky in its place". True, he briefly mentioned the Khliborobsky (Soil-tillers') Congress but twisted the truth to say that it was not a congress of khliboroby but a congress of landlords and merchants.

People who know even a little bit about these events, and they are not that ancient yet, realize how untruthful the speaker was. Attending the congress were accredited delegates from practically every county in Ukraine. There were delegates who owned only four desyatyns of land. (Desyatyna: 2.7 acres). A delegate from Kalus county, Novo-Ushetsky district, Stepan Makoviychuk, owned fewer than four desyatyns of land. It was indeed a congress of khliboroby — staid, respectable, industrious khliboroby (farmers). It is a silly thing to say that seven thousand landlords attended the congress.

After passing a harsh judgment upon the Hetman, upon his government, upon his "unsuccessful policies", the speaker had much to say about his overthrow. He even mentioned Motovylivka, where consanguineous blood was spilled. "The whole of the Ukrainian people rose against the Hetman", said the speaker. (How many rose to build the state after wrecking it? — D.M.E.). The truth is that only the Sichovi Striltsi were talked into rebelling. He did not mention the instigators of the uprising, neither did he mention the tragic consequences; all he really wanted to say

was that the Hetman was bad. He spoke of chaos and mentioned the profuse crop of unruly otamans that plagued the land during the Directory period, but he was too ashamed to explain why these things happened. He also mentioned Col. Petro Bolbochan as a famous soldier-conqueror of Crimea. But he neglected to tell the people the ugly truth that the same Directory cruelly murdered Col. Bolbochan in 1919 in the town of Balyn. This historical fact is well known to most Ukrainians of any intelligence, and yet the speaker, without blinking an eye, deliberately told a lie, saying that Bolbochan was arrested by the Denikinets and his fate is unknown. He laid all the blame for our failures during the liberation struggle at the door of the Eastern Ukrainians, without mentioning the fact that the Army of Halychyna was the first to go over to Denikin and then to the Bolsheviks. He did not utter a word about the fact that the Petrushevych government existed in Halychyna. But he had much to say about World War II events. Our side carried the day everywhere — so much so that final victory was almost achieved. Can anyone deny this? One can, but only in one's mind, because people are confused. Had the speaker not measured our common interest, our common cause by his party's yardstick, he would have told the truth, even if it's bitter. He should have read the Ukrainian history by Doroshenko, based on documented facts, wherein it is shown that there was no proclamation of the Fourth Universal on January 22, that the Universal was adopted on the night of January 24-25. Such speakers only confuse the public.

It should be pointed out that the whole of the Fourth Universal is saturated with the teachings of Karl Marx. God has no place in it, not even a mention. No wonder, then, that only 300 young men were to be found to defend Kyjiv at Kruty. The speaker was not too interested in why there were only 300. Neither was he interested in the fact that before the declaration of the Fourth Universal there

existed an army Corps commanded by General Skoropadsky which was demobilized by the "heroic" Petlyura, the then military minister, because the Central Rada intended to build the Ukrainian state without a regular army. This truth is unpalatable to our new revolutionaries from the OUNb camp (Ukrainian Nationalist Organization, Bandera fragment). But the truth cannot be hidden, crushed or repressed. Fire will not consume it. Every sort of deception will be recognized by the people.

Much literature is available about the modern Hetman State, about its achievements and its shortcomings, about the fact that it existed seven and a half months as a regular, authentic state, not as a mere paper announcement. It cannot be compared to paper proclamations. We had several paper proclamations — words and nothing more.

On June 30, 1941, under a foreign occupation, Ukraine was again proclaimed an independent state. Its partisans brag about this proclamation because there is nothing more substantial to brag about. This proclamation served the German purpose of demoralizing the soviet army; once they crossed the Dnieper it became redundant. Had the Germans been thinking about a Ukrainian independent state they would have permitted it to be proclaimed in Kyjiv, not in Lviv. But our nationalists (B) oriented themselves poorly and went ahead with the proclamation. It was not the German intention to tolerate an independent Ukrainian state. Had the Germans won the war our very existence as a nation would have been threatened. We well know what the Nazis planned to do with us. A small handful of young people, patriots, it's true, undertook to solve the Ukrainian problem — and under a foreign occupation at that! They did this because they were too naive to understand the Nazi policies and intentions. It is fortunate that Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky, who lived in Berlin, knew what the Nazis had

in mind and warned against any precipitate action because the Germans were coming as conquerors, not as liberators.

Let them commemorate June 30 as our great holiday, but why are these misguided patriots of ours unwilling to recognize the rebirth of our historical, traditional Hetman State on April 29, 1918? Why do they completely ignore this historical date while glorifying destruction and extolling things that, compared to the creation of the Ukrainian Hetman State, were quite insignificant? To read a proclamation is easy. To create and build a state is something else again — it's not even in the same category.

It is high time that we started to eradicate the balamuty in our midst. (F. Podilsky. *The Peasant's Word*, Derby, England, No. 7, 1966).

“UPR ARMY” — A Deception.

In a letter to a friend, the late Victor Vakulovsky, a keen student of history, wrote, in part, as follows:

“I too had my fill of pain and tribulations traversing the thorny path. You have been in the Soviet hell and I in the German. For six months I was forced to be a resident of Auschwitz. Fortunately, I came out of there alive, bearing an honourable mark, 96384. This was my name, surname and paternal name. Eight of us came out alive. The other survivors all cut out the imprints from their skin. I did not do that because it is not I who should be ashamed of it but those who branded people like common animals. I saw much the same things as you did, only I was with the fascists, whom everyone is reviling and you with the “democrats”, whom everyone is praising. And the difference between one and the other is nil, except for the number of Jews murdered, because other nationalities don't



Public prayer at St. Sophia Square in Kyjiv following the proclamation of Hetmanacy.

count, although not fewer, but more of them were murdered.

"I have, like you, participated in all of our liberating efforts, including the Winter March of 1919-1920 under Gen. Mykhaylo Omelyanovych-Pavlenko. I also had a taste of the damnable Polish detention camps . . .

"Your obviously inadvertent reference to the "UPR Army" (Ukrainian People's Republic Army) took me by surprise. I'll explain briefly why. None of us had ever heard anyone referring to the "Central Rada army", although the "Bohdanites" were formed during its regime. No one had ever mentioned the Hetman army, although it existed, defending our borders from the Muscovite bandits. Had the army been organized and maintained by the UPR the appellation UPR Army would be appropriate and understandable. But you and I know only too well that in the Ukrainian People's Republic the army had been the object of contempt and neglect. President Vynnychenko held it in

utmost disrespect. Ammunition, equipment, clothes, footwear, provisions for the army were withheld. It would be preposterous to refer to the army as a "UPR Army". In fact — no one did. During our liberation struggle the official name of our army was "The Ukrainian Active Army". In daily usage it was simply called "the Ukrainian army". The appellation "UPR Army" originated with the emigrants for the sole purpose of deceiving the uninformed and making it possible for those who wrecked our State to pose as heroes who defended it.

"True, there was a UPR army, the one organized by the Sichovi Striltsi. It lasted less than two months. This army destroyed our independent state. After the insurrection it never fired a single shot against our external enemies. It either joined the Bolsheviks, Denikinites or went home to make home brew. Out of the alleged UPR force of 300,000 organized for the insurrection, only 30,000 (including the transport units) remained and continued the struggle until November 21, 1920. Gen. Kapustyansky talks plainly about all this in his *"Pokhid Ukrainskykh Armii"*.

"For these reasons I carefully avoid using the newly coined and totally false designation "UPR Army"."

Petlyura destroyed the union

The inchoate act of union between the "Directorian" People's Republic and the Western Ukrainian People's Republic (Halychyna) continues to be reverently commemorated by Ukrainians who, being unaware of historical facts, naively cling to the notion that the union was real, not merely a declaration of intent, an unfulfilled dream.

The union concept was initiated by the Ukrainian National Council (Western Ukraine) in Stanyslaviv January 3, 1919. It was accepted, confirmed and solemnly proclaimed in Kyjiv January 22, 1919, by the leaders of the Directory.

The articles of agreement provided that the union should come into force *after it had been ratified by parliaments of both states*. Owing to the disastrous war situation, these parliaments never met (or even existed) to validate the union. Hence the union never existed in fact. It was theoretical, nominal, academic in nature, devoid of substantiality. This opinion is firmly held by historians of Eastern as well as Western Ukraine. It is also supported by the fact that after the proclamation of the union there continued to exist two governments, two armies, two sets of foreign representatives — with friction and hostility creeping in. (See: O. Dotsenko. *Litopys Ukraïnskoï Revolyutsiji*, Vol. II, book 5, pp. 14, 67).

The initial benefits derived from the union (limited to mutual military assistance) were soon outweighed by tragic consequences.

As soon as the delegates of the Ukrainian National Council came to an understanding, December 1, 1918, with the Directory of the Ukrainian People's Republic regarding the union of the two states, Petlyura (who, together with other conspirators manipulated by Lenin, had just finished destroying the Ukrainian Hetman State) promptly sent, secretly, a mission to Warsaw, headed by Prof.



"Allies" Piłsudski and Petlyura

Piłsudski dreamed of using the "alliance" with Petlyura for restoring the 1772 Polish borders, i.e. up to Dnipro. The Polish residents of Kyjiv understood the alliance the same way when they joyfully tossed flowers at the Polish soldiers shouting, "Yuzh Kyjuff wratsa do oichyzny!" (Kyjiv is already returning to the fatherland — i.e. Poland).

Prokopovych, to inquire about the price Ukraine would have to pay for a Ukrainian-Polish alliance against his former benefactors — the Bolsheviks. The reply was: surrender Halychyna and other western Ukrainian territories to Poland. (Kholmschyna, Polissya, Pidlyashya and Berestya were occupied by Poland immediately after the departure of German troops from these lands late in November, 1918 — without a word of protest from Simon Petlyura).

Petlyura was ready to deliver, secretly, one-fifth of Ukrainian territory to the Poles but he needed some pretext whereby his Directory would create at least an illusion that he had the right to negotiate with Poland regarding Halychyna. The pretext came his way soon enough. It was the decision of the Ukrainian National Council of Halychyna to seek a union between the Western and Eastern Ukraine and the proclamation of such a union on January 11, 1919. Petlyura assumed that the proclamation of the union conferred upon him, as the self-appointed chief otaman of Ukraine, the right to speak for Halychyna in his secret talks with the Poles.

Petlyura consented to Polish suzerainty over Ukraine

On April 19 Petlyura, already as "lord-master of united Ukraine", sent another mission to Poland headed by Col. Kudrynovsky, who negotiated with the Polish foreign minister Paderewski. An agreement was reached and signed April 21, 1919, whereby the Directory of the Ukrainian People's Republic ceded Halychyna to Poland in consideration of Polish aid in the war against the Bolsheviks. It was further provided in the agreement that Kudrynovsky, as an accredited envoy of the Directory, consented to Polish suzerainty over the whole of Ukraine. Thus Petlyura pledged to surrender to Poland not only the Ukrainian territory and the army but also the guidance of Ukrainian policies. Petlyura concealed his treacherous agreement even



Simon Petlyura, the leftists' "national hero and symbol of the struggle for Ukrainian independence", had no objections to the restoration of the 1772 Poland. (See: Political convention between Poland and Ukraine, elsewhere in this book.)

from some members of his Directory. By ceding the Western Ukrainian People's Republic (Halychyna) to Poland Petlyura thereby invalidated the union proclaimed only three months earlier. (In his book, *Rik na Velykiy Ukraini*", p. 228, Dr. Osyp Nazaruk, Petlyura's closest collaborator at the time, revealed that "Petlyura already

had ties with Pilsudski at a time when no one would have even dreamed that such a thing could possibly happen". Dr. Nazaruk was bound by his word not to reveal anything more about this ominous relationship. Dr. Nazaruk's book was published in 1920; Petlyura must have read it but issued no comment or denial.)

The Poles quickly took advantage of the document signed by Kudrynovsky. When a question pertaining to Halychyna was raised at the Paris peace conference, Paderewski promptly replied (by telegraph) that "no representatives could resolve the question of Halychyna in Paris because there is a representative of the Ukrainian government in Warsaw with whom an agreement regarding Halychyna has already been signed". Paderewski then travelled to Paris to deliver personally to the peace conference the document signed by Col. Kudrynovsky. (I. Mazepa. *Ukraina v ohni i buri revolyutsiyi*, Vol. I, p. 197).

Petlyura sealed the fate of Halychyna and torpedoed the union

The agreement signed by Petlyura's representative in Warsaw sealed the fate of Halychyna. On June 25, 1919, the Allied Supreme Council authorized the Poles to occupy Halychyna up to the river Zbruch and establish a civil authority "to protect the life and property of the local population from the Bolshevik bands". (As a matter of fact, at that particular time there existed an exemplary peace, law and order in the land, maintained by the Halytska Army). Kudrynovsky's mission thus determined the destiny of Halychyna in April, 1919, i.e. at a time when it had been ably defended by the Halytska Army, when Petlyura's situation in Eastern Ukraine had not yet become tragic. In April, 1919, there existed no reason or necessity for Petlyura to stab the Halytska Army in the back and to cede Halychyna to the Poles. The final nail in the coffin of Halychyna was driven by the so-called Warsaw treaty, con-

cluded April 21, 1920. The much-trumpeted union of Eastern and Western Ukraine was dead — killed by Simon Petlyura.

On August 9, 1919, after the Halytska Army had retreated to Eastern Ukraine, Petlyura sent a new mission to Warsaw, led by Pylypchuk, to continue negotiations regarding Polish military help. On August 19, 1919 both sides signed an agreement stipulating that the clause ceding Halychyna to Poland, in the agreement signed by Kudrynovsky, remained valid. It was agreed that the south-eastern border of Poland was to follow the Zbruch river, and continue further in a north-easterly direction past the city of Rivne. (O. Dotsenko. *Litopys Ukrainskoyi Revolyutsiyi*, Vol. II, book 5, p. 11).

The Kudrynovsky and Pylypchuk missions that renounced Halychyna, Kholmschyna, Polissya and Pidlyashya in favour of Poland (162,000 square kilometers of Ukrainian territory with a population of about 7,000,000) were kept secret from the government of the Western

Senator S. Shelukhyn



Ukraine — the people with whom Petlyura concluded a “union” January 22, 1919! Petlyura reached a new low in dishonesty and treachery. It was, however, quite in keeping with his character, morals and ethics.

Petlyura doggedly continued to pursue his treacherous course in the face of growing suspicions, remonstrances, protests and the resignations of some highly-placed Western Ukrainians. The infamous treaty, incorporating all the provisions contained in the Kudrynovksy-Pylypchuk agreements, was duly signed April 21, 1920 in Warsaw by Andriy Livytsky, as Director of the Foreign Affairs Ministry of the Ukrainian People's Republic. Paragraph 7 of this treaty provided that the military convention which was to be concluded (whereby Petlyura spat at the very soul of his people) was to constitute an integral part of the treaty. Paragraph 8 stipulates that the treaty was to remain secret. (See: Prof. S. Shelukhyn. *Warshawsky Dohovir mizh Polyakamy i S. Petlyuroyu*. Praha, 1926, also: Dr. Semen Shewchuk. *Pora skazaty pravdu*. Toronto, 1965.

Thus Petlyura torpedoed the union between Eastern and Western Ukraine and abandoned 7-8 million Ukrainians to the tender mercies of their age-long enemies.

Destructive dullards

Prof. Serhiy Shelukhyn, university professor of law, pre-revolutionary chief-justice of the Odessa district, opponent of hetmanacy, justice-general of the Ukrainian People's Republic, a faithful, devoted republican, characterized Petlyura as follows: “Petlyura studied to wield the thurible and aspersorium (studied for the priesthood. — D.M.E.), became minister for military affairs and immediately ruined the military force, the army and — a civilian — made himself the chief otaman without having the slightest idea about military organization and its operation. Everything was done on a party basis; party people were promoted even

if they were incompetent . . . Thus he brought Ukraine to ruination". (S. Shelukhyn. *Ukraina*, p. 91. Praha, 1936).

"The reality proved the creators of our Republic to be destructive dullards . . . Having manifested a thirst for power, they were destroying the nation's freedom and had not shown the least bit of aptitude for constructive work in building a state. Narrow-mindedness, inertia of stereotyped thinking, lack of criticism, arrogance, intolerance towards other views, stubbornness in facing opposite arguments, incapacity of comprehending facts, inability to anticipate what was needed to be done and to draw conclusions from one's actions, trickery and a lack of a sense of genuine responsibility for work — these were the things that were destroying the Ukrainian liberation efforts. This is what the ruling demagogic segment of the Ukrainian intelligentsia had proven itself to be. The Ukrainian Nation is paying to this day for this appalling incompetence. The work of this segment of the intelligentsia, because of spiritual shortcomings and a pathological lust for power over people and things, was repugnant to democratic freedom, anti-social and ruinous . . . (*Ibid.* pp. 77, 79).

After wrecking the promising Hetman State, these venal characters, with credentials as pictured by Prof. Shelukhyn, proved that they were capable only of destroying, not building.

The following are quotations from Prof. Shelukhyn's book analysing the Warsaw treaty (*Varshavskiy Dohovir mizh Polyakamy i S. Petlyuroyu*, Praha, 1926):

UPR — a blind tool of Polish politics

"Those who called themselves the government of the Ukrainian People's Republic, including Petlyura, were nothing more than blind tools of Polish politics. In accordance with the provisions of Par. 3 of the Warsaw treaty, Petlyura recognized Poland's right to Ukrainian territory

within her 1772 borders up to the river Dnieper, without Kyjiv and a part of Podillyan hubernia.

"Out of that territory, massively settled by a Ukrainian population with a small admixture of Polish landowners and their servants, Poland, out of kindness, graciously undertook to allow Chief Otaman Petlyura and his company's Ukraine approximately two hubernias adjacent to the eastern Polish border described in Par. II . . . In reality, this is not a treaty between Ukraine and Poland as it is claimed to be, — it is a conspiracy against the Ukrainian nation and against all Ukrainian interests in favour of the Poles. This is a conspiracy against Ukrainian statehood, against Ukrainian freedom, independence, culture, development and well-being. Conspiracies are always kept secret. None of the conspirators had published this treaty. Petlyura, Andriy Livytsky and other plotters were true to form.

"Petlyura, Andriy Livytsky and their collaborators, having yielded to Poland all the rights of the Ukrainian nation, having surrendered all interests of the Ukrainian people to the Poles and having delivered the people themselves into thralldom, degradation, disgrace, had no need to place any value on the expression of people's conscience, on their language; they sacrificed even these values and condemned them to be trampled upon by the Poles. The question suggests itself: whom are these self-styled representatives of the Ukrainian people serving — the Poles or the Ukrainian people? Whose representatives are they actually: Polish or Ukrainian?

"Petlyura, in fact, went over to serve the Polish interests aimed at the restoration of the Poland of 1772 at the expense of the Ukrainian nation. He brought about the destruction, necessary to the Poles, of the Ukrainian Army as well as those who, not knowing about the contents of his treaty with the Poles, believed and trusted him.

“And so with the help of Petlyura’s agreements the Poland of 1772 was being restored by Ukrainian blood and effort. Petlyura led the betrayed Ukrainian Army, unaware of his duplicity and machinations, to bleed and die for Poland. The Poles were taking the chestnuts out of the fire with other than their own hands and were destroying Ukraine with Ukrainian hands to render her incapable of resisting Polish rule”.

The union became a curse

The “union” between Eastern and Western Ukraine soon became a curse instead of a blessing. In Halychyna it eventually engendered feelings which, rather than strengthening the bonds between Halychyna and Eastern Ukraine, caused bitterness, distrust and enmity. The power-hungry Petlyura sought to bring Halychyna under his control. He created a situation whereby the Halytska Army was obliged to unite with Denikin to preserve its integrity.

Petlyura and company assumed that the dubious January 22 “union” entitled them to decide the fate of Halychyna not only in Warsaw but also at the Paris peace conference — and in much the same way as they dealt with Halychyna at Warsaw. Sharp conflict erupted within the general Ukrainian peace delegation in Paris. Members from Halychyna withdrew from the general delegation and went their own way to defend the interests of Halychyna. That is how the ephemeral January 22 union was practised.

From traitor to saint

Prof. Shelukhyn demanded that Petlyura be put on trial for treason. For years after he secretly signed away much of the genuinely Ukrainian lands to the Poles, Petlyura's stock amongst the Ukrainians wavered near the vanishing point. Shalom Schwartzbard averted his going into oblivion. He assassinated Petlyura for the alleged Jewish pogroms and transformed him into a hero, a demigod. Today, his naive, deluded leftist supporters, blind to facts, impervious to historical truth, are worshipping his name and attributing to him incredibly absurd military and other achievements (e.g. "he saved Europe from Bolshevism") as well as wisdom, sagacity, virtues and other noble qualities he never possessed. They are showering him with spurious, queer titles such as "the President", "generalissimo", "the Great". Some highly-placed twisted minds would even have people believe that Petlyura is the personification of the Ukrainian nation. Only a sick mind could invent such an insult. Petlyura's retrospective views and precepts (expressed by others long before) concerning loyalty, freedom, patriotism are often quoted at various commemorative functions. Had Petlyura practised what he was blind to for so long, had he lived what he preached after everything was lost and he found himself an outcast, the Ukrainian people would have been spared the untold suffering caused by his lust for power. Only an impoverished, retarded mind with a perverse sense of values could honour and idolize a sneaky double-dealing character who had no respect for his own word of honour, who willingly became Lenin's tool in the destruction of the Ukrainian State, who treacherously delivered to the Poles one-fifth of Ukraine's territory inhabited by the most enlightened people and who was prepared to surrender to Poland the totally Ukrainian lands up to the river Dniro. Could the world community be expected to trust and respect a nation deifying its

traitors? Treacherous Petlyura is the last person that an honourable, self-respecting Ukrainian could, in conscience, proudly emulate.

Excerpts from a letter of the democratic parties to Simon Petlyura.

“Let’s consider the military question. How many men are left out of the thirty thousand Zaporozhian Corps? What happened to the ten thousand strong Sira (Grey) Division? Where are some of the other efficient regiments? Over the year our military strength, instead of growing, shrank close to zero. Was there a shortage of guns or other weapons of war? No! We had all the weapons of war that were needed but they were thrown to the Bolsheviks because your distrust of qualified commanding personnel deprived you of talented men, and your filling of high positions of authority with feeble and slow-witted otamans, raised in rank from ensign-bearers and lieutenants — the Dankos, Volokhs, Benns, Bidenkos, Tyutyunyks — has ruined the army, ruined its very nature, deprived it of its fighting capacity and had given the enemy huge quantities of booty and a reason to exult in triumph.

"In the beginning you had all of the Ukrainian territory and, thanks to the Hetman, well-supplied ordnance depots. You had money by the billion. You also had people. So what happened? Within ten months you lost the territory. Despite the terror, the Ukrainian democratic parties participated, within their means, in the state life. They supported you faithfully to the bitter end, to the very last moment. It is, therefore, quite proper on our part that we ask you: Where are they today? Who will answer for all this?

"You cannot govern the corpses, Simon Vasylevych. You cannot play recklessly with the lives of tens of thousands of people. You cannot win glory for yourself by their blood. Your chief otamancy resulted in frightful sacrifices of blood and limb, in unheard-of losses within the ranks of conscious Ukrainian citizenry, in the annihilation of many outstanding peasants.

"And what are your achievements? Where are they? Where is the Ukrainian state that you swore to build? Where is the law, the order and tranquility that you promised?

"Desolate, devastated and despoiled is our Ukraine. The people are tired, exhausted, war-worn. The enemy hordes have trampled the Ukrainian lands, the young Ukrainian culture is destroyed. Graves, graves and graves all over the land; lost is the great territory of ours, — and you, Simon Vasylevych, and several hundred people are within the sphere of Polish occupation.

"It is high time to ponder over this sad epilogue. It is high time to trace the ill-fated epopoeia of the Directoria, to dot the i's fearlessly and tell the whole truth.

"It is time to pose the terrible question: Everything had been given you and you achieved nothing. You wasted, squandered, lost everything — the army, intelligentsia, the masses, territory, money, etc." (O. Dotsenko, Petlyura's former chief adjutant. *Litopys Ukrainskoyi Revolyutsiyi*, Vol. II, book 5, Lviv, 1924).

O. Dotsenko's opinion about those who were responsible for the "Great ruination" — the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Socialist-Democrats.

"The Socialist-Revolutionaries: Only some individuals from amongst them adapted themselves to realistic demands of life, others had several plans a day. They were prepared to introduce soviets in Ukraine, then they proposed Ukrainian Communism, then again they called for co-operation between Ukraine and Soviet Russia — and so without end, never anything definite, never anything constant.

"The Socialist-Revolutionaries, having neither a history of their own, in a national sense, nor national-revolutionary tradition, and carrying within themselves the heritage of Russian Socialist-Revolutionalism, did not know what they really wanted, what they should fight for or what their ultimate aim should be." (O. Dotsenko, *Litopys Ukrainskoyi Revolyutsiyi*, Vol. II, book 4, p. 359).

And regarding Petlyura's friends, who were also his own comrades (fellow Socialist-Democrats), Dotsenko wrote: "Petlyura's council of ministers was characterized by intellectual poverty. It appeared to them that socialist parties alone represented the will of the people and that only a government of and by the socialist parties could represent the Ukrainian state. They saw every effort to consolidate the community forces as an attempt upon the state, as a manifestation of a new hetmancy. The criminal dictatorship pushed people into enemy camps." (*Ibid.* p. 359). And on pp. 355, 361 of the same book we read: "Socialist-Democrats were anxious to transform the proletariat into a

ruling class and thus conquer the democracy. All parties failed to remember that people are not a political party and that a political program is dictated not by the will of the party but by the will of history which is created by the people".

Nationalists condemned the Warsaw treaty

After the contents of the secret agreement with the Poles became generally known, the top Nationalist leaders spoke out against Petlyura and his collaborators with great passion and vehemence.

An accurate characterization of the pernicious policies pursued by the Ukrainian People's Republic centre in connection with the Warsaw Treaty was outlined by Eng. Dmytro Andriyevsky in his articles "Two acts" (*Rozbudova Natsiyi*, Nos. 3-4, 1931) and "Ukrainian statehood or Polish state wagon" (*Ibid.* Nos. 5-6, 1941), also "Union with Poland" (*Ibid.* Nos. 7-8, 1931).

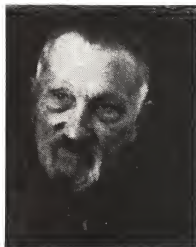
Eng. Andriyevsky concluded his articles by saying that "it is difficult to imagine a greater infamy and humiliation with which to disgrace Ukrainian statehood".

Another prominent Nationalist publicist, Eng. Mykola Stsiborsky, after thoroughly analysing the Warsaw Treaty, called it a "treaty of shame".

The following comments and opinions are contained in a scholarly treatise on the Warsaw Treaty by Bohdan Mykhaylyuk (Zynoviy Knysh), a distinguished Nationalist author and publicist:

"The UPR (Ukrainian People's Republic) circles claim that the UPR government had to sacrifice territory to save the independence because in any sensible political calculation there can be no other gradation of thought, — independence is of more value than (some) territory, it is the first step towards it. This concept we can understand, but to justify it — never. Because, after carefully studying that particular period of history, we cannot escape the conclusion that the UPR government, as it was then constituted, — because of its slogans and its understanding of the social and political order it was advocating — had lost its cause long before it allied itself with Poland. An honest government composed of honest people who, in their

Andriy Livytsky
He signed the infamous Warsaw agreement.



political undertakings, instead of grasping for power to satisfy their own greedy ambitions, were thinking only about the welfare of Ukraine, upon recognizing its mistake would either change its course or transfer its power to persons who had the confidence of the people and an unblemished political record. The UPR government failed to do this. And to us the yardstick of moral appraisal of the authors of the Warsaw pact (and of the whole UPR group) is not that they had concluded one or another kind of treaty. This act could testify only to the lack of political sagacity, to insufficient political skill, to political and military bungling and incompetence of the group which in time became to be known as "UPRites" (uenerivtsi) and which public opinion dubbed more accurately: "Polonophiles". Their total moral collapse, their uselessness to the Ukrainian people, — indeed, their perniciousness are evidenced by the fact that they convulsively clung to their Polish past over a period of 20 years, despite the fact that the Polish contrahent cancelled the agreement several times both factually and judicially and thus indicated that to the Poles these people did not exist — politically. What is important to us is not only the fact that for the past 30 years the so-called "UPR state centre" has clung to its false position but — and this is more important — why has it remained faithful to this falsity, why did it drag along behind Polish politics against the interests of the Ukrainian people, why did it push, with all its might, Ukrainian politics into the channels of Polish statehood? One simply cannot imagine such things happening amongst other than Ukrainian people. Elsewhere such persons would be put on trial, and if no opportunity existed to institute proceedings against them either in a court of justice or by public trial, then public opinion would force them to retire to private life and remove themselves forever from the political arena, as living authors and notorious symbols of the great Ukrainian shame. Even if they were innocent their

place is not in the Ukraine's leadership. Because a private person could be forgiven his mistake, a statesman — never.

"Instead of dealing with the culprits as they deserved, we are witnessing a phenomenon which ought to pervade us with shame in our own eyes and in the eyes of the new Ukrainian generation. Political bankrupts, who consciously plunged Ukraine into her greatest misfortune in history, continue to "represent Ukraine and her political aspirations for freedom" before the world without any protest from our people. Moreover, after life itself has thrown these misfits into the garbage, we carefully dig them out again, clean them, whitewash them and honour them by placing them at the helm of the Ukrainian ship. This is unheard of in the world and anyone having the least bit of knowledge about recent Ukrainian history could have nothing but contempt for such a people. For the architects of the Ukrainian state structure we choose people who for the past 30 years have been tearing it down with maniacal stubbornness. Who will take us seriously? Should we be surprised that Ukrainians are considered to be irresponsible people, incapable of building and maintaining a state?" (Bohdan Mykhaylyuk, *Warsawsky Dohovir*, Winnipeg, 1950, pp. 8-13).

Today the Nationalists of all stripes have rehabilitated Petlyura completely. He is in their good books again — cleaned, whitewashed and idolized. The UPR dynasty (of Warsaw ill-fame) has not yet evaporated and is struggling to reach the top. Indeed, who will take us seriously? . . .

Halychyna was given to the Poles secretly

"At the beginning of 1919 the Government of the State of Halychyna and the Ukrainian National Council of Halychyna took positive steps towards unifying, in a real sense, the two Ukraines — the Western and the Eastern. The union, however, was not completed because no joint session of parliaments representing both Ukraines had been

convened to sanction the preliminary conditions concerning the unification. Hence the legal right to determine matters pertaining to the Land of Halychyna remained solely with the Government and the National Council of Halychyna. In the face of these facts Petlyura, through his minister for external affairs, A. Livytsky, the head of the Mission to Warsaw, ceded to Poland the Land of Halychyna by a secret agreement concluded with the Polish government on December 2, 1919. On the eve of the signing of the agreement, i.e. on December 1, the West Ukrainian members of Livytsky's mission, Dr. Vytvytsky, Dr. Horbachevsky and Dr. Novakivsky submitted to Livytsky a protest declaring that the Government of Halychyna did not and never would recognize the East Ukrainian government's right to make free with the Land of Halychyna, because this right belonged exclusively to the government of Halychyna. The protest was ignored and the Livytsky agreement with the Polish government was signed December 2, 1919, and became the basis for the conclusion of the Warsaw Treaty whereby the government of Eastern Ukraine secretly surrendered eastern Halychyna, i.e. the State of Halychyna, to Poland". (Dr. Semen Shewchuk. *Pora Skazaty Prawdu*, Toronto, 1965, p. 168).

In the mid-sixties Dr. Vytvytsky became president of the Ukrainian People's Republic. This was a unique tragicomedy. There were no presidential elections in Ukraine's history and no provisions ever existed for the office of a president. One is impelled to repeat Mr. Mykhaylyuk's question: Who will take us seriously?

Simon Petlyura — through the eyes of his collaborator

Dr. Osyp Nazaruk, co-author of the “universal” (appeal) calling for the uprising against the Ukrainian Hetman State, press and propaganda chief for the People’s Republic Directory, characterized Petlyura as follows:

“Actually, Simon Petlyura was the dictator within the Directory. After the departure of Vynnychenko, who used



НОВІТНІ ЗАПОРОЖЦІ В ПОЛЬСЬКІЙ НЕВОЛІ — Співасяє в старій запорізьській пісці:
“Підбуркали хитчари орле України
Та й кинули Запоріжців — живих в домовину...”

Petlyura’s Polish partners similarly subdued and humiliated the modern Zaporozhian “eagles of Ukraine”. When the Poles made peace with the Muscovites and had no more use for Ukrainian help, they herded the Ukrainians behind the barbed wires to suffer hunger, cold and slow death. To a great number of these modern Zaporozhian knights the Polish detention camps had indeed become veritable graveyards (*domovyny*).

The faces in the above picture are gaunt, suffering, hollow. Some of the Zaporozhians are still nursing their wounds, like the officer with the bandaged head (indicated by two crosses at his feet). Only the Zaporozhian forelocks (*oseledtsi*), which they refused to shave even in the camps, remind us of the famed eagles of the latter-day Zaporozhian Host.

(Photo: property of Lt. Petro Oleksienko, first published in the *Ukrainian World*, 1968)

to eclipse him, Petlyura insolently gave short shrift to his friends. Petlyura is about 38 years old, lean, medium height, sympathetic in appearance; education — some Russian ecclesiastic seminar and a brief period at the faculty of philosophy in Lviv as an extramural student; never served in the regular army as a combat officer. Always gave the impression of a weak man, but not tempted by money. He spoke without warmth, vaguely . . . One did not perceive a strong individuality in him, at least I never noticed it. He ended his arguments with a grin which indicated lack of arguments . . . In various discussions his argumentation was always weak, unconvincing . . . His greatest fault in my opinion was the fact that he was extremely conceited. For this reason he repelled many capable personalities who could not bring themselves to become obsequious servants to him. In time almost all people with brains and self-respect removed themselves from his environment. Remaining with him were only two or three people with whom one could talk. But even they could hardly stand the atmosphere, as one of them complained to me many times while I urged him to carry on as long as he could. The others in Petlyura's circle began assuming a praetorian-caesarian attitude and putting on superior airs so much that it became unpleasant to talk with them — all the more so because they were people with little education and an enormous amount of vanity and haughtiness. They were nothing but brazen-faced pomposities on whom every word was wasted . . .

"Petlyura had no organizational ability whatsoever. This is evidenced by the fact that he never organized a single officers' school, not a single military cadre, although in Kyjiv he was reminded about it many a time.

"And no wonder. He knew nothing about military matters. What had he been doing all the time? He often went to the front to engage in politics, especially when some misunderstanding had erupted or when some scandal was

brewing. His principle was: 'Fortwursteln' — 'It will be somehow' (yakos to bude).

"If I were tactful, I would not have inserted this truthful characterization at this time, because I am well aware how difficult it is in Ukraine to popularise an individual for any length of time and over a widespread area. However, I am convinced that a man who found himself in that position under the patronage of the Poles and who renounced in their favour a large part of Ukraine without any equivalent, cannot now play an honourable role in the history of our unfortunate land". (Dr. Osyp Nazaruk. *Rik na Velykiy Ukraini*, Vienna, 1920, pp. 188-192).

NOTE. The above observations evoked no comment from Petlyura who was still living at the time Dr. Nazaruk's book was published.

As Dr. Nazaruk noted in his memoirs, Petlyura and his minions were unfriendly towards the Halychane and treated them patronizingly and with condescension. Petlyura especially detested president Petrushevyh because he was a 'dictator' (although in national emergency, Dr. Evhen Petrushevyh was given dictatorial powers legally and properly).

"On June 10, 1919, I and otaman N. Hirnyak met with chief otaman Petlyura at the gubernatorial palace to take counsel together. Petlyura then spoke, literally, the following words: 'Our (Eastern Ukraine) kozak cannot live in your atmosphere. We are satisfied with your officers. They must be exchanged. Recruits too. I will not give money to the dictator. There must be a complete union with Ukraine". (*Ibid.* p. 161).

Petlyura was obviously aware of the fact that the 'paper union', so fervently observed in Kyjiv January 22, 1919, was incomplete, legally invalid, — and yet he assumed the right to barter secretly his co-signatory's real property (Halychyna), together with some seven million of his compatriots for the imaginary, treacherous Polish help.

In the fall of 1918 Simon Petlyura rose in rebellion, with Lenin's help and blessing, against the Hetman State 'to save the Ukraine'. Within less than a year he gave one-fifth of the genuinely Ukrainian territory to Poland and agreed, in principle, to the restoration of Poland to its 1772 position, i.e. to the river Dniro. Ukraine was fast slipping out of his hands. Petlyura was reaping the reward for his treachery. The Ukrainian nation paid with its freedom for his perfidy.

In the summer of 1919 the territory held by Petlyura's Directory was rapidly shrinking to the vanishing point. The situation became desperate. Dr. Nazaruk narrates further: "At that time chief otaman Petlyura came around even twice a day to see the Dictator (Petrushevych), seeking help against the Bolsheviks; his ministers also came, promising everything the Dictator wanted. At the same time the Petlyura government press — all of which was supported by the government via the socialist parties — mounted a malicious campaign against the same Dictator accusing him of torturing people and the other unheard-of inanities. Future historians, delving into these vituperations, being presented at the same time as urgent entreaties for help, will be facing a tough psychological riddle. Meanwhile, there is no riddle here: Petlyura's government was composed mainly of people who were totally unfit for any kind of work whatsoever. Some of them should have been sent back to school to learn, at least superficially, the elementary things that every government official, not only a cabinet minister, ought to be familiar with. Others should have been placed in corrective institutions and kept there as long as possible — exposed to suitable books, proper company and honest work in order to cure their incessant talk of things about which they were totally ignorant. Responsibility for this inept cabinet falls squarely on the shoulders of its creator, Simon Petlyura, who could have put together a brilliant

cabinet from amongst the eastern Ukrainians . . . " (*Ibid*, pp. 178-179).

In the early twenties Dr. Nazaruk became thoroughly disillusioned with his former associates and all they stood for, embraced the teachings of Vyacheslav Lypynsky and became one of the prime founders of the Hetman Movement on the American continent.

The Political Convention Between Poland and Ukraine

signed in Warsaw April 21, 1920

The Government of the Ukrainian People's Republic on the one hand and the Government of the Republic of Poland on the other, being deeply convinced that every nation has the natural right to self-determination and delineation of its relations with its neighbours, and being desirous of laying a foundation for a harmonious and friendly life together for the welfare and the development of both peoples, have agreed upon the following Articles:

1. Recognizing Ukraine's right to independent state existence in the territory within the boundaries to the north, east and south, as these boundaries will be defined in an agreement between the Ukrainian People's Republic and its neighbours along the said boundaries, the Republic of

Poland recognizes the Directory of the Independent Ukrainian People's Republic, headed by Chief Otaman Mr. Simon Petlyura as Supreme Power of the Ukrainian People's Republic.

2. The boundary between the Ukrainian People's Republic and the Republic of Poland is to be established as follows: northward from Dnister along the river Zbruch, and then along the former boundary between Austria-Hungary and Russia to Vyshehrudka, and from Vyshehrudka north across the Kreminetski hills, thence along the line east of Zdolbunovo, then along the eastern administrative of the Rivn county, thence north along the administrative border of the former Minsk hubernia until it crosses the Prypyat river, then along the Prypyat to its mouth.

Regarding the Rivensky, Dubensky and part of Kreminetsky districts, which presently go to the Republic



On April 21, 1920 Simon Petlyura ceded the Western Ukrainian People's Republic to Poland and annulled the January 22, 1919 act of union.

of Poland, a more precise agreement will be concluded later.

A detailed delineation of the boundary line should be made by a special Ukrainian — Polish commission composed of appropriate experts.

3. The Polish Government recognizes Ukraine's right to the territory east of the boundary described in Article 2 of this Agreement to the Polish boundaries of 1772 (pre-partition) which Poland already holds or will acquire from Russia through military or diplomatic action.

4. The Polish Government pledges not to conclude any international agreements aimed against Ukraine; the Government of the Ukrainian People's Republic pledges to do likewise with regard to the Polish Republic.

5. The national-cultural rights which the Government of the Ukrainian People's Republic will guarantee to the citizens of Polish nationality in the UPR territory, will be reciprocally guaranteed to the citizens of Ukrainian nationality within the borders of Poland.

6. Special economic-trade agreements are being concluded between the Polish Republic and the Ukrainian People's Republic.

The agrarian question in Ukraine will be solved by the Constituanta (Constituent Assembly). Until the Constituanta is called, the legal status of Polish landowners is determined by an agreement between the Republic of Poland and the Ukrainian People's Republic.

7. A military convention is being concluded which constitutes an integral part of this agreement.

8. This agreement remains secret. It cannot be divulged to a third party or be published totally or in part except by mutual agreement of both contracting parties, with the exception of the first Article which will be published after the signing of this agreement.

9. This agreement becomes effective immediately after it is signed by the contracting parties.

Signed in Warsaw April 21, 1920, in duplicate: one copy in the Ukrainian language and one in the Polish language, with a reservation that in the event of doubt the Polish text will be deemed to be international.

Original signed by:

Director of the Foreign Affairs
Ministry of the Ukrainian
People's Prepublic

Andriy Livytsky

Director of the Foreign Affairs
Ministry of the Republic of
Poland

Jan Domb ski

"Directory member Petrushevych was excluded because of his attitude towards Poland. Directory members Andriyevsky and Shvets first learned about this agreement from me in 1926, and Makarenko to this day is unfamiliar with this document, although it was written in their name". Prof. S. Shelukhyn. *Varshavsky Dohovir mizh Polyakamy i Petlyuroyu*, p. 15.

Fraud by fraudulent "statesmen" . . .

Gen. Udovychenko tried to hide the truth

A leading Ukrainian Army historian, Lt. Gen. O. Udovychenko, quoted the Warsaw agreement as follows:

"1. Poland recognizes Ukraine's right to independent state existence and recognizes the UPR Government headed by S. Petlyura as the supreme power in Ukraine.

2. The boundaries between Poland and Ukraine run almost along the same line that existed later between Poland and the Soviet Ukraine.

3. The Polish Government and the Ukrainian Government mutually agree not to conclude any international agreements that would infringe upon the interests of the contracting parties.

4. National-cultural rights of the Ukrainians in Poland and the Poles in Ukraine are mutually guaranteed. Etc." (Lt. Gen. O. Udovychenko. *Ukraine in her war for independence*, Winnipeg, 1954, 9.136.

The "etc." presumably covers all the distasteful features of the agreement.

This is a fair example how UPR adherents write history.

According to the short biography in the book "the continuous close co-operation between O. Udovychenko and Simon Petlyura developed into a personal friendship full of intimate trust and devotion between the two prominent soldiers". Petlyura never was a soldier!

Sickening servility

The parties did not enter into the Warsaw agreement as equals. The Ukrainian side accepted a humiliating, inferior, dishonourable position. The Polish state comes into the agreement as a state requiring no recognition from the Ukrainian side, whereas the Ukrainian state required Polish recognition. Hence the negative expression "Recognizing Ukraine's right to independent state existence . . ." The Poles recognized only Ukraine's right to existence, not Ukraine as an existing state. Only the rights of the subject were recognized, not the subject itself. Through stupidity or by design the Ukrainian side did not seek recognition of the Ukrainian state. The servile side only asked for recognition of Petlyura, his government and his crumbling army.

Only demented or criminal minds could have agreed to Articles 1, 2 and 3 of the Warsaw agreement. Had there been an opportunity to implement the terms of this agreement it would have meant annihilation of Ukrainianism in the areas concerned. According to the provisions of Articles 1,2 and 3, lands under Poland were to lose their historical name of Ukraine, hence the people and their language would cease to be Ukrainian. The people would be deprived

of their historical and ancestral name. They were to become Poles.

The Poles had already started the process of rooting out Ukrainianism by introducing, as a first step, an absurd appellation "Ruso-Polacy". (See photo of an item in the Australian Polish weekly, p. 182).

Whatever the legal status of the Warsaw treaty may be, the fact remains that the Poles will always use the treaty to their advantage and to the detriment of the Ukrainian cause. They will keep it alive and, whenever needed, haul it out before the eyes of the whole world to support their cause.

Petlyura's Warsaw Treaty is Kept Alive

Some Ukrainians may dream otherwise, but the truth is that the Warsaw treaty is not forgotten by the Poles. It is kept alive in various books and publications. Time may come when it will be used against the Ukrainians.

In an article under the heading "Simon Petlyura's Idea" in a Polish paper *Kronika* of May 23, 1948, K. Hrubyk discussed the treaty and elucidated the significance of Petlyura to Poland.

In his book published by "Zwjonzek Zyem Poludniowo-Wschodnich Rzechypospolitej Polskej," Dr. Stanislaw Skzhypek attempts to prove that there are no more than 22 million Ukrainians in Ukraine, therefore the Ukrainians should not lay claim to such a vast area (950,000 square km.) or have any pretensions to "Malopolski Wschodniej", Volyn and other west-Ukrainian lands that were ruled by Poland.

nogach. Myśl, że Lwów, który był zdecydowanie polski, miałby znaleźć się poza granicami Polski wydawała się potworna przez co nie do przyjęcia. Wszyscy Polacy zamieszkujący ten obszar postanowili za wszelką cenę do tego nie dopuścić. Natomiast nie tylko Ruso-Polacy byli rozbici ale i ta grupa, która zwała siebie Ukraińcami. Wielu Ukraińców wcale nie chciało walczyć. Zwycęstwo polskie uznał więc prawowity rząd Ukrainy atamana Petlury, który z pretensji do Galicji Wschodniej i Wołynia zrezygnował 22.4.1920 w tzw. „umowie warszawskiej”, a po jego obaleniu przez bolszewików Rosja sowiecka w traktacie ryskim z dnia 18.3.1921 to potwierdziła. Potwierdzeniem traktatu ryskiego był podpisany dodatkowo 25.7.1932 pakt nieagresji. Natomiast mocarstwa zachodnie 15.3.1923 uznały za prawne postanowienia traktatu ryskiego. Niedługo po tym marszałek Francji Foch będąc we Lwowie powiedział, że: „Kiedy ustalały się granice Polski, Lwów zawołał — TUTAJ JEST POLSKA!”

The Poles will not forget.

The author regards the western Ukrainian lands as the sacred property of Poland. He cited Petlyura's Warsaw treaty to support his contention. Petlyura's successor, Andriy Livitsky, told Ukrainians that the treaty is "invalid",

that it "ceased to exist". However, Dr. Skzypek writes as follows (p. 52) about the treaty:

"From the legal-state point of view the important fact is that by the treaty concluded in April, 1920, between the UPR and Poland, Ukraine renounced all claims to Eastern Malopolska and Volyn in favour of Poland. In the light of this treaty the subsequent peace treaty in Riga, concluded by Poland on the one hand and Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine on the other, contained no elements of assault on the territorial rights of the UPR because the boundary between Ukraine and Poland established by the treaty corresponded to the boundary between Poland and the UPR, recognized previously by the Petlyura government".

No wonder, then, that the Poles are treasuring the memory of Petlyura, his successor Livytsky and the UPR charitable to Poland, which saved the very existence of Poland at Zamostya by the sacrifice of the betrayed heroic kozaks . . . One must wonder, however, why even some patriots continue to believe that unification of all Ukrainians as well as the clean and sacred cause of Ukrainian liberation could be achieved under the tainted banner of the UPR! The UPR adherents are in fact supporting the Warsaw treaty, i.e. renouncing the Ukrainian territories ceded to Poland. How can they talk about unification while they are supporting the surrender of parts of Ukraine to Poland? Are they promoting a miniature Ukraine as envisaged by Petlyura before his assassination? Truly, it's a rare example of abysmal mass ignorance, naivety, irresponsibility . . .

* * *

Unless Petlyura Was An Indian Giver . . .

"The Polish government in exile in London (president Ostrowski), in conversations with a West-German Bundestag member Herbert Chaya, referred to the inhabitants of western Byelorussian and western Ukrainian as well as parts of the Lithuanian territory as "eastern Polish population". Although this "event" is rather insignificant, nevertheless it would do no harm if the UPR government in exile lodged a protest against such inopportune pronouncements of the Polish government in exile". *Canadian Farmer Weekly*, Winnipeg, June 23, 1975.

The editor seems to have forgotten the fact that on April 21, 1920, the UPR government formally ceded the territories in question to Poland. The Pole was correct — except for his reference to the Byelorussian and Lithuanian territories.

Petlyura's machinations will continue to plague the UPR.

The Kruty Anniversary

On January 30, 1918 a glorious page in Ukrainian history was written by the idealistic Kyjiv youngsters who fought the Muscovite invader at the battle of Kruty. These students willingly and ardently rushed forward to give their all for the land whose freedom was dearer to them than life.

Two other anniversaries related to Kruty also fall in January: the proclamation of the Fourth Universal January 25, 1918 and the calling together of the Labour (Trudovy) Congress January 28, 1919.

Orations at functions commemorating these events habitually wallow in fantasy and falsehood. The orators, as if blind to facts, are eternally whitewashing and lavishing encomiums upon the Central Rada and the Directory whose destructive policies and criminal attitude towards the army were responsible for the Kruty tragedy. The Bolshevik onslaught came after the Central Rada socialists wasted more than ten months on debates, arguments, squabbling, and promotion of federation with Russia while neglecting the army. Unless the truth, however ugly, is told bluntly at these functions the whole exercise becomes nothing but a sham. To continue disseminating perverse history is a disservice especially to young people who will, sooner or later, learn the truth and become bitterly disenchanted. No form of words can alter the truth. And the truth is this:

On January 25, 1918 the Central Rada in Kyjiv issued an incredibly contradictory Fourth Universal whereby the highest Ukrainian authority of the day informed the Ukrainian people that Muscovy had launched a war against Ukraine — and at the same time and in the same document the same authority called for the release of Ukrainian soldiers from the army and gave notice that the army would be disbanded altogether . . . In the same Universal-Manifesto the Central Rada announced that it had already

drafted a law concerning the abolition of private property and the socialization of land, thereby hoping to outwit and outdo the Bolsheviks.

However, by this very document the Central Rada acknowledged the Bolshevik program and practice (already introduced under Bolshevism and in the name of which the Bolshevik armies were marching into Ukraine) to be correct, proper and worthy of emulation. And finally, by the Fourth Universal the Central Rada proclaimed the independence of the Ukrainian state and at the same time and in the same Fourth Universal it gave notice that the final state structure in Ukraine would be decided by the Constituent Assembly which would also determine Ukraine's bond (federation) with the republics of the former Russian state.

No government in the whole world has ever produced anything to equal this chaotic and contradictory document. This fact should be revealed to the public during the "independence celebrations" if Ukrainians are to cast off their blinkers, recognize and cure their debilitating habit of honouring persons and events that contributed to the enslavement of the Ukrainian nation.

No wonder, then, that after the proclamation of the Fourth Universal, which emphasized the disbandment of the army, the young Ukrainian army began to melt away like snow. And it was wartime! The soldiers who liked the army or those who were heartened by the abolition of private property, began offering their services, not to the Central Rada, but to the Bolsheviks who were frantically creating their army, and who had abolished private property without waiting for the constituent assembly.

Under such conditions the Bolsheviks swiftly seized Kharkiv, Chernyhiv, Poltava and were advancing on Kyjiv. To be objective, one must state the inescapable truth that, in the midst of the stupefying socialist-anarchic atmosphere in the capital created by the political leadership of that

time, the Kyjiv gymnasium and student youth were the first to see the light and come to their senses. On their own, within a few days, they hurriedly organized an army unit (about 250 boys) which, although inspired with uncommon idealism and filled with an ardent desire to defend their native land, had neither proper arms and training nor a sufficient number of experienced officers.

On January 29 this Kyjiv students' squadron (sotnya) arrived at Kruty station and the following day, January 30, they were plunged into battle where they met their death. With only a few exceptions the whole squadron was savagely slaughtered by the Bolsheviks.

This great sacrifice of the high-minded youth of Kyjiv will forever remain a blemish on the then political and military leadership of the Central Rada which not only failed to take the necessary measures to defend the Ukrainian territory and the capital but, by its deliberate moves, paralyzed the military arm of the state and undermined the social base that would have given it support. With this background the sacrifice of our youth at Kruty — the Ukrainian Thermopylae — acquires a special meaning and becomes a matter of special significance.

The significance becomes even more glaring when it is recalled that, after a bitter experience in 1918, the very same political leadership under the name of the Directory of the Ukrainian People's Republic once again pursued the same experiment in January, 1919 with the well known Labour (Trudovy) Congress in Kyjiv which, this time, ended not with the Kruty tragedy but with the Ukrainian state disaster.

However adroitly the authors of these tragedies may hide, gild or distort their nefarious deeds — our children and grandchildren will eventually learn the truth. And the truth, though bitter, is more beneficial than a sweet, gilded lie, especially when the youth will, in any event, discover it in due time.

Ukrainian People's Republic — excluded God

The authors of the Central Rada and the Directory universals and other Ukrainian People's Republic documents never once mentioned God or implored God for his guidance in the great task of building, guiding and defending the state. God was not mentioned during the swearing-in ceremonies of the Central Rada president or his ministers. God was ignored when the Directory took its oath of office. Premier Vynnychenko boasted: "We're building Ukraine without priests". When in December, 1917 a delegation of church dignitaries petitioned President Hrushevsky to establish a department of religious affairs they were rudely brushed off with an abrupt comment: "We can do without priests". (Ivan Ohienko. *Vira i Kultura*, No. 21, 1966). And yet many Ukrainian churchmen today feign ignorance or blindness and continue deifying and exalting the leftist socialist-republican chieftains who wrecked the Ukrainian state and brought disaster upon the Ukrainian people. At the same time those same servants of God are ignoring or denigrating Hetman Pavlo (Skoropadsky), an exemplary God-fearing patriot who in all his state documents and public pronouncements never failed to honour God and who, with great dedication, led the Ukrainian State to greatness and importance.

Moscow supplied money for the UVO?

Nash Styah (newspaper) published a news item from Paris concerning a passage "in one of the most reputable French journals" *Candid* on the occasion of the appointment of Marcel Rosenberg as soviet ambassador to Madrid. *Candid* of September 10, 1936, says:

"Moisey, alias Marcel, Rosenberg, who has been named to head the soviet embassy in Madrid, is a proven agent, good Comintern emissary and a subtle diplomat. When he was general soviet consul in Danzig he directed all the anti-Polish activities of the Ukrainian communists and the U.V.O. (Ukrainian Military Organization), now the O.U.N. (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), an organization of colonel Konovalets, a Ukrainian nationalist, financed at the same time by Moscow and Reichswehr".

Nash Styah comments: "If true, this is something so terrible and brutal on the surface of the muddy ocean of Ukrainian irresponsible factional politicking that it by far surpasses the limits of imagination. Let the so-called leaders of the underground explain this one to the general Ukrainian public".

We share the *Nash Styah* comment. (*Ukrainian Voice*, Winnipeg, October 7, 1936).

The Ukrainian Military Movement and the Organization of Armed Forces

(Chapter XIV, History of Ukraine, 1917-1923, Volume I,
by Prof. Dmytro Doroshenko)

The army and service in the army have never been popular amongst the conscious Ukrainian intelligentsia. Brought up in the spirit of opposition to the state, it saw the army as the main prop of the state in oppressing the people.

With regard to the Ukrainians the army, along with the state school, served as the greatest tool for Muscovization. The Russian government, in fact, rather than allowing the Ukrainians to perform their military duty at home, in Ukraine, always sent them to distant parts of the state or to the capitals where a great number of Ukrainians served in the regiments of Czar's Guards. Military service was indeed very conducive to Muscovization. A negative attitude towards "service in moskalyakh" (military service) and towards "moskali" was discernable like a red ribbon throughout the modern Ukrainian literature from Kotlyarevsky to Vynnychenko. No wonder, then, that the Ukrainian intelligentsia, dreaming about a free Ukraine in free Russia, had never given even a thought to forming Ukraine's own army in the future, believing that the army would become redundant in the new socialist state and that, at the most, a "people's militia" will suffice. In the XIX century Ukrainians never even thought about creating an armed force to achieve liberation. The only exception was an attempt to form some sort of Ukrainian military group during the Herzegovinian insurrection in 1875 when the Kyjiv Hromada (community) initiated the formation of a "Ukrainian legion" to aid the Herzegovian



Prof. Dmytro Doroshenko

rebels.¹ In the Russian Ukraine there was nothing parallel with the Sokil or Seech organizations in Halychyna. There were practically no conscious Ukrainians in the Russian army officers' corps, although it included a great many Ukrainians by birth, some of whom even held high positions (in the last decades it is enough to mention General M. Drahomyrov, chief of the Kyjiv military district, General M. Trotsky, chief of the Vilna military district, General M. Kosych, chief of the Kazan military district, General Lynevych, commander-in-chief of the Russian army in the Russo-Japanese war, etc.). During the war, when all reserve officers were organized, there were some conscious Ukrainians amongst them but they were usually in the lowest positions — corresponding to the rank of a

¹ S. Krut (Vasylevsky). *Zapyski ukrainsia pro pobut mizh poludnevnyy slavyanamy*. Lviv, 1905; A. Lysenko. *Mizh dobrovoltsamy 1876 roku*. Literaturno-Naukovy Visnyk, 1909, Vol. I; Vasyl Yanovsky. *Spomyny ukrainskoho volontyora pro povstan-nia v Herzegovini 1875-1876*. Literaturno-Naukovy Visnyk, 1911, Vol. VII-IX; 1912 Vol. IV-VI.

standard-bearer (the lowest officer's rank in the old Russian army).

All this, it seemed, was not conducive to the development of the Ukrainian national movement in the army. Nevertheless it surfaced, and very quickly. The spontaneous awakening of national awareness, obviously, did its work, and there was enough initiative on the part of several dedicated individuals who were determined to see that the movement got started. Once started, the movement continued to embrace an ever expanding area and the leading Ukrainian circles soon realized that it could become the most realistic prop in the Ukrainian national demands. Unfortunately the Central Rada leaders, brought up under the influence of anti-military views and attitudes, failed properly to appreciate and take advantage of this movement in the armed forces. As well, there were no people in the military service who were gifted with a blend of military authority, professional knowledge and who, at the same time, had experience in the national-political life. Military affairs fell partly into the hands of civilians and partly into the hands of officers of low rank who were unable to grapple and cope with the total situation, unable to inflame and draw the masses of soldiery with them, although idealistic and politically-inclined people amongst them were not lacking.

The Ukrainian military movement was initiated by a Kharkiv lawyer, Mykola Mikhnovsky², a well known Ukrainian public figure. At the outbreak of the revolution he was in Kyjiv. Upon being called to the colours

² Mykola Ivanovych Mikhnovsky was born in 1873 in the Pryluky county, Poltava region. He received his university education in Kyjiv. In his student days he belonged to the so-called "Tarasivtsi" group. After graduation he practiced law in Kharkiv. At the Shevchenko anniversary in Poltava in 1899 he delivered a brilliant speech titled "Independent Ukraine" which was published the following year in the form of a brochure. In 1902 he founded the "Ukrainian People's Party" which embraced the principles of independence. His life ended tragically May 3, 1924 in Kyjiv; being unable to endure the Bolshevik persecution any longer — he took his own life. For details see article by S. Shemet in *Khliborobska Ukraina*, Vol. V, 1925, pp. 3-30.

Mikhnovsky, as a lawyer, served as a reserve officer in the Kyjiv District Military Court with the rank of a lieutenant.

The first meeting of Ukrainian officers and men (soldiers) took place March 22 in Kyjiv. The meeting decided that the participants should constitute themselves an Interim Military Council and inform the Provisional Government that the Military Council welcomed the freedoms proclaimed by the Provisional Government and that the Council firmly believed that the Provisional Government would, before the Constituent Assembly was convened, proclaim a legal act with regard to Ukraine, similar to the act concerning Finland, with a view to restoring to Ukraine her autonomous rights usurped by czarism.

On March 24 a military public meeting took place, attended by over a thousand officers and men. Upon adopting the resolution passed at the previous meeting, the assembly decided to organize persons discharged from military service into a Ukrainian Volunteer Regiment. The meeting elected a temporary Military Bureau consisting of seven members.³

On Mykola Mikhnovsky's initiative the Ukrainians serving in the Kyjiv garrison were called to a conference on March 29. Elected to chair the meeting was Col. Pavlo Voloshyn (chief of staff of the reserve brigade); Captain Oleksander Sakhno-Ustymovych (staff adjutant of the Kyjiv military district) was named deputy chairman. Chosen to serve as secretaries were: Mikhnovsky himself, ensign Hots and cadet Lukianov. On the agenda, obviously inspired by Mikhnovsky, were the following items: 1) organization of a Ukrainian military club, 2) organization of the Ukrainian army, 3) participation of the army in the forthcoming Ukrainian manifestation.

The conference unanimously resolved to open in Kyjiv a "Hetman Pavlo Polubotok Ukrainian Military Club" as

³ *Visty z Ukrainskoyi Vyskovoyi Rady*, No. 1.

a separate, fully independent Ukrainian military organization. A committee, headed by Mikhnovsky, was named to put the resolution into effect. A motion proposed by the chairman that the commander of the Kyjiv garrison, Lt. Gen. Tsytsyovych, (present at the conference), be named an honorary member of the new club was passed unanimously.

Following a talk by Mykola Mikhnovsky, which was received with great enthusiasm, the conference resolved, unanimously, "to proceed forthwith with the organization of Ukraine's own national army, a mighty military force, without which the achievement of Ukraine's liberty is unthinkable". It was decided to start organizing Ukrainian volunteer regiments in all branches of the armed forces, and to name the first regiment: "The First Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky Ukrainian Volunteer Regiment".

Finally, the ceremonial for the parade had been carefully worked out and a committee named to direct the manifestation.

And indeed, the massive participation of Ukrainian servicemen marching in separate units in the national manifestation testified to the efficient preparation and organization of the parade.

Mikhnovsky, whose faithful assistant was artillery captain Han, went about organizing the military club with great fervor. He drew up the constitution and by-laws himself and within a week had the club formed. The club was organized as a military association with headquarters in Kyjiv. The association was empowered to organize branches throughout the Ukraine. The objectives of the association were enunciated in par. 3 of the constitution: "to unite into one family all servicemen, doctors and military officials of Ukrainian nationality under the banner of: federative Russia — autonomous Ukraine".

Along with the Polubotok Club there was also formed a "Ukrainian Military Organizational Committee" for the

purpose of organizing Ukrainian military units. Heading the Committee was Col. Hlynsky, commander of the reserve brigade in Kyjiv. Included in the Committee were Col. Pavlo Voloshyn, Capt. Han, Ensign Pavelko, Lt. M. Mikhnovsky, and others.

Immediately after the Polubotok Club came into being it issued tens of thousands of copies of an appeal to the Ukrainian servicemen, calling upon them to unite into separate national groups and report the information to the Polubotok Association. The appeal made a sensational impression at the whole front as well as in the rear, or wherever Ukrainian servicemen were stationed. Meetings were held everywhere and Ukrainian military clubs and associations were formed. Thus towards the end of March a Ukrainian Military Club was formed in Moscow.⁴ On April 8 a meeting of Ukrainian servicemen in Ternopil passed a resolution calling for national-territorial Ukrainian autonomy and the annexation of Halchyna, Bukovyna and Kuban by the Ukraine.⁵ At a meeting of front-line servicemen (soldiers) in Kyjiv on April 10 it was decided to demand the formation of a Ukrainian national army, complete with various types of arms and, meanwhile, to ask for the segregation of all front-line Ukrainian soldiers into separate groups; in the rear, to ask for the formation of Ukrainian regiments with Ukrainian as the official working language.⁶

In April a Ukrainian Front-line Council for troops on the western front was formed in Minsk. A Ukrainian group (hromada) was attached to the staff of the western front supreme command. A Ukrainian military meeting was held in Kharkiv. A Ukrainian group was formed in the 5th Russian army on the northern front. A constituent meeting of

⁴ This information is gleaned from articles by Col. Oleksander Shapoval published in the *American Speech* in 1929, nos. 15, 16 and 17.

⁵ *Visnyk Sviatohryskoi Vyzvolennoi Ukrainy*, No. 150, p. 309.

⁶ *Ibid.* No. 151, p. 334.

the Odessa Ukrainian Military Council was held April 26. Activities of the Council were to extend throughout the Odessa military district, the Black sea fleet and the Rumanian front. Elected to head the Council was the noted Ukrainian public leader Dr. Ivan Lutsenko, a physician by profession.

The Ukrainian Military Organizing Committee promptly took steps towards forming a volunteer Ukrainian regiment. But the higher military authorities as well as the revolutionary committees, representing the new rulers, opposed the formation of Ukrainian military units. In the eyes of the higher military authorities the idea was redundant and dangerous, although at the time there existed in Russia national military formations, e.g. battalions of Lettish riflemen, the Gen. Dowbor-Musnych's Polish corps which, besides, was stationed in Ukraine, — not to mention the Czech legions. The revolutionary democracy was against the formation of Ukrainian military units because it considered this to be a "breach of the common revolutionary front". When the Provisional Government's minister of military affairs Guchkov came to Kyjiv while the Ukrainian National Congress was in session, the Congress sent a delegation, composed of D. Doroshenko, M. Mikhnovsky and S. Erastov, to seek permission to form a Ukrainian regiment and to ask that Polish corps be withdrawn from the Ukrainian territory. The minister's answers were very evasive.

Meanwhile, as events developed, the formation of Ukrainian military units got started without the Russian military authorities' permission. Early in April over 3000 Ukrainian servicemen gathered at the Kyjiv staging camp to demand that they be formed into a Ukrainian national military unit. Delegates from these servicemen, together with the Polubotok Military Association, drew up and submitted to the higher military authorities a plan to organize a Bohdan Khmelnytsky regiment. The realization of this

regiment met a determined opposition not so much from the military authorities as from the so-called Russian revolutionary democracy which sat on different committees and councils. An especially strident campaign against the Ukrainian military formations was led by the commissar of the Kyjiv military district (and, as of May 12, chief of the district Col. K. Oberuchev.)⁷ In his numerous articles in *Kyjivskaya Mysl* he sharply attacked the "Ukrainization of the bayonet", declaring it to be entirely unnecessary and detrimental to the revolution. He called the men wishing to serve in the Ukrainian national regiments common deserters who were demanding formation of the Ukrainian regiments in order to remain in the rear as long as possible and escape going to the front. The "committee of the soldiers' deputies of the Kyjiv military district" also voiced its opposition.

But this did not halt the process of forming the regiment, it only irritated the Ukrainian servicemen and made them angry at the revolutionary councils and committees. On the Polubotok Association's initiative a Ukrainian military celebration of the "first flowers" was held on May 1 at the Syretsky field near Kyjiv. Participating in the celebration were Ukrainians from various branches of the Kyjiv garrison as well as officers and men who had arrived from the front. Servicemen from the staging encampment also came to the celebration and declared that they had formed themselves into a Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky Ukrainian regiment. This regiment arrived with its designated colonel, staff captain Putnyk-Hrebenchuk. The whole field where the Ukrainian servicemen were assembled was decorated with national flags and portraits of Shevchenko and Hetman Pavlo Polubotok. The banners bore such inscriptions as "Long live the Ukrainian army!", "The Ukraine's Sun has risen", "Long live Ukrainian

⁷ *Nova Rada*, No. 4.

autonomy", etc. Three military bands played the Ukrainian national anthem. A number of speeches on current events and the organization of the Ukrainian regiment were delivered. About five o'clock in the afternoon the participants of the celebration, in marching order, began their march towards the city. In approximately two hours the demonstrators appeared at the Czar's Palace in Lypky, where the council of soldiers' deputies was in session, and declared that they had, by way of an accomplished fact, formed the Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky regiment. All the exhortations of the Military Committee members were of no avail, and the head of the council of soldiers' deputies was not even given a chance to speak. The posture of the Ukrainian servicemen assumed threatening proportions towards Military committee members who hastily sent for the commander of the military district N. A. Khodorovych.

General Khodorovych, himself a Ukrainian by birth, was friendly to the Ukrainian military movement. He welcomed the demonstrators in the Ukrainian language and this immediately pacified the agitated mass of soldiery. The demonstrators gave the General a tremendous ovation and, at his request, dispersed obediently leaving behind a negotiating delegation headed by Mykola Mikhnovsky.

Negotiations with representatives of the Military Committee and with higher authorities of the military district came to naught. The Ukrainian delegation held firmly to its position. The following day a Ukrainian delegation left Kyjiv for Kamyanetz to seek recognition for the Bohdan Khmelnytsky Ukrainian regiment from the

* K. M. Oberuchev (1865-1929), an artillery officer, born in Kyjiv, was dismissed from his post for participating in the revolutionary activities during the first revolution and was forced to emigrate to Switzerland. He was sympathetic to some extent towards the Ukrainians, having collaborated with the *Kievskaya Starina*. He returned to Russia on the eve of the revolution and was immediately arrested in Kyjiv. He was released with the outbreak of the revolution and appointed commissar of the Kyjiv military district. Oberuchev belonged to the Russian Socialist-Revolutionary party. After the fall of the Provisional Government he again became an émigré and died in 1929 in U.S.A.

commander-in-chief of the armies of the south-western front. The delegation consisted of Gen. Ivanov, Lt. M. Mikhnovsky, Col. V. Pavlenko, Staff Capt. Putnyk-Hrebenyuk, Ensign Mandyuha and Privates Sakhnovsky, Izbitsky and Tarasenko. Meanwhile events in Kyjiv developed in their own way. The Khmelnytsky regiment was formed arbitrarily. Attached to the regiment were artillery cadres, mounted units, machine gun and engineering sections numbering 3574 men. Staff Capt. Damyan Putnyk-Hrebenyuk was named commander of the regiment. The following were elected officers: S. Yaroshenko, W. Dmytrychenko, Ivan Lukianenko, Stanislav Izbytsky and H. Mychka. The regiment was divided into squadrons according to the counties. A regimental council was also elected.

The council of soldiers' and military deputies and the council of the Kyjiv district armies held a joint meeting on May 3. Central Rada representatives were also present at the meeting. A general debate developed over the formation of the Ukrainian regiment and the formation of Ukrainian military units generally. Representatives of the Russian revolutionary democracy vigorously opposed the principle of allowing the formation of national military units because it would break the united revolutionary front, weaken the cause of the revolution and greatly diminish the fighting efficiency of the troops. They demanded that the soldiers gathered at the staging camp be sent immediately to the front in the usual manner. Gen. Khodorovych was accused of giving in to the demands of those who favoured the Ukrainization of the army. The Muscovites charged that the General's soft attitude towards the demonstrators on May 1 emboldened them and encouraged them to continue their activities. The Ukrainian spokesmen, including Mikhnovsky, argued that the soldiers' movement arose quite spontaneously and that going against the wishes of the Ukrainian servicemen would more than ever antagonize the

Ukrainians generally, whose national feelings had been so persistently outraged by the old regime. Vynnychenko read the Central Rada resolution supporting the demands of the "Bohdanovites".

The Ukrainian speakers failed to sway the assembly which, by a vote of 264 to 4 (the Ukrainians, numbering 38, abstained from voting), rejected the resolution calling for the formation of the regiment.

But Gen. Brusilov had already settled the matter by mutual concessions. In a telegram on May 4 he informed the Kyjiv district military commander that he had nothing against the formation of the Ukrainian regiment provided it was composed exclusively of volunteers. Only 500 of the men assembled at the staging camp were to remain to form the framework of the regiment and the rest were to report immediately to their respective units at the front.

In this connection the Central Rada passed a resolution stating that it "viewed with satisfaction the declaration of the higher command respecting the formation of the first Ukrainian regiment as a recognition of the Ukrainization of the army". It appealed to the Ukrainian servicemen gathered in Kyjiv to do their military duty and, after a cadre for the formation of the Ukrainian regiment had been selected, return to their units at the front. At the same time, with representatives of various Ukrainian military organizations participating, a Military Commission had been set up within the Central Rada to take charge of the Ukrainization of the army. Eventually things happened in the way the soldiers gathered at the staging camp in Kyjiv wished them to happen: almost all of them, 3400 men, joined the first Ukrainian regiment; the First Ukrainian Military Congress took place in Kyjiv; the Congress sanctioned the regiment and approved the acceptance of enlisted officers and men. A flag-portrait of Bohdan Khmelnytsky, embroidered by the nuns of the Frolov monastery in Kyjiv, was presented to the regiment which took the oath upon it.



Lt. Mykola Mikhnovsky

The Ukrainian military movement was entering a new phase. Having been initiated by a few nationalist independents headed by Mykola Mikhnovsky, it continued to develop for some time on a purely national basis. The crea-

tion of a Ukrainian national army as the foundation of Ukrainian statehood was the guiding principle of the men leading the movement. They, therefore, tried to awaken national consciousness in the masses of the Ukrainian soldiery. By recalling the kozak days they hoped to revive pride in the old historic tradition. Hence the names of our hetmans as patrons of the new military organizations and military units: the Polubotok club, the Bohdan Khmelnytsky regiment, the Doroshenko regiment, etc. The soldiers gladly received these national ideas and readily accepted the historical tradition; even the outward forms, the attributes of historical kozakdom were enthusiastically revived, including the names, the attire, even the kozak forelock and "herrings" (oseledtsi). This was a healthy national movement, idealistic in character. By reviving the historical national tradition, this movement, logically, revived the tradition of Ukrainian statehood: the visual image of an independent Ukrainian state ideal was self-depicted before the eyes of the leaders of this movement and the masses that followed them.

One of the pioneers of the Ukrainian military movement notes in his memoirs that in the early beginnings of the movement its leaders — mainly the military people and some nationalistically inclined intelligentsia — "treated all declarations of the Russian revolutionary democracy with suspicion. They decidedly condemned the tactics of holding the so-called united front with the Muscovites — tactics that were vigorously promoted by the Ukrainian socialist-radical intelligentsia. The extreme leftist slogans frightened our military men and, understandably, roused fears that the Ukrainian socialists might fall completely for this demagoguery."⁹

The Ukrainian intelligentsia, brought up in an anti-state and anti-military atmosphere, at first did not treat the

⁹ Oleksander Shapoval, *op. cit.*, *Speech*, No. 17.

Ukrainian military movement with proper regard, considering it to be merely "revolutionary" in general. Mikhnovsky himself was not popular in the socialistic Ukrainian circles which seized the leadership into their own hands. Leaders such as Vynnychenko, for example, who detested the army, could not have sympathized with the idea of organizing the Ukrainian army either. In the very beginning of the movement, on the third day of the Ukrainian National Congress, Vynnychenko wrote an article in the *Robitnycha Hazeta* (No. 7, April 8, 1917) which brought into focus the views of the circles represented by him concerning the organization of the army. The article ridiculed the "faith in bayonets" and warned that "on the tips of the bayonets may flutter not only the red ribbons of freedom but also the black strands of reaction, coercion, absolutism . . ." "We need a strong hand, not bayonets", the article continued, "because a strong hand will have everything: the bayonets, the plow and the pen". With undisguised malice the article ridiculed the awakening of historical traditions: "The red zhupans (topcoats) and capes glittered before the eyes, the nostrils filled with the smell of cannon smoke, fresh blood, rotting corpses. The bunchuks (kozak symbol of authority), the maces, the diplomats, the nobility-statesmen. The serf aspires to turn quickly into a nobleman, to dangle the prison keys, to flourish the knout. No wonder the other newly-liberated serfs — the Poles — according to rumors) do not want a republic but, without fail — a king. We would not be surprised if our serfs might also want a king to keep up with the gentry".

A few days later Vynnychenko again wrote in the same *Robitnycha Hazeta* (No. 10, April 12) against the creation of the Ukrainian army: "We social-democrats and all true democrats do not need our own army, we need the destruction of all regular armies. The urgent need today is not the organization of a regular Ukrainian army. The urgent need is to educate, unite and organize all Ukrainian soldiers.

Ukrainianize the units of the All-Russian army which are composed of Ukrainians, segregate them into a separate group and construct the group in such a way that it would form a Ukrainian people's army, conscious of the people's, not the army's, interests, that it should not be and that it should never become a force in the hands of the ruling classes, regardless of the nation to which it may belong. Ukrainian democracy should be very watchful these days. Ukrainian militarism has never existed and it should never exist".

However, people with such views on the Ukrainization of the army found themselves facing a strong nationalistic independence movement amongst the soldier-Ukrainians — a fact that required their taking a position one way or the other. Russian democracy had already threatened the Ukrainian democracy with "bayonets". Thus the Ukrainian bayonet, which of its own volition was prepared to serve the Central Rada, appeared to be far from being a redundant force. All they needed to do was to subordinate this force, direct it into the socialistic channels, make it a tool of the same policies — equating the Ukrainian national movement with social slogans — which the Ukrainian democracy within the Central Rada had pursued since the month of May.

Thus already in April-May two tendencies had emerged clearly within the Ukrainian community regarding the attitude towards the Ukrainian national army: the first was represented from the very beginning by the Polubotok Association headed by Mikhnovsky, who stood for the organization of a regular Ukrainian army as a foundation of the future independent Ukraine; the second, the camp of the Ukrainian revolutionary democracy whose spokesman V. Vynnychenko wrote the above-mentioned articles, considered the formation of a regular Ukrainian army to be unnecessary and dangerous. The revolutionary democrats viewed the Ukrainian movement in the army only as a

means of "intensifying the revolution within the masses" and wished to take advantage of it in order to strengthen the Central Rada's authority with the All-Russian revolutionary democracy and the Provisional Government.

It became clear that the two viewpoints must collide and engage in a struggle for supremacy over the Ukrainian military movement. The first battleground was to be the Ukrainian Military Congress called for May 18 (new calendar) in Kyjiv, initiated by the Ukrainian Military Committee and aided by the Central Rada. The battle did indeed develop at the very opening of the Congress over the question of who was to act as chairman of the gathering.

The Congress was attended by some 700 delegates from all Russian front armies, from the Baltic and Black Sea fleets, from garrisons and military units in the rear. According to the organizers' estimates the Congress represented 1,580,702 Ukrainian servicemen.¹⁰ Even before the formal opening of the Congress the Central Rada agents swamped the delegates with Socialist-Revolutionary and Socialist-Democratic party appeals and pamphlets, hoping to persuade them to accept the extreme political and social slogans and divert their attention from the ideas of "nationalism and chauvinism" in favour of revolutionary socialism. The Congress was opened by the head of the Central Rada M. Hrushevsky, who received an ovation. Then V. Vynnychenko stepped forward and in the name of Central Rada proposed that Symon Petlyura, who came to Kyjiv as a delegate from the Ukrainian committee at the western front, be named chairman of the Congress. Election of a Socialist-Democrat to chair the Congress was to serve as a guarantee that the work of the Congress would proceed in the spirit desired by the Central Rada.

However, Petlyura's candidature encountered opposition from Mikhnovsky who declared that the head of the

¹⁰ *Visnyk Ukraïnskoho Generalnoho Kometetu*, No. 1.

Congress most certainly should be a military person and not a civilian like Petlyura. A sharp controversy erupted. A number of delegates put forward Mikhnovsky's candidature for a chairman. Finally both camps, the nationalist and the socialist, resorted to a compromise and instead of one chairman decided on a collective presidium: S. Petlyura, V. Vynnychenko, M. Mikhnovsky, Seaman Stepan Pysmenny, and Lt. Col. Yuriy Kapkan who had just been named commander of the Bohdan Khmelnytsky 1st Ukrainian regiment. Each member of the presidium was to take his turn in presiding over the Congress.

At the first business session S. Petlyura, as chairman of the Congress, ignored the program worked out by the Polubotok Association and submitted the agenda proposed by the Central Rada. Again a sharp battle erupted and again both sides reached an agreement by mutual compromise: the Central Rada program was supplemented by the program submitted by the Polubotok Association.

Describing the opening of the congress, the *Kievskaya Mysl* reporter noted that "for the time being, the surge of nationalistic enthusiasm, with radical militaristic tendencies predominating, was clearly evident. But under the skilful, experienced leadership of S. Petlyura the congress will one should think adopt somewhat softer attitudes during the coming sessions of the congress". The *Kievskaya Mysl* reporter was not mistaken: Petlyura and Vynnychenko did their best to keep the congress within the frame of loyalty to the Russian Provisional Government and to block all "nationalistic" and "militaristic" deviations. In his very first speech Petlyura emphasized that "at the present moment we should not seek to separate the fate of Russia from the fate of Ukraine. Should Russia, keenly experiencing a bitter historical fate, suffer a catastrophe, the consequences of this catastrophe will inevitably reverberate in its political part — the Ukraine". A telegram received from the Petersburg Council of Workers' and Sol-

diers' Deputies urging the congress to desist from forming separate Ukrainian military units until the matter was resolved by the All-Russian convention in June created a wave of indignation among the delegates, many of whom suggested sending a sharp reply to Russia. According to *Russkoye Slovo*, Vynnychenko and Petlyura appealed to the delegates to remain calm, pointing out that it was imperative to maintain contact with the Provisional Government as well as with the Council of Workers' and Soldiers' deputies. They succeeded in persuading the congress to send a special delegation to Petersburg to negotiate with the Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.

In accordance with the program drawn up by the Central Rada, the congress deliberated on the questions of combating desertion, maintenance of discipline in the army, segregation of nationalities within the regiments and military units on the southern and south-western fronts, replenishment of these units by the Ukrainians exclusively, composition of their commands, etc.

An item concerning "the attitude towards the war" was also placed on the agenda. The discussion of this topic roused intense emotions. Spokesmen for the independent-nationalists, Mikhnovsky, Lutsenko and others, proposed that an independent Ukraine be the war aim for the Ukrainians. Mikhnovsky introduced a resolution which, referring to Wilson's point about self-determination of peoples, called for Ukrainian state independence. Vynnychenko passionately opposed Mikhnovsky's resolution. He savagely attacked and defamed Ukrainian historic leaders, hetmans and colonels, accusing them of being oppressors of the common people, who sold their freedom. Vynnychenko declared that the World War had been started not by the peoples but by the masters-capitalists, that peace must be concluded without annexations or indemnities and that the presence of representatives of the

Ukrainian people at the peace conference should be demanded.

The socialist agitation was doing its work: regarding its attitude towards the war the congress passed a resolution declaring that it "associates itself with the declaration of the Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies addressed to the peoples of the world", approving the position on the war taken by the Provisional Government. The congress also decided "to support peace, without annexations and compensations, based on the principle of self-determination of peoples. To hasten such peace, the Congress considers it necessary to urge that the Provisional Government immediately ascertain fully and clearly the attitude of the belligerents towards peace without annexations and compensations; only after such a clarification can the true will of the people of Russia concerning the war be truly determined. Until then the defence of the All-Russian freedom should be conducted firmly and steadfastly at the front. The congress considers it imperative that Ukraine be represented at the peace conference by delegates from the organized Ukrainian people in their entirety".

The principles adopted by the Congress regarding the organization of the army were entirely in the spirit of Vynnychenko's ideas; "Whereas no war is ever the concern of the people, but serves rather the imperialist policies of the ruling classes, a regular army, being a tool of the ruling classes, is not compatible with the aspirations of the people; therefore, the Ukrainian Military Congress, in laying the primary foundation for an organized force of the Ukrainian democracy, strongly supports efforts to convert, after the war, the Ukrainian army into an army of the people — a national militia".

Regarding desertion and the decline of the fighting spirit, it was decided to combat this phenomenon by the Ukrainization of the army units: "The best method of maintaining a conscious discipline, the only discipline now

possible in the people's army, which is based not on fear but on confidence and mutual understanding between the privates and the officers, also on the military spirit which, for the most part, could be enhanced only through some great, unifying idea common to all, and one such idea for the Ukrainians is the idea of national renaissance, — the Congress deems it necessary to undertake immediately the organization of the Ukrainian army on the national principle. With enhanced discipline, desertion will disappear. The Congress is convinced that under their own national colours, under the officers of their own blood and spirit, the Ukrainian soldiers will all, to a man, go into battle. Those who refuse will be dealt with severely, and we shall succeed in eradicating desertion completely from the Ukrainian people's army".

The congress also passed a resolution clarifying the ways of Ukrainizing the army: all officers and soldiers of Ukrainian nationality should be segregated into separate national units; at the front this should proceed progressively; with regard to the fleet, some vessels on the Baltic sea should be staffed by Ukrainian officers. In the Black sea fleet where Ukrainians predominate, replenishments should be exclusively Ukrainian. For the practical realization of these objectives a Ukrainian general military committee should be set up which would work jointly with the Russian general staff.

Along with resolutions pertaining to military matters the congress also passed a series of resolutions of a general-political nature. First of all a resolution concerning the Ukrainian autonomy: "1. In order to reduce national conflicts in Ukraine and at the front, which may greatly harm the revolution generally, and to further the greatest possible unity and concord amongst all democratic masses in Ukraine, the Congress considers it necessary to demand that the Provisional Government and the Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies immediately proclaim by

a special act the principle of national-territorial autonomy for Ukraine as the best guarantee of national-political rights of the Ukrainian people and of the whole country. As a first step towards the realization of this act the Congress considers it imperative that a minister in charge of Ukrainian affairs, attached to the Provisional Government, be appointed immediately. 2). Supporting the demand of the Ukrainian National Congress submitted to the Provisional Government by the Ukrainian Central Rada, which has not yet received a reply, the Ukrainian Military Congress considers it urgent that, with respect to this matter, a regional organ be set up in Ukraine at once which would work together with a representative of the central government in Ukraine — a commissar for all huberniyi populated by the Ukrainians”.

The Ukrainian Military Congress recognized the Central Rada as a higher Ukrainian governing body and confirmed it by a special resolution which stated that the Congress “considers the Central Rada to be the only organ competent to resolve all matters pertaining to the whole of Ukraine and to her relations with the Provisional Government and, in view of the fact that the Central Rada performs great work for the state, requests that funds from the state treasury be made available to the Central Rada for Ukrainian national needs”.

The congress passed a resolution calling for Ukrainian to be the language of instruction in all schools in Ukraine commencing in the fall of 1917; another resolution called for minority rights to be secured. Before a Ukrainian military academy was established, military training should be conducted as much as possible in the Ukrainian language and in the Ukrainian spirit. Finally there was a resolution concerning the agrarian question, drawn up by a joint session of delegates to the military and co-operative congresses: “The right to the ownership of land in the autonomous Ukraine should belong exclusively to the peo-

ple. Conditions of parcelling out of land will be determined by the Ukrainian Soym (parliament) on the basis of justice and equality of all those who live in Ukraine. The use of forest, water and mineral wealth should be adjusted on the principle of generality. Until this problem is finally solved the Provisional Government should immediately suspend all purchase and sale agreements as well as all transactions concerning the transference of land, especially by foreign companies or persons; leasing arrangements should also be regulated".

Under the prevailing conditions all these resolutions were nothing more than an expression of a desire, a desiderata. Of practical importance was the choice of members of the General Military Committee which would guide the affairs of the movement and give it direction one way or another. For this reason the election of the committee members precipitated an even greater struggle than the election of the congress chairman. A participant in the event testified that the socialists unleashed an all-out campaign to assure the election to the committee of people who would carry on the Central Rada policies concerning military matters.¹¹

Elected to the Ukrainian General Military Committee were Volodymyr Vynnychenko, Simon Petlyura, Dr. Ivan Lutsenko, Col. Viktor Pavlenko, Col. O. Pylkevych, Aviator Ensign Mykhaylo Polozov, Seaman Stepan Pysmenny, Gen. Mykhaylo Ivanov, Military official I. Horemyka-Krupchynsky, Lt. Arsen Cherniavsky, Private Dmytro Rovynsky, Ensign Apolon Pevny, Lt. Col. Yuriy Kapkan, Lt. Mykola Mikhnovsky, Ensign Fedir Seletsky, Private Stepan Hrazhdan, Lt. Col. Viktor Poplavko and Ensign Vassyl Potishko.

Such was the composition of the highest military organ of Ukraine which was to direct the whole military move-

¹¹ Oleksander Shapoval, *op. cit.*, No. 19.

ment in the army and, combating various political and technical difficulties, organize a Ukrainian armed force. Regarding the military-technical suitability of these people for the task before them it should be noted that several amongst them were entirely non-military and that the majority of the military members were of low rank — hence it was hard for them to cope with the difficult and complex task of organizing an army.¹² In addition, there was no concord amongst them: at the outset a sharp conflict erupted between Mikhnovsky on the one hand and Vynnychenko and Petlyura on the other; it ended when Mikhnovsky walked out of the committee. Dr. Lutsenko left for Odessa to continue the work he started there. Lt. Col. Kapkan was obliged to devote most of his attention to his regiment. The officer members of the committee had to travel from time to time to the front and to the rear to resolve various incidents and misunderstandings incidental to the spontaneous and arbitrary wave of Ukrainization which was rolling along on its own regardless of the directives from

¹² Vynnychenko, Petlyura, Mikhnovsky and Lutsenko had already been mentioned. Col. V. Pavlenko was an aviator in charge of the air force at Mohyliv; a very energetic person with exceptional talents as an organizer. Having found himself abroad he long lived in distress as an émigré; in 1928 he returned to the Soviet Union. Col. D. Pylykevych — a long-time conscious Ukrainian and a patriot, a poet-dreamer, in no way distinguished himself in the military service. Gen. Ivanov was appropriately characterized by Col. O. Shapoval: "as a professional, under proper guidance, he could definitely have been useful to the cause, but having found himself in the socialist-democratic company he became like a chip from a broken vessel in stormy waters floating wherever the waves carried him". Lt. Col. Poplavko and Lt. Col. Kapkan were typical adventurers that surfaced during the revolution. Poplavko very early became a Bolshevik agent. Cherniavsky, Seletsky, Pevny, Potishko and Homeryka were likeable people and good Ukrainians but, obviously, they lacked experience and adequate preparation for tackling the complicated problems related to the organization of the army. Besides, some of them were caught in the whirlpool of socialist-revolutionary life and the specific politics of the revolutionary times. With regard to Seaman Pysmenny and Privates Rovynsky and Hrazhdan, Col. Shapoval says that they could have served a useful purpose not as members of the Committee but as effective agitators skilled in reaching the soldier masses. Ensign Polozov, even while a member of the General Military Committee, was serving — secretly at first — the Bolshevik cause. Today he is the commissar for financial affairs in the Kharkiv government.

Kyjiv.¹³ Vynnychenko had to devote all his time to politics at the Central Rada and so the whole matter actually fell into the hands of Petlyura. Mikhnovsky remained in Kyjiv for some time. Petlyura and Vynnychenko, supported by the soldier and junior officer members of the Committee, waged a bitter campaign against him.

But Mikhnovsky's enemies soon succeeded in removing him from Kyjiv after the discovery of his plot to proclaim the independence of Ukraine with the aid of the army. S. Shemet, in his above mentioned article, relates this seemingly fantastic plan as follows: "Already on June 17 a plan had emerged in Mikhnovsky's mind to proclaim Ukrainian state independence with the support of Bohdanites (Bohdan Khmelnytsky regiment). In view of the rampant disorder at the time the idea was not at all fantastic. It was decided to take the regiment by steamboats to the Shevchenko burial-mound and there, on this spot, sacred to every conscious Ukrainian, proclaim the independence of the Ukrainian state. This required a trustworthy commander for the regiment. The proposal to appoint Mikhnovsky himself as commander of the Bohdanite regiment was discarded because the Polubotkivites (Polubotok regiment) saw the act of proclamation of independence and the Bohdanite regiment as only the beginning of a great undertaking and were afraid to be left without their chief commander.

On the advice of Klym Pavlyuk, cadre officer Yurko Kapkan was summoned from Symbirsk. He made a good

¹³ As an example I will adduce the following facts from Col. Shapoval's article: at a meeting in Uman the Ukrainian servicemen of the 14th infantry regiment demanded that their regiment be renamed the Gonta Ukrainian regiment. In Zhytomyr one of the infantry regiments renamed itself the Petro Sahaydachny regiment. The A. P. Polubotok regiment had been formed in Rostov-on-Don with 5000 Ukrainian servicemen joining at once. A Mazepa regiment had been formed in Saratov, while in Moscow it was simply a "Ukrainian Zaporozhian regiment". Similarly, Ukrainian regiments — or even battalions or squadrons — sprang up in other cities. (See: *Seech*, Chicago, 1929, No. 16).

impression on all the Polubotkivites. Taking Kapkan into their confidence, the Polubotkivites revealed to him their independence plans. In Mikhnovsky's presence Kapkan swore a solemn oath of secrecy and allegiance to the independent Ukraine. Kapkan also solemnly vowed before God that he would faithfully execute the whole independence plan. However, having at the same time entered into relationship with the newly-elected head of the Military Committee Symon Petlyura and with the Petlyurite socialist majority on this committee, Kapkan broke his oath. Thus the plan for the proclamation of Ukrainian independence failed".¹⁴ Mikhnovsky had to leave Kyjiv. He was sent to the Rumanian front to serve on the staff of one of the armies. He remained there until the late fall of 1917. He never returned to active political activity.

The Central Rada leaders soon realized that the Ukrainian movement in the army could become their best prop in their struggle for power in Ukraine. They expertly took control of the movement. But, unfortunately, they, at the same time, pushed it into the path of the socialistic demagoguery which was corrupting the healthy national elements in the military movement, depriving it of idealism, of idealistic verve and at the same time breeding careerism and adventurism amongst many servicemen (particularly amongst the officers) and whetting social appetites amongst others — all of which finally brought about a general cooling-off towards the idea of building an independent Ukrainian state. S. M. Shemet says that those who directed such policies "wasted all the national enthusiasm in the armies, missed the most opportune moment to form a Ukrainian army and in this way prepared the way for all the future catastrophes in our state-building efforts".¹⁵

As mentioned before, the Ukrainian military movement spread very rapidly on all fronts where the armies

¹⁴ S. Shemet, *Ahlihorohska Ukraina*, Vol. V, p. 21-22.

¹⁵ Op. cit., p. 22.

were stationed. The parade of the Western front Ukrainian military community on April 25 in Minsk showed that Ukrainian military clubs had sprung up in many army units. A conference of the 5th Army representatives of Ukrainian nationality was held April 24-25. The conference expressed the need for Ukrainian autonomy and a Ukrainian army. Other military units were adopting similar resolutions, e.g. the 1st Grenadier division. Ukrainians at the Western front succeeded in obtaining from the front commander-in-chief permission to form within the reserve regiments of the 27th infantry division a Ukrainian regiment and, in time, a whole division.

The higher Russian authorities, having permitted the formation of the Khmelnytsky regiment, also had to agree with the Ukrainian General Military Committee's submission that Ukrainian servicemen sent to the rear to replenish the active army be diverted to the three special corps consisting of Ukrainians exclusively.

In order to assess the dimensions of the spontaneous Ukrainian movement in the army and boost the Central Rada at the same time, the General Military Committee convened the Second Ukrainian Military Congress. In a letter to war minister Kerensky (real name Aron Kirbiz, Kerensky was the name of his stepfather) the Committee requested that all army units be advised of the congress. Kerensky replied that in view of the war situation he considered the congress to be ill-timed. The congress took place despite Kerensky's prohibition.

The Second Ukrainian Military Congress continued from June 5 to 11, attended by 1976 delegates representing 1,732,444 soldiers. Within a few days the number of participants increased to 2500. Delegates came from Petersburg, Moscow, Minsk, Kazan, Dvinsk, Omsk, Tersk and Turkestan regions as well as from the Northern, South-Western, Western, North-Western and the Rumanian

fronts. Resolutions pertaining to military matters included the following:

Concerning the work of the Military Committee.

1) Resolved that the work of the Ukrainian General Military Committee in carrying out the decisions of the First Ukrainian Military Congress be recognized as beneficial to Ukrainian servicemen and to the Russian army generally and in appreciation of which the Military Committee be accorded a sincere vote of thanks.

2) Resolved that the higher Russian military authorities be asked to sanction the Ukrainian Military Committee at all commands.

3) Resolved that the Russian higher military authorities recognize and respond to all requests submitted by the Ukrainian Military Committee.

4) Resolved that all decisions of the Ukrainian General Military Committee be acted upon promptly.

Concerning the authority of the Military Committee.

The Ukrainian Military Congress reprimands those Ukrainian servicemen who did not submit to the decisions of the General Ukrainian Military Committee and thereby impeded the work of the revolution, also those who caused disorganization in Ukrainian affairs; the Congress further resolves that as of this date all orders of the Ukrainian Military Committee shall be binding on all Ukrainian servicemen and Ukrainian military organizations.

Concerning the Ukrainization of the army.

While supporting the decisions of the First Ukrainian Military Congress regarding the Ukrainization of the army, the Congress directs the General Ukrainian Military Committee to draft a detailed plan for the Ukrainization of the army immediately and make every effort to have it acted upon at once.

The congress approved the statutes of the Military Committee as drawn up by the Committee and increased its membership to 27, composed of the following persons:

Symon Petlyura, Ivan Lutsenko, V. Vynnychenko, Viktor Pavlenko, O. Pylkevych, Mykhaylo Polozov, Stepan Pysmenny, Mykhaylo Ivaniv, I. Homeryka-Krupchynsky, Arsen Cherniavsky, Dmytro Rovinsky, A. Pevny, Yuriy Kapkan, F. Seletsky, S. Hrazhdan, Lt. Col. Viktor Poplavko, Ensign Vassyl Potishko, Major Gen. Luka Kondratovych, Lt. Col. Matyashevych, Lt. Col. O. Zhukovsky, Capt. O. Slyvynsky, Capt. Spiridon Biletsky, Lt. Mykola Levytsky, Lt. Petro Skrypchansky, Capt. Georgiy Hlibovsky, Ensign Volodymyr Kedrovsky and Private Serhiy Kolos.

Finally, the Congress elected a 132-member¹⁶ Provisional Council of Soldier's Deputies, and approved a model statute for the Ukrainian clubs in the army.

The All-Ukrainian Council of Soldiers' Deputies chose from amongst its members a permanent presidium which included: Private Osyp Hermayze (Ukrainian Social-Democrat), Ensign Mykola Vrublevsky (Ukrainian Social-Democrat), Lt. Pavlo Voytenko (Ukrainian Social-Democrat), Private Savatyi Bereznyak (Ukrainian Social-Revolutionist), Ensign Opanas Palyvoda (Ukrainian Social-Revolutionist), Second Lt. Petro Kutsyak (Chaly) and Lt. Mykhaylo Panchenko (Ukrainian Social-Revolutionist).¹⁷

As could have been expected, the Second Ukrainian Military Congress strengthened the spontaneous movement amongst the Ukrainian servicemen at all fronts. Ukrainian clubs and societies sprang up everywhere. Ukrainian front line committees appeared on all fronts, directing the activities of Ukrainian associations on the whole front, convening meetings and conventions, publishing newspapers. Thus, for example, a twice-weekly periodical *Ukrainsky Holos* was launched June 14 at Riga. After Riga fell to the German armies the newspaper was moved to the city of

¹⁶ *Nova Rada*, No. 74.

¹⁷ *Visnyk Ukrainskoho Vyskovoho Generalnogo Komitetu*, No. 19-20, p. 6-7.

Valka where the issue for June 30 (No. 25) was published. Subsequent issues (39 to 47) were published in Pskov. Even in Asia Minor on the far Turkish front there were published in the city of Trebizond *Visty Ukrainskoho Viyskovoho Zyzdu Kavkazkoho Frontu*. Also published in Trebizond were *Visty Ukrainskoyi Krayevoyi Rady Zakavkazu* published by the Transcaucasian Ukrainian Regional Council which co-ordinated all Ukrainian military organizations in Tiflis, Batum, Erzerum, Trebizond and other cities. A Ukrainian military congress was held in Trebizond October 29 - November 4, 1917.

On the Rumanian front, a congress of the Ukrainian military organizations took place October 8-13. Later that month congresses were held on the Western and Northern fronts. A very impressive congress of the Ukrainian servicemen on the North-Western front was held in Berdychiv, attended by some 700 delegates.¹⁷ During the summer the Ukrainian Regional Council in Helsinki succeeded in convening two congresses of Ukrainian servicemen stationed in Finland.

Generally speaking, the higher military authorities were not unfriendly towards the Ukrainian movement within the army. However, when Ukrainians began demanding the Ukrainization of individual regiments, divisions, etc., their demands, initially, were received unfavourably; they were seen as a questionable and probably dangerous innovation. This negative attitude was supported mainly by the Russian, especially Kyjivan, press. Col. Oberuchev, commander of Kyjiv military district, opposed with fanatical zeal "the Ukrainization of the bayonet", as he put it. Kerensky himself was unfriendly towards the Ukrainian wishes. The greatest opposition to the efforts of the Ukrainian servicemen to organize the Ukrainian army units came from the various general-revolutionary committees and councils of soldiers' deputies. These committees and councils feared the diminution of their influence and authority

resulting from the separation of the Ukrainians within the army. They saw "chauvinism", "separation" and near treason in the Ukrainian demands. Hence all these committees and councils, while they had the power, put spokes in the wheels of the Ukrainian movement. In Odessa, for example, the council of workers' and soldiers' deputies forbade the Ukrainians to participate with their national flags in the Ukrainian manifestation. The Kyjiv council of workers' and soldiers' deputies opposed the formation of the Ukrainian regiments, etc. It should be mentioned that in many instances the Ukrainization of the army units was accomplished arbitrarily. It was enough for some conscious Ukrainian officer or servicemen to raise the cry of "Ukrainization" to have the masses take it up, believing that it would somehow improve their lot. All had long since become tired to death of war. The enthusiasm, so evident during the mobilization at the outbreak of the war, had long since vanished completely. All those who had to go to the front felt that the revolution would, first of all, bring the end to hostilities. But it did not. Thousands and thousands of men, as before, were pressed into a war which was becoming meaningless in the eyes of the people. When the agitation for Ukrainization started the servicemen believed that it would benefit them in some way: they would escape from being sent to the front or receive some kind of relief. There were, therefore, many instances where such and such a unit refused to go to the front until it was ukrainianized, or until it was issued a Ukrainian flag. Of course, wherever the more conscious national elements were able to exert influence and were in a position to conduct campaigns, this movement truly reflected the idealistic national aspirations. As the summer began there were ever-increasing instances where the Ukrainian military units firmly confronted the military authorities with their demands and, for the most part, succeeded. Opposition from the authorities was waning. The thing was that, as disintegration of the Russian

army continued and Bolshevik propaganda was spreading throughout the armed forces, the Ukrainian movement (as well as other national movements in the army) appeared to be the cohesive element that led to order, unity and even enhanced the fighting spirit of the army because it pointed out the need to defend one's country from the enemy — and the enemy stood on Ukrainian territory.

The action of the Polubotkivites which erupted early in July created great excitement in Kyjiv and throughout the Ukraine. The whole affair has not yet been fully clarified. The official Ukrainian version is that at the Kyjiv distributing centre about 5000 Ukrainian servicemen gathered, most of whom came from Chernyhiv, some from Penza and other points. They were destined for the front but they declared that they would not move until they were formed into a separate unit — the Hetman Polubotok regiment.¹⁸ In a special statement to the Central Rada meeting on July 4 M. Polozov, member of the General Military committee, declared that upon arriving in Kyjiv these soldiers "fell under the influence of ex-convicts, gendarmes and police officers on the one hand, and on the other hand they faced the undisciplined Ukrainian elements who urged them not to go to the front but to remain in Kyjiv instead, because our front was here, and it was here that Ukraine's freedom must be defended".¹⁹ The men insisted that the General Military Committee provide them with clothing, footwear and arms as only then, under the Ukrainian flag, armed and constituted as a Polubotok regiment, would they go to the front. Polozov remarked that "the General Military Committee is convinced that people in

¹⁸ According to M. Padalka the idea of organizing the regiment and naming it the Polubotok regiment came from the Polubotok Ukrainian Military club in Kyjiv. See his article: *Vystup Polubotkivtsiv 4-9 lipnja, 1917, v m. Kyjivi na foni politychnoyi sytuatsiji toho chasu*, collected volume *Do Zbroji*, Tarniv-Lviv, 1921, p. 64.

¹⁹ M. Padalka admits that "amongst the Polubotkivites there really were some out-and-out deserters as well as some criminal elements from the street but these instances were so insignificant that they were simply lost in the general mass". Op. cit., p. 65.

this formation simply do not want to go to the front and their Ukrainianism is only a cover-up". A member of the Ukrainian Council of soldiers' deputies, Vrotnovsky-Syvoshapka, added that the independents (advocates of Ukrainian independence) visited these soldiers in Chernyiv, promised to transport them to Kyjiv, arm them and leave them there. He urged that most stringent measures be taken against the Polubotkivites.²⁰ It was decided to name a Central Rada delegation which, together with the General Military committee, would go to the Polubotkivites and "neutralize their bad mood", as Vynnychenko put it. The delegation consisted of Vynnychenko, Kovalevsky, Shulhyn, Stasyuk, Didenko, Puhach and Levchenko.

After meeting with the Polubotkivites the delegation reported to the Central Rada, July 17, that Vynnychenko and Petlyura were accorded a very cool reception while their own leaders, Ensign Maystrenko and Hudienko, who had been active in the Bohdanite regiment, received enthusiastic applause; that Polubotkivites' concrete demands were: clothing, footwear and medicaments.²¹ In his report Vynnychenko stated that in his opinion the Polubotkivites were afraid to go amongst non-Ukrainian units, and that they were under the influence of elements that "hide their own personal interests under the cover of patriotism". Finally a representative of the Polubotkivites spoke, kozak Osadchy. He declared that Polubotkivites had only one aim — to defend Ukraine, but here they are sitting for the fourth day without bread, without clothing, without footwear, without officers, without organization; "We beg you", he said, "to give us medical help because people are without food and they are ailing. We beg you to put the army administration in good order, which is a sheer necessi-

²⁰ *Vistis z Centralnoyi Rady*, No. 11-12, p. 4.

²¹ The Kyjiv military authorities, with the approval of the Ukrainian General Military committee, deliberately starved and inconvenienced the Polubotkivites in order to induce them to leave Kyjiv.

ty for us. Finally, we beg you to give us your advice, send us newspapers and literature. Please come to see us because we are being shunned as if we were beasts, convicts, bandits. They've said God knows what about us — yet we're people like everyone else. Please remove from us, through the press, the dirt so eagerly hurled upon us by the Russian newspapers and by some members of the Ukrainian General Committee. This is most important to us . . .”²²

After a long debate the Central Rada passed a resolution “to call upon comrade soldiers, living in Hrushky, to submit to the national community discipline which must guide the armed revolutionary democracy and in the interests of the Ukrainian national cause direct them to comply immediately with the General Committee’s order and proceed to the Ukrainian reserve regiment indicated by the Committee”.

Several days went by. The Polubotkivites did not budge. In order to induce them to go to the front the 1st B. Khmelnytsky Ukrainian regiment passed a resolution stating that “the regiment does not consider the Polubotkivites to be their brothers, denies them aid of any kind and urges them to obey promptly the Central Rada order”. Meanwhile ministers were arriving in Kyjiv, agreements were being concluded, and the Bolshevik rebellion erupted in Petersburg. The Polubotkivites remained in their camp at Syrtsi near Kyjiv and in the village of Hrushky and did not hurry to obey the order. On June 16 delegates from the Central Rada, the Khmelnytsky regiment and other military units again met with the Polubotkivite delegates. Petlyura, Vynnychenko and Shulhyn talked for hours and late into the night trying to persuade the Polubotkivites to give in. Their exhortations brought meagre results. As a result of this meeting only a portion of the Polubotkivites were inclined to express confi-

²² *Vistv z Centralnoy Rady*, No. 11-12, p. 6.

dence in the Ukrainian General Military Committee. The others walked out of the meeting. It can be assumed that the Polubotkivites had already been preparing for action. This assumption is based on information from two sources: the Ukrainian sources and the revelations of P. Milyukov who had in his possession some official information, particularly a "Polubotok regiment agenda for 16 and 17 July, 1917" which was intercepted by the Russian counter-espionage. Probably neither side related the events with total impartiality.

The "plan" which fell into Milyukov's hands speaks about the genesis of the insurrection as follows: "We Ukrainian kozaks want full freedom, not half freedom, or freedom on paper. After the proclamation of the First Universal (we do not recognize the Second Universal) we are setting out to establish order in Ukraine. For this reason all Russians and renegades who are impeding the Ukrainian work will be removed from their posts by force regardless of the Russian government. While recognizing the Central Rada as our highest authority, we, for the time being, are ousting the traitors from Ukraine without the Central Rada's knowledge. After gaining control of the whole situation by force we will subordinate ourselves to the Central Rada. It will then manage Ukrainian affairs as a master in his own house. Now, at the beginning of the insurrection, we are putting forward six of our people to take charge and direct everything". These six people were: Junior official Osadchy (author of the plan) who headed the group, Kvashenko, secretary, members — Lt. Romanenko (who joined unwillingly), Ensign Maystrenko (the most active leader), Ensign Strilenko and Junior official Spodarenko.

This was the plan: 1) inform by special leaflets all Ukrainian military units in Kyjiv that the Polubotok regiment is rising at 1 o'clock in the morning; 2) at three a.m. seize all the more important points in Kyjiv, i.e.: a) seize the

building where Oberuchev lives and turn it into our headquarters, b) seize the premises of militia commander Leparsky, c) seize the staff of the Pechersky fort and the arsenal, d) the Council of the workers and soldiers' deputies, e) the staff of the Kyjiv military district, f) freight yards, g) state treasury and state bank, h) militia command headquarters, i) bridges on the Dnipro and k) the Jewish bazar.²³

M. Padalka says that the idea for the uprising originated with a group of Ukrainian leaders who were dissatisfied with the Central Rada's irresolute policy of loyalty to the Russian government. "Belonging to this group", said Padalka, "were some members of the Hetman Polubotok club, such as Mikhnovsky, Lukyaniv, Pavelko, some members of the General Military Committee, of the Central Rada (Homeryka, for example), and others. These people, as well as some officers of the Polubotok regiment, were the idealistic organizers who inspired and prompted the Polubotkivites to act . . . hoping that by the force of events and accomplished facts they will divert the course of history and re-direct the Central Rada activities into other channels and thereby hasten its recognition by the Provisional Government as the government of Ukraine. They felt that Central Rada, faced with the new set of circumstances, will abandon its vacillating tactics, proceed along the way desired by the organizers of the uprising, and adhere to a firm, determined policy. They made every effort to see that the uprising was well organized; attempts were made to make contact with some Ukrainian army units which have been detached from the Muscovites and were stationed in various Ukrainian centres — Poltava, Kremenchuk, etc."²⁴

During the night of July 18 the Polubotkivites came out of their quarters at Syrtsi, fell into line and proceeded to

²³ P. Milyukov. *Istoria vtoroy russkoy revolyutsyi*, Sophia, 1922, Vol. I, p. 80-81.

²⁴ M. Padalka. *Do Zbrovi*, Tarniv-Lviv, 1921, p. 66.

the 1st Ukrainian reserve regiment barracks where they seized the ammunition. Then they turned towards the city. Meanwhile a number of Polubotkivites seized heavy trucks from the railroad battalion and drove them to the city as well. However, the commander of the Bohdanite (Khmelnysky) regiment, Co. Yuriy Kapkan, received advance information concerning the Polubotkivites'²⁵ intentions and about 2 A.M. led out of the so-called Bender barracks four companies of Bohdanites to meet them — with empty guns because the regiment had no cartridges as yet. But he could not stop the Polubotkivites because many of his men went over to their side. Kapkan went back to his barracks, while the insurgents, numbering about 5000 men, continued entering the city. Initially they seized the military staff, took their weapons and ammunition and arrested the commander. Then they attempted to seize the treasury and the bank but were frustrated by the guards.²⁶ About 7 A.M. they seized the Pechersk where, first of all, they demolished Col. Oberuchev's dwelling (Oberuchev himself was in Zhytomyr at the time); next they arrested the city commandant, disarmed the cadets and took over the commissary. When the Kyjiv district staff sent a cadet unit and a reserve pontoon battalion against the Polutkivites they took to the embankment and fired back.

Meanwhile Col. Kapkan began organizing the whole Bohdanite regiment, proclaimed himself a temporary commander of the city (receiving neither support nor approval from the General Military Committee) notified the Military Committee and sent his Bohdanites to retake the

²⁵ M. Padalka says that Kapkan knew about the planned action and was in contact with its organizers but did not wish to take part in it himself — playing a double role throughout the whole episode. (p. 68).

²⁶ According to Milyukov, the Polubotkivites did take the treasury, the bank and the whole of the Pechersk stronghold as well as the Arsenal where they took 1500 guns, seized almost all militia regions, disarmed the militia men and arrested their chief Leparsky. See *Istoria vtoroy russkov revoliutsii*, Vol. 1, p. 82. K. Oberuchev says the same thing in his memoirs *Vospomynaniya*, New York, 1930, p. 289.

public buildings seized by the Polubotkivites. He called upon a company of machine gunners for help. The General Military Committee met at 10 A.M. that morning and, for their part, also resolved to take stern action against the Polubotkivites. Individual General Military Committee members joined the Bohdanite units that were disarming the Polubotkivites and bringing them in groups to the Pedagogical Museum. Polubotkivites for the most part surrendered to the General Military Committee members without resistance. About 2 P.M., following consultations between the General Secretariat and the military authorities, a member of the General Military Committee, Gen. L. Kondratovych, was appointed to liquidate the Polubotkivite uprising. By entreaty, threats and persuasion he was able to make most of the Polubotkivites submit and return to their barracks by the end of the day. On their way back, however, they took with them a quantity of guns, ammunition and machine guns. Upon arrival at their Hrushky — they dug in. But the General Secretariat assumed that the uprising had already been totally liquidated — and by the Ukrainian hands at that. The very same day the head of the (Central Rada) General Secretariat, V. Vynnychenko, reported the happening by direct wire to the Russian government in Petersburg in these words: "On the night of July 5 (old calendar — E.) a group of Ukrainian servicemen numbering about 5000 men at the distributing point, and arbitrarily and contrary to the General Committee's order named itself the Hetman Polubotok regiment, seized the arsenal, armed itself and threw guards around state institutions. The General Secretariat took decisive measures to restore order. Troops were called out; the Ukrainians as well as the Russians are guarding the city. A number of the insurgents have been arrested".²⁷

²⁷ *Visnyk Ukrainskoho Generalnoho Viyskovoho Komitetu*, No. 5-6.

The General Secretariat issued a proclamation under the signatures of Vynnychenko and Petlyura recounting the Polubotkivite uprising and its liquidation through the efforts and by the action of the Ukrainian authorities. Afterwards they published additional information regarding the suppression of the revolt as well as an incident wherein a cadet patrol had mistaken a Bohdanite unit for Polubotkivites, opened fire and killed one and wounded two kozaks of the Bohdanite regiment.

But this was not yet the end. On July 19 a delegation consisting of representatives from the Ukrainian General Military Committee, the Central Rada General Secretariat and the Council of Soldiers' Deputies travelled to Hrushky to persuade the Polubotkivites to surrender their arms and go to the front. It was agreed that the Polubotkivites would send their delegates for final negotiations with the Central Rada. This Polubotkivite delegation had been arrested en route and released within a few hours. At the conference the delegates agreed to go to the front as a separate regiment. However, while the negotiations were in progress Col. Oberuchev ordered that the Polubotkivites be disarmed and forcibly sent to the front. Vynnychenko's intervention was of no avail. On Col. Oberuchev's orders, units of the 1st Ukrainian regiment, the cadets and the ensign bearers' school surrounded the Polubotkivite barracks and forcibly disarmed the men, killing three Polubotkivites.²⁸ A regiment of cuirassiers were sent to guard the camp. After nightfall they attacked the already disarmed Polubotkivites, beating and robbing them of everything of value — pocket-books, pocket-knives, etc.

Soon afterwards the Polubotkivites were sent off to the front. First to depart on July 27 was the regimental office and staff headed by regimental commander Romanenko. The last Polubotkivite transport left Kyjiv on the 29th of

²⁸ *Nova Rada*, No. 83.

July.²⁹ The arrested Polubotkivites languished in prison until November. They were said to be under judicial investigation; the prosecutor charged them with infraction of section 100 of the criminal code — the separation of Ukraine from Russia. From their prison they wrote letters to the Ukrainian press imploring the community for help.³⁰ They were freed by the Bolsheviks during the November insurrection.³¹

Throughout the months of June and July feverish preparation went on for a Russian offensive on the Halychyna front. Vast quantities of guns, ammunition and war supplies of every kind arrived from the Western allies. At no time during the war had the Russian army been better armed. But it lacked the fighting spirit. The Russian revolutionary democracy, headed by Kerensky himself, made every effort to encourage the army to take the offensive. Kerensky toured the front to give stirring speeches urging men into battle. But all this was of very little help. The Ukrainian General Military Committee did its utmost to have the Ukrainian units sent off to the front. The Committee devoted much time and effort in urging, coaxing and wheedling Ukrainian soldiers to go to the front. The general secretary of the Committee, Symon Petlyura, began recruiting "battalions for saving Ukraine" — in Kyjiv, Chernyhiv and Romodan. He issued a proclamation calling upon volunteers "in the name of the defence of Ukraine, in the name of freedom for the peoples living in Ukraine" — to "rally at this perilous time under the 'save the Ukraine' banner and, without delay, help our brother soldiers and officers who are fighting the enemy and are awaiting our help."³²

²⁹ Ibid., No. 93.

³⁰ *Visnyk Ukrainskoho Generalnogo Viyskovoho Komitetu*, No. 18, p. 7.

³¹ In his memoirs Oberuchev alleges that there had been a close connection between the action of the Polubotkivites and the action of the Bolsheviks in Petersburg. *Vospomynaniya*, p. 292-293.

³² *Nova Rada*, No. 92.

At the same time Petlyura issued an appeal "To soldiers of Ukrainian nationality on all fronts" urging that "the German drive must be stopped to prevent their setting foot on our land . . . if we repulse the Germans, if we stop their advance we'll save Ukraine, save our land, our farms, our children, fathers and women, our freedom, our right to a free life. If we do nothing in this matter then we'll die in disgrace and lose Ukraine. Our children will curse us and Ukraine will disavow us". And it developed that during the "Kerensky offensive" the Ukrainians fought valiantly. This fact was immediately recognized by the higher military authorities and changed their attitude towards Ukrainization.

Upon arrival at the front the Polubotkovite regiment, composed of 16 squadrons — 2447 kozaks and 15 officers, was immediately merged with the Nemyriv infantry regiment and sent into battle — suffering the greatest number of casualties. The commander of the division, which included the Polubotkovites, was so impressed with them that he wrote a letter to the Central Rada in which he praised the bravery of the Polubotkovites and asked that "for speedier Ukrainization of his division they should always send him such diligent, nice, disciplined and idealistic kozaks".³³

The General Military Committee received a number of telegrams from the divisional and regimental commanders on the South-Western and Northern fronts, highly commending the battlefield performance of the Ukrainianized units. Finally, the commander-in-chief of the South-Western front, Gen. Kornilov, in a conversation with a member of the Ukrainian General Military Committee, Gen Kondratovych, admitted that the Ukrainianized units fought exceptionally well. He especially mentioned two divisions that fought with extraordinary bravery.³⁴ Gen. Kornilov then asked Gen. Skoropadsky to Ukrainianize the

³³ *Nova Rada*, No. 112.

³⁴ *Nova Rada*, No. 92.

34th army corps which was named the First Ukrainian Corps. At the same time, in response to Petlyura's request, he ordered that officers of Ukrainian nationality be taken out of the various units and placed with the units marked for Ukrainization and that non-Ukrainian officers in such units be replaced by Ukrainian officers. Officers wishing to transfer to the Ukrainian division on their own were required to obtain certificates from the local Ukrainian military community. A telegram regarding the transfer of officers of Ukrainian nationality was sent from field headquarters to commanders of the Northern, Western, South-Western, Rumanian and Caucasian fronts.³⁵

By the end of September, 1917, the Ukrainian Military Committee received permission to establish two junior officers' schools in Kyjiv and to introduce Ukrainian departments at the military schools of artillery and engineering. The military ministry also gave permission to Ukrainianize the reserve field-gun division, reserve engineering regiment, reserve telegraph company, reserve bicycle battalion, also to develop two reserve machine gun battalions — one consisting of the Kolt type and the other of the Maxim type. Permission was also promised for a new reserve infantry regiment and two cavalry regiments.³⁶

The opening of the first Ukrainian junior officers' school in Kyjiv coincided with the opening of the third Ukrainian Military Congress. About 250 young men enrolled at the school. They were given special uniforms with Ukrainian epaulets.³⁷

As mentioned previously, the Ukrainian movement amongst the forces had been tied to general politics from the very beginning and was used to back up the Ukrainian demands, especially demands concerning Ukrainian autonomy. The leaders of the movement that grouped

³⁵ *Nova Rada*, No. 94.

³⁶ *Visnyk Ukrainskoho Generalnoho Viyskovoho Komitetu*, No. 18, p. 3.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 19-20, p. 12.

around the Central Rada also did their best to take advantage of the movement in promoting their own, purely social aims. It is enough only to look at the draft resolutions of the Ukrainian Military congresses: they all contained special sections dealing with "agrarian affairs" which either demanded certain agrarian reforms or asserted that the Congress supported the idea of convening a peasants' convention to deal with agrarian problems. Organization of the Ukrainian servicemen proceeded on party principles, hence we see the congress delegates divided into party factions; the largest were the Socialist-Revolutionary and Socialist-Democratic factions. There also were independents, bolsheviks and others. The endless politicking, the dragging of the military into politics, the participation of civilians in the military movement (and in leading positions at that!) — civilians who saw the regular army as an ancient relic that should be replaced by a militia,³⁸ — all these things did not help to strengthen the idea of a national Ukrainian army; this idea was left to wander about and take to some curved pathways. Meanwhile the events had been developing so that the Ukrainian armed forces were to become the mainstay of the Ukrainian national movement during the spring and summer of 1917 — the time when the Ukrainians were struggling to achieve autonomy and gain influence and preponderance in the principal centres of the country: Kyjiv, Odessa, Katerynoslav. As the events unfolded it became quite clear that an armed struggle with the Bolsheviks was unavoidable, and it should have been equally clear to everyone that a Ukrainian army must become not only the mainstay but also the instrument for defending the newborn Ukrainian state.

But the Ukrainian military, engaged since spring in furthering the Ukrainianization of the army, were, regretably, too politicised, overly enraptured by the leftist

³⁸ See a special article on this subject in *Narodnya Volja*, No. 189.

socialistic views on the army and its role in the state to take a constructive, resolute step towards forming a normal, regular Ukrainian army. However, the most unfortunate development was the fact that the soldier masses even in the Ukrainianized units were already corrupted, demoralized by the constant agitation and incessant demagoguery of the Ukrainian socialistic parties who were in no way different from the Bolsheviks. Now, after the fall of the Provisional Government and the proclamation of the Ukrainian People's Republic, the General Secretariat of Military Affairs, hitherto unrecognized by the Provisional Government, had become a veritable ministry of war; it was reckoned with by Field Headquarters, and commanders at the front recognized its authority and their subordinacy; but, in fact, the army was no more — there remained nothing but an agitated and embittered mass of soldiery whose only concern was to get home as quickly as possible to participate in the general robbery of landowners' property which spread like an epidemic throughout the country.

The General Secretariat of Military Affairs, headed by S. Petlyura, a civilian whose only acquaintance with the army was acquired early in 1916 while he was employed by the All-Russian Zemstvo Union on the Western front, — found itself facing the task of creating a force able to defend the Ukrainian People's Republic and repel the approaching peril of Bolshevik pressure from inside as well as outside the country. Although the 3rd Ukrainian Military Congress represented millions of Ukrainian soldiers — they were of no help now. The Ukrainian units arriving in Kyjiv were tired physically and mentally and were thoroughly demoralized by the Bolshevik propaganda. The regiments stationed in Kyjiv were also unreliable. The November events had shown the Ukrainian servicemen to be openly sympathetic towards the Bolshevik activities.

Viktor Pavlenko, chief of the Kyjiv military district, made an attempt to restore the former discipline as much as

possible and to combat the influence and importance of the various army councils and committees on the one hand, and on the other hand to give the Ukrainian regiments a measure of privileged position, to provide them with smart new uniforms in order to induce the soldiers to serve in the Ukrainian army. Out of the regiments stationed in Kyjiv he had already formed two "Serdyuk" guards divisions (the first division included the Bohdanite, Polubotkivite, Doroshenko and Bohun regiments). "Mykhaïlo Hrushevsky gun brigade", a combat unit and a cavalry regiment attached to the 1st division were being formed. Lt.-Col. Yuriy Kapkan was named commander of the 1st division, Staff Captain Khylobochenko became chief of staff and Second Lt. Oleksander Shapoval headed the commissary. Gen. Hrekov was appointed commander of the 2nd division. But Pavlenko's efforts to turn Serdyuks into guards failed. The very idea was seen by many people as "counter-revolutionary". Pavlenko was obliged to abandon his post and the Serdyuks were returned to the status of an ordinary regiment.

The Ukrainian military authorities, seeing how quickly the regiments bearing the names of Ukrainian hetmans and prominent leaders were falling apart, were compelled, against their will, to turn to volunteer formations, hoping that volunteers motivated by a patriotic desire to serve would be more reliable defenders of the Ukrainian government than regiments composed of former Russian army soldiers.³⁹ Such a volunteer formation was the Sichovi Striltsi battalion which began forming in mid-December, 1917, and was attached to the 1st Ukrainian Reserve regiment. It was composed of Halychane and Bukowinians.⁴⁰

Hopes were also pinned on the Free Kozaks who were being organized in Kyjiv amongst the working class youth

³⁹ *Narodna Volya*, No. 192.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 171.

under the leadership of the energetic engineer Mykhaylo Kovenko. When the ultimatum of the Council of People's Commissars was received in Kyjiv, General Secretary S. Petlyura, in consultation with the council of Free Kozaks, ordered a mobilization of free kozaks who were to garrison the cities and the more important railway stations.⁴¹ On December 30 the Free Kozaks from the surrounding areas staged a parade at the Sophia square in Kyjiv. Taking part in the parade were the following units: Greter plant unit, Kyjiv station 1 unit, Demiyevisky, Baykovsky and Pechersky units, arsenal unit, Kyjiv station 2 unit, 3 Podolian, 2 Schulyavski, 2 Lukyanivski and 2 Soyatshynski units.

In the beginning of January, 1918, the General Secretariat directed that matters relating to the Free Kozaks be transferred from the Interior to the Military secretariat, and that "Registered Free Kozaks", supported by the state funds, be organized. Every district was assigned two squadrons — cavalry and infantry. These squadrons were to combat rebellion and anarchy.⁴²

Late in November the General Secretariat of Military Affairs decided to create a General Military staff and appointed the head of the Dvinsk Ukrainian military community, Gen. Borys Bobrovsky, as chief of staff, Lt.-Col. E. Kilchevsky and Lt.-Col. O. Slyvynsky were named his assistants. Capt. Ol. Danchenko was appointed head of the organization department, Col. Kozma liaison officer, and Col. Paschenko⁴³ was named chief of the artillery section. A little later Lt.-Col. Matyashevych was appointed chief commissary; Col. Mykhaylo Omelyanovych-Pavlenko was placed in charge of military schools, his assistant was Lt. Arsen Chernyavsky. Col. Ol. Pylkevych became commissioner for special assignments, Lt.-Col. Ponomarevsky-

⁴¹ Ibid., No. 175.

⁴² *Narodnya Volia*, 1918, No. 187.

⁴³ *Narodnya Volia*, 1918, No. 175.

Svydersky headed the general staff department, Ensign Fedir Seletsky was named chief of military-political administration, Pte. Kolos was in charge of military-commissariat section, Col. Kravchenko was named head of the commissary section, Gen. S. Delvig, artillery expert, was appointed artillery inspector. Lt. V. Kedrovsky was appointed deputy to the general secretary of military affairs.⁴⁴

In mid-December the Military Secretariat moved to the former Pavlo Halahan college on Fundukliyevsky street.

At the end of December, 1917, S. Petlyura resigned from his position because of ceaseless misunderstanding between him and V. Vynnychenko, which often assumed very sharp forms. Petlyura was replaced by Mykola Porsh. Porsh continued to organize the principal branches of the military department. The general military staff proceeded to draft a bill providing for the creation of a new national army on a territorial basis. Officers' reserves were reduced. A commission had been appointed to consider the problem of the Ukrainian officers who served in the Russian military units and now found themselves without positions. M. Porsh decreed that only officers born in Ukraine should be eligible for the Ukrainian army; before being accepted they were required to produce certificates issued by the revolutionary-democratic organizations attached to the units with which they served. Without such a certificate no one was able to join the Ukrainian army. In accordance with the Central Rada law, a demobilization committee within the General Secretariat of Military affairs was formed January 1, 1918 and charged with the task of directing demobilization of the armies on the Ukrainian front as well as liquidating such institutions as Rural and Urban Unions, Provisions Committee, etc.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 183.

⁴⁵ *Visnyk Generalnoho Sekretariatu UNR*, No. 7.

Finally, by M. Porsh's order of January 10 a uniform for the Ukrainian army had been established. Until final demobilization the old Russian uniform was to be retained with the following distinctions: branch of service and the unit number were to be denoted on the collar; the rank was to be signified by a special shevron on the sleeve. Square tabs of blue cloth were to be sewn on the corners of the collar; branch of service was to be stencilled on the upper part of the tab, with the number or the name of the unit shown below. The insignia were: infantry — crossed rifles, cavalry — swords, artillery and other special branches of service were to be the same as in the Russian army.

The rank was signified by silver chevrons on the right sleeve above the elbow: the chevrons had the appearance of an obtuse angle, corner to the top; a corporal had one chevron, lance-corporal two, sergeant — three; major — one with a tab above the corner, lieutenant — one with a tab and one cornerwise underneath; lieutenant-colonel — one chevron with a tab and two cornerwise underneath; colonel — one chevron at an angle with a zigzag 1½ centimeters wide; brigade otaman — two of the same; divisional otaman — three of the same; corps otaman — three of the same with tab; army otaman — one wide chevron with a tab and one cornerwise; front otaman — one wide chevron with a tab and two wide chevrons cornerwise. Cockades: blue-yellow (yellow color inside). Shoulderstraps for all kozaks and officers: sky-blue with yellow borders.⁴⁶

On January 16 the Mala (Minor) Rada deliberated on a bill drafted by the General Secretariat for Military Affairs concerning the creation of a people's army based on the militia principles. The gist of the project was: the people's militia was being organized as a defence against an external enemy. The recruitment of instructors was to begin

⁴⁶ *Narodnya Volya*, No. 187 and *Robotnycha Hazeta*, No. 217.

immediately, even while the General Secretariat was still working out the details of the militia law. Cadres of instructors, after adequate preparation, would start organizing the Ukrainian People's Republic's militia. These cadres were to unite and form special military units. Instructors were to be hired according to their qualifications and were to be paid 50 karbovantsi per month. Citizens of the Ukrainian People's Republic over 19 years of age were eligible to become instructors. The instructors' cadres were to form 3 corps corresponding to the three military districts of Ukraine: Kyjiv, Kharkiv, Odessa. The present army, after years of service, should be demobilized. After demobilization the regular army would be abolished. The sum of 400 million karbovantsi was to be allocated for the purpose of effectuating army reforms.

The bill was passed, with minor amendments (e.g. instructors' salaries were increased to 100 karbovantsi a month), in the face of sharp opposition from some Mala Rada members, especially from Rafes and E. Neronovych who queried: why create an "army of hirelings", is it not to fight the Bolsheviks? ⁴⁷

The Ukrainian government, by mistrusting military units which, even in the smallest way kept alive the spirit of the old discipline and obedience, especially when these units were led by generals who served under the czar, failed to utilize and, in fact, wasted a formidable military force that could have become a base for a regular Ukrainian army. I have in mind the often-mentioned First Ukrainian Corps which deserves special recognition in a review of the Ukrainian military movement.⁴⁸ On July 18 (old calendar) Gen. Kornilov issued an order concerning the Ukrainianization of the 34th Corps, which was composed of 104th and 153rd

⁴⁷ *Robitnycha Hazeta*, 1918, No. 221.

⁴⁸ A brief history of the Corps is to be found in Hetman P. Skoropadsky's memoirs in *Khliborohska Ukraina*, Vienna, 1922-23. Some details are also contained in an article by M. Sereda in the 1929 *Chervona Kalyna Almanac*. The article, however, is replete with chronological and factual inaccuracies.

infantry divisions commanded by Gen. Pavlo Skoropadsky, later the Hetman of Ukraine. The Corps had just participated in battles in the well known "Kerensky offensive", retreating to Sataniv, a town on the Zbruch river. The order required all Muscovite officers and men to be transferred to the 41st Corps, leaving only Ukrainians in the 34th Corps which was to be completed only the Ukrainians.⁴⁹ Upon completion, the Corps was officially named the "First Ukrainian Corps". After the Muscovites and Jews had been eliminated from its ranks, the Corps was transferred to Medzhybozha in northern Podillya where it was to have been completed and organized.

Gen. Safonov was named the Corps' chief of staff, Gen. Handzyuk became commander of the First Division, Col. Kapustyansky was appointed chief of staff of the division. Second Division commander was Gen. Klymenko, chief of staff — Gen. Kramarenko; gun inspector — Gen. Akerman. Initially the Ukrainian replenishments were coming in slowly but, according to the corps commander, they were very good. Some difficulties were encountered with the officers, many of whom were lacking combat experience and it became necessary to retain some non-Ukrainian officers who were valuable from the military point of view. With a view to improving the officers corps, special courses had been organized which proved to be very successful.

The Ukrainianization and reorganization of the corps were completed about October 1. The officers received their Ukrainian insignia: shoulder-straps with yellow stripes on a sky-blue field. Regiments in the First Division received special names: I. Hetman B. Khmelnytsky Regiment of Kyjiv; II. Hetman Skoropadsky Regiment of Starodub;

⁴⁹ M. Sereda mentions that in the 104th division two regiments were formed from Pskov detachments and they were distinctly Muscovite in character; other regiments were completed by Ukrainians from Katerynoslavschnyna. See *Chernova Kalyna Almanac*, 1929, p. 45.

III. Hetman Sahaydachny Regiment of Poltava; IV. Hetman Polubotok Regiment of Chernyhiv.⁵⁰ The Corps command had close relations with the Central Rada Military Secretariat: Gen. Skoropadsky and Col. Kapustyansky went to Kyjiv twice in connection with the Ukrainianization of the Corps. An eye-witness relates that the General Secretary for Military Affairs, S. Petlyura, "received Col. Kapustyansky gladly and warmly, while his attitude towards Gen. Skoropadsky was cool, dry and cautious".⁵¹ The Kyjiv official spheres in general mistrusted Gen. Skoropadsky because of his noble birth and because he served as an officer in the czar's guard. Above all, they were afraid of his popularity in the army — suspecting him of some ambitious intentions. But the Ukrainian Corps was also mistrusted by the other side: the higher Muscovite command felt that the First Ukrainian Corps was inconveniently close to Kyjiv and ordered it to go to the front to relieve the VI Corps which was scheduled to be Ukrainianized and transformed into II. Ukrainian Corps. But the symptoms of general disintegration and deteriorating discipline were already noticeable in the First Ukrainian Corps, and Gen. Skoropadsky deemed it advisable to move it to the front and save it from the demoralizing influences in the rear.⁵²

Meanwhile the Bolshevik upheaval took place. In Kyjiv the power passed into Ukrainian hands, although initially it had to be shared with the Bolsheviks. There was agitation and wavering amongst the officers and men of the First Ukrainian Corps. They were asking themselves; which way to go? To the front, or on to Kyjiv? The General Military Secretariat played a double role around this question, dictated, one must think, by its distrust of the Corps commander. At a conference between Petlyura and

⁵⁰ M. Sereda, *Chervona Kalyna Almanac*, 1929, p. 46.

⁵¹ M. Sereda, *Chervona Kalyna Almanac*, 1929, p. 47.

⁵² *Spomyny Hetmana Skoropadskoho*, p. 27.

commander-in-chief Volodchenko it was decided, despite Gen. Skoropadsky's vigorous protest, to split the Corps and send the First division to the front, together with the Corps staff, and direct the Second division to Kyjiv. But the First division, having arrived at Derazhnya station, whence it was to proceed to the front, refused to go there. At the same time it was learned that the Bolshevized 2nd Guards Corps had abandoned the front and was marching towards Kyjiv, while the Bolshevik commander-in-chief, Ensign Krylenko, who replaced the murdered Gen. Dukhonin, ordered the Ukrainian Corps by telegraph to proceed to the front. Then Gen. Skoropadsky resolved to take upon himself the defence of Kyjiv and, instead of proceeding to the front, he deployed units of his two divisions to protect the Zhmerynka-Kozyatyn and Shepetivka-Kozyatyn-Khrystynivka-Vapnyarka railway lines and disarmed the echelons of the 2nd Guards Division as well as some other Bolshevized units that were threatening Kyjiv and the Ukrainian government.

Units of the First Ukrainian Corps were increased by the hundreds of Free Kozaks and volunteers who joined eagerly as if they were joining the Ukrainian national army. The Corps was becoming a truly Ukrainian regular army which should have been encouraged, supported and by all means saved. However, the General Military Secretariat not only failed to appreciate the importance of the Corps but it also treated it with suspicion and distrust — and especially its commander, Gen. P. Skoropadsky. The Secretariat remained totally deaf to all his urgent telegrams pleading for warm winter clothing, boots, iron stoves — because his men lived in unheated railway cars; his telegrams were ignored even when he asked that the Ukrainian national organizations in Kyjiv send people to paralyse the Bolshevik agitation in the army. After visiting Kyjiv himself Gen. P. Skoropadsky felt that “the Central Rada circles do not quite trust people in the higher command and

are planning to base their army operations on junior officers and amateur otamans exclusively". With regard to his own person he felt there was a lack of confidence in him on the part of these circles while at the same time there was a lack of courage to remove him from his top command post.⁵³ When the question of appointing a supreme commander of all the Ukrainian forces to meet the Bolshevik threat became urgent, this responsible position had not been offered either to Gen. Kyrey, a talented gun inspector and an outstanding fighting general, or to Gen. P. Skoropadsky, — instead, it was entrusted to Col. Kapkan who on many occasions has demonstrated his instability and incompetence, particularly in large scale operations. (Kapkan ingratiated himself with Petlyura by betraying Mykola Mikhnovsky who for a long time had stood uncompromisingly for Ukrainian state independence. — D.M.E.).

After satisfying himself that the Ukrainian political centre pursued a policy of sabotage relating to his person, Gen. Skoropadsky decided to vacate his post in the Corps, hoping thereby to ease the implementation of more normal relations between the Ukrainian political centre and the armed forces upon which this centre was to rely in the first war for Ukrainian independence. On January 6, 1918, he tendered his resignation, having handed the Corps command over to Gen. Handzyuk.⁵⁴

At that time the Corps staff was stationed at Bila Tserkva. The staff of the First division (whose commander, Col. Kapustyansky, was replaced by Lt.-Col. Solohub) was stationed at Berdychiv, its First brigade stood in Kyjiv, the Second on Fastov-Berdychiv railway; the Second division was stationed on the Vynnytsya-Hnivan line. Gen. Handzyuk, Commander of the First division, was replaced by

⁵³ *Khliborobsha Ukraina*, Vol. IV, p. 39.

⁵⁴ *Khliborobsha Ukraina*, Vol. IV, p. 39-40.

Col. Nykonov; Gen. Klymenko⁵⁵ remained in command of the Second division.

However, under the influence of the prevailing mood and the unchecked agitation, the discipline amongst the troops and the fighting efficiency of the Corps were deteriorating daily. When the Bolsheviks proclaimed demobilization of the old Muscovite army, the soldiers pressed for and received a partial demobilization of the Corps as well. This, an eye witness asserts, was precipitated by the soldiers' desire to divide the army property amongst themselves, as was customary at the time. Anarchy pervaded the Corps. Generals Handzyuk and Safonov went to Kyjiv for directives from the Ukrainian government. They arrived after Kyjiv fell into the Bolshevik hands. They were captured and shot by the Bolsheviks. They had been questioned by the chief of the Bolshevik army himself, Muravyov, who had proposed that they both go over and serve on his side. They had refused and thereby signed their own death sentences. In the summer of 1918, on Hetman Skoropadsky's orders, the bodies of the two heroes were found and given a descent burial.

The Corps ceased to exist. The kozaks scampered away, the officers disappeared. The small fragments that were saved went into hiding. When the Germans arrived they again joined the Ukrainian army and formed cadres of a division which was headed by the commander of the First division of the Ukrainian Corps, Col. Nykonov.⁵⁶

The Ukrainian government, by failing to appreciate the importance of a regular army, and being imbued with its "people's militia" ideal (meanwhile expecting to get by somehow with mercenary units), found itself in dire straits — almost defenceless, unable to muster any kind of military force at the most critical moment of its struggle

⁵⁵ *Chervona Kalyna Almanac*, 1929, p. 48-49.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

with the Bolsheviks in January, 1918. Ukrainian statehood was being saved by the patriotic volunteers who were dying in the unequal struggle: the Ukrainian youth, a small number of nationally-motivated professional soldiers and the Sichovi Striltsi from Halychyna. It could be stated with certainty that without the German military help at that time the heroic efforts of the Ukrainian volunteers would not have been able to save the Ukrainian government and with it the idea of Ukrainian national statehood.

When the Ukrainian authorities returned to Kyjiv the "Zaporozhian Zahir" (detachment) which, under Gen. Prysovsky, liberated Kyjiv from the Bolsheviks, was transformed into "Zaporozhian Division". General Prysovsky, its commander, was removed from his post because he was mistrusted; under a pretext of elevating him to a higher position, he was appointed hubernal commandant of the Kyjiv region. Slated as his replacement was Capt. Shynkar, who was to drive out of the Division "all reactionary and counter-revolutionary spirits", but the Division flatly refused to accept him. Then, after much hesitation, a "neutral" person had been appointed — Gen. Natiev, a Georgian by birth, a very fine general.⁵⁷ The Division was composed of: First Hetman Doroshenko Zaporoghian regiment, commanded by Col. Zahrodsky; Second Zaporozhian Infantry regiment, commanded by Col. P. Bolbochan; Third Haidamakian Infantry regiment, commanded by Col. V. Sikevych; Zaporozhian Cannon regiment, commanded by Col. Parfenyev; K. Hordienko Cavalry regiment, commanded by Col. Petriv; the Engineers' regiment, commanded by Col. Kuzma; Armoured Battery, commanded by Lt. Boldyryv. Bohdanivsky regiment, commanded by Col. Oleksander Shapoval, was detached to form a distinct body.⁵⁸ The strength of all

⁵⁷ B. Monkevych. *Slidamy novitnikh zaporozhtsiv*. p. 28.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

regiments was very low in numbers because the total number of men in the Division did not exceed 5000. Shortly afterwards the Division was replenished by volunteers and developed into a full corps.

In the middle of March the Natiev Division together with the Bohdanivsky regiment marched eastward to liberate the Left-bank Ukraine from the Bolsheviks.⁵⁹ They were supported by separate German units. The march followed along the Poltava railway. Through joint effort they succeeded in capturing Hrebinka station where the Germans remained for a while. The Ukrainians continued their offensive and after a hard fought battle took Lubny, where the Hordienko regiment under Col. Petriv distinguished itself. A great amount of booty fell into Ukrainian hands. The people greeted their own native army with great joy and its ranks were swelled considerably by volunteers. In the vicinity of Romodan, April 1-3, the Ukrainians withstood some fierce attacks by the superior enemy forces, then, with German artillery support they captured Romodan and opened the way to Poltava. On the night of April 8-9 the Hordienko regiment captured Poltava. German cavalry, coming from the westerly direction, entered the city the following day.

From Poltava Natiev directed his main forces towards Kharkiv. After the battle of Lyubotyn, where great quantities of military supplies were captured by the Ukrainian army (7 armoured cars, field guns, planes, radio equipment, rifles, ammunition, etc.), the Ukrainians entered Kharkiv on April 19. Col. Oleksander Shapoval was then named hubernal commandant of the Kharkiv region and his Bohdanivsky regiment was stationed in Kharkiv to garrison

⁵⁹ This expedition has been fully described in the memoirs of its participants: Lt. B. Monkevych *Slidamy novitnikh zaporozhtsiv*, Lviv, 1928, and Gen. V. Petrov *Spomyny*, No. 11, Lviv, 1930, also in the article by S. Shemet *Polkovnyk Petro Bolbochan (zamitky do istoriyi zaporozhskoho korpusu 1917-1919)*, *Khliborobska Ukraina*, Vol. IV, Vienna, 1922-23.

the city. In Kharkiv the Division expanded to become the "Zaporozhian Corps" comprising the following regiments:

I. Doroshenko Zaporozhian Infantry regiment; commander: Col. Zahrodsky.

II. Zaporozhian Infantry regiment; commander: Col. P. Bolbochan.

III. Khmelnytsky Zaporozhian Infantry regiment; commander: Col. O. Shapoval.

I. K. Hordienko Cavalry regiment; commander: Col. Petriv.

I. Zaporozhian Cannon regiment (6 light and 2 heavy armoured batteries); commander: Col. Parfenyev.

I. Zaporozhian Engineers regiment; commander: Col. Kuzma.

I. Armoured Battery (8 light and 4 heavy armoured batteries); commander: Lt. Boldyrev.

Mountain-Cavalry battalion (2 batteries of mountain cannon and several light batteries); commander: Col. Almazov.

Air Force section.

Considered to be the best unit in the Corps was Col. Bolbochan's II. Zaporozhian Infantry regiment which also excelled in size — numbering some 4000 men. The regiment consisted of 16 squadrons, one cavalry squadron, a reconnoitre detachment, a cycle detachment, field engineers squadron, 2 machine gun squadrons, 1 bomber squadron and one undrilled squadron.

The Corps received new khaki uniforms (English pattern) as well as English-style caps with the Ukrainian ensigns. The officers' insignia were on the collars, the rank was designated by stripes on the left sleeve: officers — gold braid, privates — blue cloth. Thus the Corps gained the appearance of the usual regular army. Its parade in Kharkiv, together with the Germans, made a deep impression on the populace and roused many officers and men of the old army to enlist in the Ukrainian forces.

On April 10 the Corps staff received a secret order from Military Affairs Minister Zhukovsky to detach two groups: the first group, with a division status, equipped with various sorts of arms was to proceed under the command of Col. Bolbochan towards Crimea along the Kharkiv-Lozov-Oleksandrovsk-Perekop-Sevastopol line. The objective of the group was "to gain upon the Germans in this direction, destroy the Bolshevik forces which covered the approaches to the Crimean peninsula and take Sevastopol." The essential part of the venture was to be the seizure of the Black sea fleet which was then anchored at the Sevastopol Bay and, was expected to fall into Ukrainian hands, together with the enormous wealth of the Crimean ports.⁶⁰

The latter part of the order had to be executed secretly without the knowledge of the German army command in Ukraine. The Ukrainian government failed to come to an understanding with the Germans regarding Crimea and the Black Sea fleet and hoped to place before the Germans an accomplished fact. This manoeuvre, as we shall see later, failed.

The second group was to proceed in the direction of Lozov-Slavyansk to free the Donets coal fields from the Bolsheviks. The coal fields were of great economic importance to Ukraine, supplying her coal needs.

The Crimean group included II. Zaporozhian Infantry regiment, the Hordienko Cavalry regiment (which had already been dispatched from Poltava towards Lozova), Engineers detachment, armoured detachment, three light and one heavy batteries, mountain cavalry unit and two armoured trains. The Kharkiv partisan unit, commanded by Col. Lubyanytsky, also joined the group. Along the way a light cavalry regiment crossed to the Ukrainian side at Pavlohrad. Such was the make-up of Bolbochan's group

⁶⁰ B. Monkevych. *Slidamy novitnikh zaporozhtsiv*, p. 76.

that made the famed Crimean expedition. It took by force the Synelnykovo station, then Oleksandrovs'k where they met a detachment of Sichovi Striltsi, a unit with the Austrian army commanded by Archduke Wilhelm Hapsburg (Vasyl Vyshyvany). The Ukrainians, aided by a group of Russian volunteers under Col. Drozdowsky who were making their way from the Rumanian front towards Don, captured Melitopol. A German division under the command of Gen. von Kosh also arrived there April 20. Col. Bolbochan subordinated himself to Gen. von Kosh in view of his rank, but the General never interfered with Bolbochan's independent conduct of the campaign. By a daring attack the Ukrainians forced their way over the railway bridge across Sishaw and entered upon the Crimean territory. After a minor battle April 22 they took Dzhankoy station whence a branch line leads to Teodosia. The Crimean people heartily welcomed the Ukrainian forces as their liberators from the Bolshevik terror. On April 24 Simferopol fell into Ukrainian hands — together with the Bolshevik "staff for the defence of the Crimean Republic". The following day the Ukrainians occupied Bakhchysaray and their reconnaissance was close to Sevastopol. But at this point the Germans firmly demanded that Bolbochan discontinue further operations in Crimea. After the Germans cut the communications with the rear and threatened to turn their heavy guns on the Ukrainians, Bolbochan was forced to yield. Neither Bolbochan's nor Natiev's telephone conversations with the Kyjiv government clarified anything and the Ukrainian army had to retreat to Melitopol. From there it went to Oleksandrovs'k where Bolbochan reconstructed his group into I. Zaporozhian division which, during the Hetman regime, was moved to Kharkiv and Voronizh regions to guard the eastern borders of Ukraine.

The Sikevych group, consisting of Doroshenko Zaporozhian regiment, III. Haidamakian, II. Khmelnytsky Zaporozhian, Cannon and Engineer regiments smashed the

Bolshevik forces near Barvinkove station, capturing Bakhmut April 18 and railway junction station Nykytivka on April 25. On the 27th of April the group, supported by the Germans, defeated the Bolshevik attempt to re-take Nykytivka; the following day, after a battle, the Bohdanivsky regiment seized the Debaltsevo station and finally on April 30 the frontal Ukrainian units occupied Kolpakovo station which constituted the border point with the Don Territory. Thus the whole Donets region was liberated. In the summer of 1918 the Sikevych group, together with the Bolbochan division, were stationed along the eastern borders.

After the departure of the Natiev division, the only military force remaining in Kyjiv was the Sichovi Striltsi contingent which during the month of April expanded into a regiment consisting of 3 infantry squadrons, 1 machine gun squadron, 1 cavalry squadron and 2 batteries. Commander of the regiment was Evhen Konovalets, his chief of staff Andriy Melnyk. In the middle of March a Blue Coat (Synyehupantsi) division arrived in Kyjiv; part of the division was stationed in Kyjiv and another part in Chernyhiv. This constituted the total military force at the disposal of the Ukrainian government — not mentioning some insignificant volunteer formations.

Finally, the Ukrainian Military ministry saw for itself that mercenary or casual volunteer formations were no substitute for a regular army and began planning for the organization of such an army on the principle of territorial recruitment. The army was to consist of 8 infantry corps and 4½ cavalry divisions. But the practical implementation of the plan fell to the lot of the Hetman government.

Nationalists vs. Russophiles

The foregoing chapter clearly depicts the struggle between the national-independent elements, personified by Mykola Mikhnovsky, and the Russophile-international forces personified by Vynnychenko-Petlyura.

At the outbreak of World War I Petlyura proved to be very much concerned about the fate of the Russian empire. He acted like a true Russian patriot. He urged Hrushevsky and Vynnychenko to promote his appointment as deputy minister of Russian military affairs under the Ukrainophobe Kerensky. In his very first speech May 18, 1917, at the First Ukrainian Military Congress he emphasized that "at the present moment we should not seek to separate the fate of Russia from the fate of Ukraine. Should Russia, keenly experiencing a bitter historical fate, suffer a catastrophe the consequences of this catastrophe will inevitably reverberate in its political part — the Ukraine".

Simon Petlyura saw Ukraine only as a political part of Russia . . .

The following significant events mentioned in the chapter deserve your special attention:

a) Mykola Mikhnovsky introduced a resolution calling for Ukrainian state independence. Vynnychenko passionately opposed the resolution and savagely attacked and defamed Ukrainian historic leaders. (A reputable Ukrainian endowed institution in Winnipeg recently contributed \$1500 to help the publishers of Vynnychenko's works. The Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences in New York has appealed for public help to gather his works).

b) The Polubotkivite plan for the proclamation of Ukrainian independence failed only because Yurko Kapkan came in contact with Petlyura and betrayed the patriots who trusted him. (A year later Petlyura also dishonoured his "word of honour" given to the Hetman).

c) Mykola Mikhnovsky made a bold, valiant attempt to proclaim Ukraine's independence. Petlyura and the Central Rada saw this as a crime and Mikhnovsky was banished from Kyjiv. They promptly extinguished the flame of independence. Today the leftists honour Petlyura as a deity with immaculately clean hands, while the true and honourable hero, Mykola Mikhnovsky, is well nigh forgotten. Does this reflect glory on the Ukrainian nation?

d) The daring, patriotic Polubotkivites, whose spokesman, kozak Osadchy, declared that their only aim was to defend Ukraine, were persecuted and slandered by Petlyura's Military Committee as well as by the Muscovite press, and were forced to the front to fight for Russia.

e) Vynnychenko, the faithful Muscovite toady, quickly reported to Kerensky that the Polubotkivite bid for Ukrainian independence had been crushed and that Ukrainians together with Russians were guarding the city of Kyjiv.

Vynnychenko and Petlyura proudly noted in their special proclamation that the Polubotkivites were frustrated and humbled solely through the efforts of the Ukrainian authorities.

What a glorious achievement!

The arrested Polubotkivites were charged with attempting to separate Ukraine from Russia. In the eyes of Vynnychenko and Petlyura separating Ukraine from Russia was a crime.

f) The Polubotkivites were forcibly transported to the front and immediately thrown into battle. They suffered the greatest number of casualties. Petlyura and Vynnychenko, who forced the flower of Ukraine to die for Russia, got a pat on the back from their Muscovite masters. (Can God long bless a people who are destroying themselves?).

g) Petlyura's frantic recruitment of "battalions for saving Ukraine" was a wicked subterfuge prompted by his desire to ingratiate himself into Russian good graces. At that time Ukraine was securely tied to Russia and repelling

the Germans meant saving Russia. Petlyura's heart was bleeding for Russia, not for the Ukrainian boys who were forced to sacrifice their lives for the sake of Russia.

h) The concept of independent Ukraine did not exist in the Central Rada collective mind at the time that Petlyura predicted dire consequences unless the Germans were stopped. Stopped from invading Russia. The irony of it was that shortly afterwards the same Central Rada invited the German bugaboo to save Ukraine from the Russian Bolshevism.

Dignified and Majestic

On April 29, 1918, the Ukrainian people, with the exception of leftist parties and their friends, manifested their will freely and sincerely. After the proclamation of hetman-
cy, delegations of well-wishers from all corners of the land came to greet the Hetman and to present varied petitions and requests. Delegations began arriving from various border localities which were unsure whether they would be included in the Ukrainian State; they sent special representatives requesting to be incorporated into Ukraine. Delegations came from Don, Kuban, Caucasus, Kholmschyna — they came from all places where Ukrainians lived, to seek protection and help in the Ukrainian State. Having adopted the historical-traditional form of statehood, Ukraine from the very beginning became majestic in the eyes and consciousness of the Ukrainian as well as other people. The Ukrainian State was acquiring the attributes of one, whole, all-embracing entity for all classes of the Ukrainian people.

The well-known public leader and patriot, Mykola Mikhnovsky said: "I would like to see Russia a republic and Ukraine a monarchy. Ukraine will be either a Hetman-Kozak state — or she will not exist at all".

Muscovy feared the Hetman coup d'etat. Lenin asserted: "If Hetman-
cy becomes established — Russia will go back to the borders of the XV century Muscovite Principedom". (D. Levchuk. *Postup*, Winnipeg, May 18, 1975).

Lenin need not have been overly concerned. He had no difficulty enlisting the Ukrainian "heroes" — Volodymyr Vynnychenko, Mykyta Shapoval, Evhen Konovalts, Simon Petlyura — to destroy the Ukrainian Hetman-Kozak State and save Russia.



Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky

